



[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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AL-MUHALLAB-B.-ABĪ-ŞUFRA: HIS STRATEGY AND QUALITIES OF GENERALSHIP

[AL-MUHALLAB b. Abī-Şufra, a scion of Azd-‘Umān, was the leading military general of his time who in the year 78 A.H. achieved a decisive victory over the Azāriqa after a prolonged campaign extending over thirteen years. This victory and also the lesser successes of his arms on the battle-field are recorded in the early chronicles, but no historian has so far attempted to assess their true significance by a careful study of the tactical methods, the military strategy, and the elaborate organisation which enabled al-Muhallab to succeed conspicuously where all his rivals miserably failed. This article attempts to bring out al-Muhallab’s distinctive qualities as a general and to estimate his contribution to the Arab art of warfare, for ignorance of these matters has so far caused his true place in history to remain unrecognised.

Al-Muhallab first assumed the direction of the campaign against the Azāriqa early in the year 66 A.H., in response to a general cry of distress from the panic-stricken people of al-Baṣra, his own native town, whose safety was at that time seriously threatened by the onrush of the Azāriqa. The Azāriqa were the followers of Nāfi’ b. al-Azraq, the veteran *Khārijite* chief, who while encamped at al-Ahwāz towards the close of the year 64, developed and propounded the radical doctrines of *البراءة والاستعراض*, according to which all the non-Azāriqa Muslims were to be treated as outside the pale of Islam and on a par with the non-Muslims of Arabia, for whom there was but one alternative, either to come over to Islam (as understood by the Azāriqa themselves) or to submit to indiscriminate slaughter, which did not spare even women and children. During the year 65 A.H. the Azāriqa began to act faithfully up to their avowed creed, as a result of which panic stalked throughout the neighbouring country and their domination extended from city to city as the days passed by. This naturally moved the Baṣrans, who organised two expeditions under the leadership of Ibn-‘Ubais and ‘Uthmān b. ‘Ubaidullāh b. Ma‘mar. But both these armies were virtually annihilated, and consequently, early in the year 66, the enemy was knocking at the very gates of al-Baṣra when al-Muhallab was entrusted with the command. Al-Muhallab’s command was later interrupted three times. During the breaks the campaign was carried on by ‘Umar b. ‘Ubaidullāh and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdullāh but with adverse results, till al-Muhallab finally brought the war to a successful end in 78 A.H.

Al-Muhallab was pre-eminently a military strategist, who faced an entirely new problem with singularly original methods. He had the distinction of possessing in an ample degree a knowledge of the mechanism of war, a clever insight into the psychology of his opponents, a flair for diplomacy, and all such

qualities of generalship as were essential for the conduct of the well-planned, prolonged war which alone could meet the needs of the situation. His most remarkable contribution to the art of warfare was the transition from the strategy of quick lightning blows to a prolonged war of attrition, which at that time was an almost unique experiment.]

EVEN when he was a mere lad, al-Muhallab was promising enough to earn from Caliph 'Umar the compliment that he was the prospective 'chief of all the sons of Abī-Şufra.'¹ Similarly he also evoked from the poet Bukair b. al-Akhnas the verse:—

خذوني به ان لم يسد سرواتهم و يبرع حتى لا يكون له مثل²

As the lad grew up and advanced in his military career, these early promises of leadership and glory were more than fulfilled. Al-Muhallab is generally remembered as the first man to introduce two innovations into the Arab army; first, the cropping of horses' tails, which he learnt from the 'Turk' horsemen whom he encountered in Qīqān³; and, second, the substitution of iron stirrups for wooden ones, which was suggested to him by his own experience and ingenuity. Up to the time of al-Muhallab's campaign against the Azāriqa the Arabs used to have only wooden stirrups, which were often easily cut by the opponent during a combat, thus leaving the horsemen without the support which was almost indispensable for exerting force in attack.⁴ These innovations, though important enough in themselves, were still more remarkable in that they symbolised the true spirit of the original mind which disdained to follow the old rut, and was destined to make a worthy contribution to the existing mode of warfare.

The popular method of warfare during the time of al-Muhallab was the simple traditional one of seeking a direct encounter with the enemy and defeating him in a quick soldiers' war in the open field. The expediency of avoiding a straight combat for some time was seldom seriously examined, and delay was often held attributable to hesitancy and lack of courage.⁵ Certainly, blockade and siege operations were not uncommon, but a closer study will reveal that in many cases they were only imposed by the enemy's desire to avoid a straight fight. They rarely formed part of a commander's pre-determined strategic plan, and were seldom resorted to as a preferable expedient for exhausting the enemy without suffering the serious losses necessarily involved in an open fight.

It will be observed that this simple method of warfare was in its very nature not likely to accustom the Arabs to have a nice regard for the

1. 'Ibn Hajar : *Al-'Işāba*, Cairo, 1328 A.H., IV, 108.

2. 'Ibn Qutaiba : *'Uyūn al-Akhhbār* (Dār al-Kutub) I, 230; 'Al-Jāhiz : *Al-Bayān wat-Tabyīn* (ed. Hasan al-Sandūbi, 1926), III, 138.

3. Al-Balādhuri : *Futūh al-Buldān* (ed. De Goeje, 1866), 432.

4. Al-Mubarrad : *Al-Kāmil*, Leipzig, 675.

5. Al-Hajjāj's impatience with 'Abdur-Rahmān b. al-Agh'ath is a typical example of it. Tab., II, 1053. A—1*

intricate problems connected with the 'mechanism of war,' i.e., topography, movement and supply. Hence administrative matters were often neglected even more than strategy. It is really amazing how such far-reaching expeditions as those to Constantinople and the eastern limit of Sijistān were undertaken without an elaborate consideration of such vital problems as the nature of the country, consolidation of positions, the safeguarding of the lines of communication and retreat, the regular maintenance of supplies, etc. The troops took a direct route to their distant objectives relying solely on their faith to move the mountains and their dash and tenacity to sweep all before them. They continued their advance forward as far as the enemy retired before them, pausing only for a clash of arms. In these circumstances disasters like that which befell 'Ubaidullāh b. Abī Bakra in Sijistān¹ were almost inevitable. The reason why the early Muslim armies escaped such disasters was that 'Umar was always far-sighted enough to keep their enthusiasm in salutary check and to take every conceivable precaution to ensure their safety. 'Umar likewise devoted due attention to consolidation with the result that the early conquests were all systematic. About the time of al-Muhallab's generalship, however, there were few military commanders who showed prudence enough to take all these important matters into consideration. Hence we come across examples of many years of un-systematic and wasteful penetration, for example, into Transoxiana and Sijistān. Typical of the neglect for strategy was the attitude of the governors of *Khurāsān*, who fought assiduously against the hostile native chiefs throughout every successive summer but never thought of attacking them in their winter rendezvous (Tab., II, 393-94). Leo VI, the wise emperor, was not far from the truth in saying that the military successes of the Saracens were due to 'the fanatical courage of the fatalist.'² The methods that he advised for counter-acting and harassing them were all based on the primary assumption that they were lacking in strategy.³ That the counter-measures were not without effect even at a much later date shows that his assumption was not entirely wrong.

Al-Muhallab's command of the campaign against the Azāriqa began at a time when more than one commander⁴ of proven valour had met with total disaster, and was further interrupted three times by his diversion to other more urgent tasks. This circumstance, although it put off the extermination of the Azāriqa for a considerable time and caused al-Muhallab to start anew with his work after every break, was yet helpful in bringing out by contrast the distinctive features of his own method of warfare. It is noteworthy that of all the commanders other than al-Muhallab who were at different times despatched against the Azāriqa,

1. Tab., II, 1036 seq.

2. Oman: *History of the Art of Warfare*, p. 206.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

4. Muslim b. 'Ubais and his successors in the battle at Dūlāb and 'Uthmān b. 'Ubaidullāh. Tab., II, 581-82; *Kam.*, 616-17; 624-26.

'Umar b. 'Ubaidullāh was the only one who escaped a fatal disaster. Why? Because all the rivals and colleagues of al-Muhallab, not excepting even 'Umar b. 'Ubaidullāh, were unimaginative supporters of the traditional method and lacked the originality or the courage to extricate themselves from the old rut. They simply sought head-on clashes and received hard knocks from a mighty enemy, of whose strength they never cared to take a realistic view. They were so indifferent to studying the real nature of the enemy that even their successive failures could not make them realise that the Azāriqa presented an entirely new problem. The old method, which depended for its success merely on superior dash and tenacity, could have achieved conspicuous results against an enemy lacking in that religious faith and missionary fervour which was the fountain-head of 'the fanatical courage of the fatalist.' But it was, indeed, quite futile to expect the same results when the enemy was similarly inspired by a fanatic missionary zeal which enabled him to show an equal amount of courage and self-sacrifice. As a matter of fact, in the war between the Baṣrans and the Azāriqa it was the latter who fought primarily, if not exclusively, for the triumph of their faith, the main interest of the former being the protection of their hearths and homes. Thus they could lay to their credit such astounding feats as the triumph of a band of forty Azraqites over a contingent of two hundred Baṣran soldiers.¹ The other commanders failed to appreciate this basic fact, the realisation of which proved to be the secret of al-Muhallab's success.

No doubt, physical courage, dash, and tenacity were all-important factors in those days of close-range fighting, and al-Muhallab was as particular about them as any of his rivals. His chief credit, however, was that he could distinguish between bravery and rashness. He knew that bravery, if used without discretion, was a sheer waste. His bravery was therefore tempered with prudence.

Al-Muhallab was all alone in his days in not falling a prey to overconfidence. He made a fair and exact estimate of the nature and the strength of his enemy. Further, it was he who for the first time realised the principle that when the enemy was impregnable to direct attack, as the Azāriqa were, there should be no head-on clashes except on particularly opportune moments when the enemy had been weakened by other methods of exhaustion. He not even once made the blunder that all others, including 'Umar b. 'Ubaidullāh, made in attempting to annihilate the Azāriqa in one short decisive blow or even in a series of desperate battles. Thus the principle enjoined by him that 'al-Makīdah' was often more effective than 'al-Najdah'² represents his most original contribution to the art of warfare.

Another important fact which al-Muhallab's rivals equally failed to take note of was that the menace of the Azāriqa was not confined to a

1. Kam., 587-88.

2. Al-Jāhiz: *Al-Bayān*, II, 144.

small compact locality. It extended over Karmān, Fārs and *Khuzistān* and at times even up to the limits of al-Furāt, chiefly owing to the Azāriqa's extraordinary powers of locomotion. This circumstance in itself rendered ineffective the use of the traditional method, which by its very nature could only succeed in a localised affair. Speaking in modern terms, the momentous contribution of al-Muhallab was the transition from the strategy of lightning blows to a war of attrition. He was indeed much in advance of his time in discovering that the Napoleonic method (as it is called in our day) of crushing the enemy by a single decisive battle is only possible where the forces are most unequal and a clash is localised. On the other hand when first-class opponents meet it is impossible to achieve a result at one blow. Then the war should take the form of a long and merciless contest designed to test the economic and political strength of the enemy. This was indeed a pioneer method, as is evidenced by the fact that most people, even those of the calibre of al-Ḥajjāj, found it difficult to appreciate its true worth or even to understand it.¹

No doubt, al-Muhallab from the very beginning foresaw and prepared his plans for a prolonged war. But a prolonged war has problems of its own, and it is a still greater tribute to his military genius that he fulfilled in ample degree all the conditions necessary for its successful prosecution. The conditions as deduced from al-Muhallab's own words and deeds are the following:—

(1) The first condition, to use al-Muhallab's own word, is *الانابة*,² i.e., the necessary amount of steadfast patience which may guard the commander and the troops against yielding to *ennui*. It will be realised that to play a waiting game in a continuous state of alert watchfulness is often likely to prove a strain on the nerves. It is therefore the supreme duty of the commander not to let the morale of the troops deteriorate from inaction. If the commander is wearied into launching a premature attack, then clearly the very object of the prolonged war will be frustrated. Al-Muhallab proved his capacity to keep steadfastly to the defensive for years together without letting the enthusiasm of his troops wane on that account.³ As a matter of fact his troops showed remarkable under-

1. *Vide* the correspondence that passed between al-Ḥajjāj and al-Muhallab, *Kam.*, 668-69; 674-75; 688-89; *Tab.*, 2/1004-6.

2. *Tab.*, II, 1083, l. 7.

3. During the concluding phase of the campaign against the Azāriqa, al-Muhallab waited patiently for more than two years, from the offensive at Kāzarūn in 75 A.H. (*Tab.*, II, 875) till the resumption of offensive operations towards the end of 77 A.H. (*Tab.*, II, 1003), in order to exhaust the economic resources of the enemy before he launched an offensive.

Ka'b al-Ashqari, the panegyrist of al-Muhallab, refers to the same thing in the following verses (*Tab.*, II, 1014):

يقارع الحرب اطوارا وياتر	وفى ثلث سنين يستديم بنا
وفى الليالى وفى الايام معتبر	يقول ان غدا مبد لناظره
ان المحارب يستانى و ينتظر	ذهوا التنازع والاسراع وارتمبوا
وقد تبين ما ياتى و مايزر	حتى اتها امور عندها فرج

standing of and confidence in his policy, which was always to compel the enemy to take the initiative for an attack so long as the odds remained equal. In such a case, as he explained to his sons on one occasion, it was the aggressor who suffered the greater loss without being able to drive home the attack against equally strong and alert defenders.¹

(2) No doubt, the leader of a prolonged campaign should be chary in coming to grips with his enemy so long as the latter remains strong and resolute. But he should also be vigilant enough to take advantage of every moment of weakness and unpreparedness on the other side. He should be able to act quickly, and promptly press the attack whenever the enemy betrays the least sign of relaxation and irresolution. Al-Muhallab never failed to take the fullest advantage of any opportunity of striking at the enemy whenever he felt confident that the odds in his favour were sufficiently reassuring. He knew when it was wise to stop, but at the same time he also knew when it was opportune to strike. He possessed a judicious judgment which took note of every circumstance favouring a change of strategy and with amazing alacrity acted up to it. The lightning blow which turned an accomplished defeat into a conspicuous victory at Silla-wa-Sillabra² is the most illustrious example of this unique quality. Whenever he decided to launch an attack he did so with all his might and main and staked his all on it. His onslaughts were always delivered with such vigour and determination as to make it virtually impossible for the enemy to survive them. In Muṣ'ab's wars against al-Mukhtār,³ as well as on other occasions, his action always proved to be the final blow. Last but not least, the final push against the Azāriqa⁴ provided a conclusive proof of his mastery of swift offensive operations as well. Really, there can be no greater testimony to the above two complementary aspects of al-Muhallab's tactical policy than that of his inveterate foe, Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a :—

“ If you caught one end of a cloth he (al-Muhallab) would hold the other end. He would draw it when you let it loose and would let it loose when you drew it.”⁵

(3) Thirdly, for a prolonged war to have the desired effect it is of very vital importance that it should be directed on a deliberate and systematic plan with a clear and definite aim behind it. Otherwise it is only likely to add to the strength of the enemy instead of weakening him.

The aim should in the main be two-fold ; first, to undermine the economic position of the enemy, and, second, to subvert his political organisation. These are the two points which are particularly assailable through a prolonged war, and are so vital that a successful blow at them

1. *Kam.*, 677, 14-15.

2. *Tab.*, II, 587 seq.

3. *Tab.*, II, 721 seq.

4. *Ibid.*, 1006-7.

5. *Kam.*, 643-44.

is virtually the same as hamstringing a camel. Further, the waiting game is a particularly helpful choice for the side which at the outset is handicapped by deficiency in economic and material resources. Obviously, the supreme need of such a party is to conserve its present resources and to mark time with a view to achieving parity with, if not superiority to, the foe. For this purpose, the waiting game is doubly advantageous. On the one hand, it conserves the existing resources and strength by avoiding the heavy losses inevitable in an immediate offensive and affords time and opportunity to augment them still further. On the other hand, it releases considerable forces for the purpose of hampering the means of supply to the enemy and affecting his position adversely. Thus the effects of a purposeful prolonged war are doubly enhanced, because it detracts very greatly from the strength of the enemy at a relatively very small expense of one's own resources.

The improvement of his own economic position and a parallel depletion of the resources of his enemy formed a very clear and definite object of al-Muhallab's plan from the very beginning of his campaign against the Azāriqa. First, with his characteristic resourcefulness, he expanded the means at his disposal, *e.g.*, by obtaining credits from the traders¹ resorting to such make-shift devices as the use of stones for confounding the enemy fighters,² etc. Then he proceeded to spread his tentacles patiently, systematically, and gradually round the position of the Azāriqa with the conscious design of wresting bit by bit the economic resources which the enemy had seized. It is remarkable that he was always content with the result of a battle if the enemy were forced to abandon a part of his possessions to him. He never hastened to take a step forward unless he had consolidated and exploited his previous gains to the full. A closer study will reveal that al-Muhallab always made it a point to exhaust the economic strength of the enemy through effective siege and blockade operations before launching an offensive. The eventual collapse of the Azāriqa was also due to their having been deprived of the raw commodities of Fārs.³

Al-Muhallab also made deliberate and systematic efforts to destroy the political unity of the Azāriqa. He spoke of "distressing hunger" and "a split in their views"⁴ in the same breath. He knew full well that internal discord was far more detrimental than external pressure. Thus concurrently with economic warfare he also launched a diplomatic manœuvre to destroy the political fabric of the enemy. He displayed remarkable insight into the peculiar psychology and the genius of the Azāriqa in devising his subtle moves.⁵ The uniformity of the tenets

1. *Kam.*, 627.

2. *Kam.*, 636, 14-15.

3. *Tab.*, II, 1003.

4. *Kam.*, 672, 4.

5. Three successive moves on the part of al-Muhallab are recorded in *Kam.*, 677-79.

of their faith was the corner-stone of the political unity of the Azāriqa, which was further cemented by their implicit faith in, and unquestioning obedience to, their leaders. The moves of al-Muhallab were directed against the same two points. Shrewdly exploiting the peculiar foibles of the Azāriqa he succeeded conspicuously in creating dissensions in their religious faith and sowing suspicion and distrust among them. The result was that the political organisation broke down almost simultaneously with the loss of their economic superiority.

The position of al-Muhallab was unique inasmuch as he was not a mere military commander. In addition to the direction of the campaign he also had to provide funds for the maintenance and equipment of his troops. It will be realised that the magnitude of the problem of finance is far greater in the case of a prolonged war than in the case of a short campaign such as al-Muhallab's rivals were wont to wage. Moreover the cost of al-Muhallab's campaign was exceptionally high because he had to make up the deficiency in armour and equipment to which his predecessors had paid scant attention. Curiously enough, even the resources were not ready to hand. Al-Muhallab had to wrest them from the grip of his enemy, and then to marshal and exploit them for his own advantage. Thus it was an obvious necessity that he should devote particular attention to tax-collecting. That is why he often paused after every engagement in order to levy taxes from the land abandoned by the enemy. It is indeed a high tribute to al-Muhallab's capacity for planning that he co-ordinated in a remarkably successful manner the task of financial planning with other considerations of consolidation and strategy. No doubt the principle that "whoever is incompetent to collect the taxes will prove still more incompetent to fight the foe"¹ which he asserted in reply to al-Ḥajjāj's allegations of a selfish motive, represents a very important part of his original contribution to the art of warfare. It shows what great importance he attached to economic factors in the general scheme of warfare. It must be remembered that the real crux of generalship is the matter of administration, and not tactics and strategy which come only afterwards.

Al-Muhallab's handling of the finances under his control can only be inferred from stray hints here and there. As to what proportion of revenue he appropriated to himself, the reports are not clear. To all appearances, he does not seem to have restricted himself to any specific limit, as is evidenced by his words to his own son, Yazīd, to the effect that with the conclusion of the campaign against the Azāriqa the position had changed from what it had been before so that thenceforward he could have only such amount as al-Ḥajjāj was pleased to allow him.² There is, however, not the slightest evidence to show that he ever allowed his selfish interests to effect adversely the interests of the State. He always proved that he treated the demands of the campaign as the first charge on

1. *Kam.*, 677, 14-15.

2. *Ibid.*, 696.

the revenue at his disposal; any amount left over must, of course, have gone to his private purse. What is really important is that he had a sense of duty and honesty strong enough to make him subordinate every consideration to the supreme interest of the successful prosecution of the war.

On one occasion, however, al-Muhallab appears to have been guilty of dereliction of duty, if not of deliberate, unlawful misappropriation. Al-Ḥajjāj is reported to have indemnified him with a million dirhams on account of the arrears of the *khārāj* of al-Ahwāz to which he had been appointed for a short period by *Khālid* b. 'Abdullāh. Here al-Muhallab is described as a man of extravagant habits, who never cared to save anything for future contingencies and consequently had to resort to borrowing whenever he was thrown out of job. He had great difficulty in paying off this indemnity. Half of it was borne by his son, al-Mughīra, who had been entrusted with the taxes of 'Iṣṭakhar during the same time that al-Muhallab was sent to al-Ahwāz. The other half was made up by a loan of three lakhs from Abū-Mā'wiyya, the mawlā and treasurer of 'Abdullāh b. 'Amir, and the sale of the ornaments of al-Muhallab's well-known wife, *Khairat al-Qushairiyya*.¹ Al-Muhallab must really have been remiss and negligent in his duty for he appears to have submitted to the demands of al-Ḥajjāj without demur. Of course, al-Muhallab was not the man to have submitted to an unreasonable and unjustifiable demand without a bold vindication of his position.

Al-Muhallab's use of diplomacy as a weapon of war was as conspicuous as his attention to economic and administrative matters. Just as the latter brought upon him the charge of selfishness, similarly the former earned him the sobriquet *الكذاب*, i.e., liar or imposter.² The falsehood of which al-Muhallab is alleged to have been guilty, is said to be of two kinds; first, his deceitful moves against the enemy, and second, his exaggerated and false promises to his own troops. He is said to have often made false promises of help and succour to his troops in order to inspire courage and confidence in them.

But all the instances that have come down to us belong only to the first category. We know that al-Muhallab often employed deceit against the enemy, yet we never hear of his making any false statement to his troops. Thus it is more than probable that, as is asserted by Ibn-Qutaiba³ the use of the sobriquet must have first originated with his opponents as an expression of anguish over the clever ruses of al-Muhallab to which they often fell an easy victim. It is particularly plausible that it should have originated with the Azāriqa who, by virtue of their rigid puritanism,

1. Tab., II, 1034-3. Similarly on another occasion al-Muhallab was unable to pay an indemnity of two hundred thousand dirhams which had to be borne by Ṭalḥa on his behalf (Tab., II, 1119).

2. Kam., 632.

3. See Ibn-Khallikān (Cairo, 1310), II, 146.

were incapable of distinguishing الكذب from الخدعة. But undoubtedly the use of the sobriquet must have become wide-spread very soon, so much so that it has left us a proverb أكذب من المهلب.¹

As a matter of fact, al-Muhallab was not guilty of الكذب as such. On the testimony of al-Mubarrad² he only believed in and practised الخدعة i.e., diplomacy, which, according to the Prophet himself, is the essence of war and the use of which is expressly allowed in dealings with the enemy. Such eminent authorities as Ibn-Ḥajār³ and Ibn-'Abd al-Barr⁴ also declare him to be ثقة i.e., just and trustworthy, and expressly exonerate him from the charge of الكذب in the manner of al-Mubarrad.

As for his dealings with his own people, al-Muhallab does not seem to have gone beyond a shrewd and deliberate play upon their religious and other sentiments. It is again one of the distinctions of al-Muhallab that he possessed a deep knowledge of humanity, which he brought to bear on the conduct of the war (cf. his valuable advice to al-Ḥajjāj during the revolt of 'Ibn al-'Ash'ath (Tab., II, 1059). He paid due regard to the psychological and emotional factors which might be exploited in rousing in his troops a contempt for the foe. He would remind them that they were fighting for the survival of their religion and the protection of their homes, women, and children ;⁵ he would tell them that their opponents were a mere low rabble⁶ and that the *Khashabiyya* had no weapons other than wooden clubs ;⁷ and he would assure them that they, despite their inferior numbers, were strong enough to turn the tide of the battle.⁸ But we search in vain for a single example of his having made any false promises of help or any such thing. Surely, such a conduct would have shaken the faith of the people in his words and would have ultimately defeated the very purpose which al-Muhallab had at heart. To appreciate the true merit of al-Muhallab one need only remember that the real secret of the success of any army is not the fact, but rather the belief, that it is the stronger. Hence, al-Māwardī counts it as one of the primary duties of a commander to rouse enthusiasm in his troops and to make them feel the stronger of the two parties.⁹

Apart from the essential qualities mentioned above, al-Muhallab possessed many other auxiliary qualities without the harmonious combi-

1. Al-Maidāni, *Majma' al-Amthāl* (Cairo 1310), 2/77.

2. *Kam.*, 632.

3. Al-'Iṣāba (Cairo, 1328), IV, 108-9.

4. Al-'Iṣṭī'āb (in margin of 'Iṣāba), IV, 109-10.

5. *Kam.*, 665, I.

6. *Kam.*, 630, 10-11.

7. Al-'Aghāni (Cairo, 1323), V, 147.

8. Tab., II, 587, 11-14.

9. Al-'Aḥkām al-Ṣultāniyya (Bonn, 1853), 72, l. 6.

nation of which a prolonged campaign is only likely to end in disaster. Two such qualities were foresight and alert watchfulness. We have evidence of al-Muhallab's foresight at every step, the most striking example being the agreement with al-Qubā' and the Baṣran chiefs at the time of his first assumption of the command in the campaign against the Azāriqa. The conditions demanded by him¹ clearly show that he had at the very start foreseen the whole course of the campaign and had a vivid estimate of the difficulties which might have hampered his plans. He could always pre-empt the movements of the enemy and the direction of attack. It was the result of intelligent anticipation of events that his enemy could never catch him unawares. The Azāriqa always found their moves forestalled, and were forced to call him the "Sorcerer of Muzūn,"² which title must be regarded as the greatest tribute to his foresight.

Combined with foresight al-Muhallab also possessed an inexhaustible capacity for unrelenting vigilance. His scrupulous regard for defensive arrangements can be gauged from an account of his camp which is recorded in Tab. (II 585). According to it "Whenever al-Muhallab settled down for a bivouac he carefully laid out and prudently entrenched his camp with a ditch. Troops were ordered to continue all the time in their proper formations. Pickets and vedettes were set up at carefully selected points and spies were dispatched all around."

No doubt, the use of ditches and trenches for the defence of citadels and towns was already known to the Arabs. But the system of guarding temporary camps with such elaborate measures was perfected only by al-Muhallab. While all the other commanders had to pay dearly for their criminal neglect, coupled with foolish arrogance, the Azāriqa could never seize a single moment of unpreparedness on the part of al-Muhallab. It is reported and is also borne out by facts that al-Muhallab always took care to look to the defence measures personally, and would not entrust them to any one except to his sons and special confidants.³

Al-Muhallab's extraordinary regard for vigilance could not but make him a great believer in the utility of an efficient intelligence service. Both in peace and in war his spies were always active everywhere, in cities as well as in the country.⁴ Particularly in war-time he maintained a constant touch with the enemy and kept himself informed of all the happenings in the opposite camp. That is why he could always judge with astonishing correctness the hourly changes in the strength of the enemy. The infallibility of al-Muhallab's calculations cannot but impress the reader of his exploits. All his forward plans and long-range schemes never suffered through the least miscalculation. His counter-attack at Sillā-wa-

1. *Kam.*, 627, 4-9; *Tab.*, II, 584.

2. *Kam.*, 655, 6.

3. *Kam.*, 672, 5.

4. *Kam.*, 630.

Sillibrā was a very risky move indeed, but it turned out exactly according to plan.

Although al-Muhallab was promoted to high command at the ripe age of 59, yet he had lost nothing of the boldness and fire of youth. Aided by superior knowledge and tried judgment, his mature mind still had the power to originate bold and unorthodox designs and the practical sense and energy to carry them through. He was still robust and had the ability to withstand shocks of war with stolid calm and obstinate determination. He refused to acknowledge defeat and showed up best when things went badly, e.g., at Sillā-wa-Sillibrā. Moreover, al-Muhallab was possessed of unshakable confidence in his own independent judgment, and had the courage to stick to it even under the pressure of severe threats from his overlords. To him "the protection of a secret was a sufficient advantage of independent judgment."¹ He stoutly refused to submit to the anomaly that "the decision should lie with one who possesses superior authority rather than with one who is competent enough to judge."² He had the touch of a gambler in him and refused to be bound by regulations and dictates. But at the same time his sense of discipline and loyalty was strong enough to hold him back from the other extreme of revolt which Ibn al-'Ash'ath chose for himself. Al-Muhallab's sense of responsibility and obligation was proved by his refusal to take up the command of the campaign against the Azāriqa without being absolved from his previous engagement by Ibn al-Zubair,³ and by his prompt action in paying the traders of al-Baṣra at the earliest possible opportunity for the credit that they had advanced to him in order to intensify the war effort.⁴ He served his masters, even those who were avowedly jealous of him like Khālid b. 'Abdullāh, earnestly and faithfully through thick and thin,⁵ so long as he had the least hope that his services could help them. But when faced with a *fait accompli* he, in the true spirit of a military commander, did not hesitate to swear allegiance to the new conqueror of al-'Irāq, 'Abd-al-Malik, all the time keeping himself scrupulously above all temptations of material gain.

Al-Muhallab was very jealous of his honour and could brook no affronts even from his superiors like al-Ḥajjāj. Towards his rivals he always behaved with perfect dignity and even generosity and forgiveness except in case of 'Attāb b. Warqā,⁶ whose open defiance was too detrimental to the cause of war and too hard for him personally to bear. With remarkable restraint, he never stooped to seek glory at the expenses of

المهلب : " لو لم يكن في الاستبداد بالراى الا صون السر لوجب التمسك به " الوطواط : الفرر والعرر ٧٧ . ١

2. Kam., 674, 13-14.

3. Tab., II, 583, 5-7.

4. Kam., 628, 14-15.

5. Kam., 654 seq.

6. Kam., 677.

his rivals.¹ On the other hand he was prepared to recognise merit in others as well.

As for his relations with his troops and subordinates al-Muhallab always treated them firmly but 'kindly like a father.'² His solicitude for the personal comforts of the soldier, regular pay and rations, good billets, etc., was not a whit less marked than his earnestness in providing the necessary arms and equipment. He showed himself to his troops as frequently and, we may believe, as impressively as possible, for he did not omit to surround his imposing personality with due ceremonial. There was no discrimination of any kind whatsoever. His own sons, nobles and the mawālī, Persians and the Arabs, Baṣrans and the Kūfans—all of them stood on an equal footing. All had an equal opportunity to show their mettle and were given precedence according to military honour alone.³ Being a keen judge of character he had a fair estimate of the real worth of every individual and always chose the best man for a particular task.

Undoubtedly, al-Muhallab had a very severe code of discipline for his troops, but he was always scrupulous enough to administer it fairly and reasonably. It was this discipline which, above all other factors, e.g., hope of loot and glory, devotion to country, etc., fostered a spirit of endurance and enterprise till it turned al-Ruqād, an ordinary soldier, into "the great warrior of the Arabs." (*Vide* the words of al-Ruqād, *Kam.*, 699). Under al-Muhallab, a soldier felt himself assured of personal safety, the cautiousness and the circumspection of the commander being a sufficient guarantee that he would be sent into battle with as good a chance as possible of victory and survival. It was this assurance which inspired such immense confidence among the troops that they fought zealously and selflessly of their own free will, whereas under other commanders they only obeyed under duress and often with strong suspicions as to the wisdom of their orders. Al-Muhallab's commands were always executed without any question and in right earnest but at the same time he never allowed himself to be so haughty as to reject outright a piece of advice from his lieutenants.⁴ He had no reason to be obsessed with any such diffidence or doubt about the faith of his troops as was betrayed by 'Umar b. 'Ubaidullāh.⁵

Prudence and restraint being the constant companions of al-Muhallab, he never practised violence for its own sake; he was never ruthless beyond the needs of the situation. He would keep the prisoners in detention only as long as mischief was apprehended from them,—a course which

1. *Vide* al-Muhallab's letter to al-Ḥajjāj (*Kam.*, 668-69) in which he refuses to say anything in disparagement of his rivals.

2. *Vide* the words of Ka'b, *Kam.*, 695, 7.

3. *Vide* the words of al-Muhallab, *Kam.*, 699, 2.

4. Cf. his acceptance of the advice of al-Ḥarīsh b. Hilāl, *Kam.*, 633.

5. Cf. *Kam.*, 644, 11-13.

al-Ḥajjāj was unable to understand.¹ Similarly he would try every chance of reforming the miscreants while al-Ḥajjāj would only despatch them to their doom.² It will be noted that it was his aversion to the use of force where it was inopportune and unnecessary that led to his adoption of the new method of exhaustion. But, on the other hand, he carefully avoided the other extreme of indecision or weakness. He never showed any hesitation whatsoever in using firmly and resolutely all the force that was absolutely necessary in order to achieve the desired victory. He dealt with the Azāriqa practically in the same manner as they were wont to treat their opponents, and even justified his action in making captives of them on the same ground.³

Lastly, it must be confessed that the motive of al-Muhallab in the war against the Azāriqa was not mainly religious ; it was primarily political. But it must be recognised that on many a critical occasion he gave ample proof of his genuine concern for the solidarity and unity of the Muslim Community (*vide* his letter to Ibn al-Ash'ath, Tab. II, 1058-59). Hence it cannot be said that he was a mere henchman of the Umayyads. No doubt, he worked for the spread and the stability of the Umayyad rule, but he did so to the full satisfaction of his conscience and religious scruples. To him, the peace, order and contentment of the Muslim community were linked up with the established government of the Umayyads ; hence he deemed it a religious duty as well to crush the Azāriqa.

The governorship of Khurāsān revealed al-Muhallab as an eminent civil administrator also. As a matter of fact his successes on the battlefield owed a great deal to his keen insight into civil, political, and administrative problems. His considered attitude towards Mūsa 'b. 'Abdullāh b. Khāzim, whom he spared as a useful foe (cf. Tab. II, 1151 *seq.*), was indeed a stroke of administrative wisdom which was fully vindicated by subsequent events. During his tenure of office the province was singularly free from all internal disorder such as marred the régime of his predecessors. The reason was that he, though strongly attached to his own tribe, was never unjust to any section of the people so as to give cause for grievance and dissatisfaction.

Al-Muhallab is remembered in history not only as an able commander and a successful administrator but also as an eminently generous patron. His bountiful disposition was apt to be offended by a minor request, while he would fain fulfil the vows of those who had sworn to receive a particular sum from him on the occasion of his victory (*Agh.*, VIII, 103 ; IX 124). Deeds of gallantry and beautiful verses were rewarded by him with great sums which sometimes ran into tens of thousands. Al-Mughīra b. Ḥabnā returned from him with his hands full of riches.⁴ Al-Muhallab indeed very well deserved the tribute of Nahār b. Tausi'a :—

ومات الندى واجود بعد المهلب

S. M. YŪSUF.

1. Tab., II, 1042.

2. *Kam.*, 667.

3. Tab., II, 1007.

4. *Agh.*, XI, 162.

WHAT IS CULTURE IN GENERAL AND ISLAMIC CULTURE IN PARTICULAR ?

Culture is the passion for sweetness and light, and (what is more) the passion for making them prevail.—*Matthew Arnold.*

I HAVE been a member of the Executive Board of this Review ever since its foundation by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari, at the instance of Mr. Muḥammad Marmaduke Pickthall, editor of this Quarterly from 1927 to 1938 (Peace be on them!). I have often asked myself the above questions and tried to answer them as well as I can. I give below the result of my thoughts for what it is worth. I proceed from the particular, more or less metaphorical, to the general, more or less abstract consideration of the subject.

Leaving the definition and classification of culture to the last, I assume for the nonce that the word is a metaphor derived from the most ancient industry, agri-culture (=field-cultivation); "culture" means metaphorically what "cultivation" means literally:—sowing suitable seeds in 'tilths, watering, fostering and protecting their growth, and reaping corn or plucking fruit for the use or benefit of oneself and others. The second of the two questions then resolves itself into what are metaphorically (i) the tilths or fields, (ii) the seeds or seedlings, and (iii) the methods of fostering and reaping in Islamic Culture. One might write a book of which the several elements of the question would become appropriate chapters of considerable length. I propose to compress the contents of the book I imagine into the dimensions of a magazine article.

I. What are the *tilths* or fields of Islamic Culture? They are no other than what the Qur'ān implies. Its main object is *to shew*¹ God to Man. Saying, *اينما تولوا فثم وجه الله* whichever side you turn there you see the face (manifestation) of God—it shews God in Nature, which abounds in marvels and lessons. Saying again, *هو الاول و هو الاخر*, He is the First and He is the Last, it shews God in History, which exhibits the rise and fall of men and nations. Saying further, *هو الظاهر و هو الباطن* He is Manifest and He is Hidden—Manifest in objects, Hidden in mind—

1. By "to shew" I mean not only "to show" or exhibit but also "to prove."

2. Cf. Qur'ān, 57: 3. *هو الاول و الاخر و الظاهر و الباطن* (Ed., I. C.).

it shews God in everyone's Conscience, which discriminates between good and evil. It may be asked : *As what* does the Qur'ān shew God in Nature, in History and in Conscience ? The answer is, as the *ALL IN ALL* that harmonises *Opposites* or adjusts *Contraries*—of which the most abstract are inertia and change, good and evil, the beautiful and the ugly, the useful and the useless. I have no space to explain what is that superbly Supreme Power, how and why It harmonises the *Opposites* in the world we live in. Preaching is not one of the factors in the policy of this Magazine. I am not preaching, hereditary *Khatib* (reader of sermons) though I am. I am obliged to refer to the Qur'ān because Muslim Culture is based on the Qur'ān and the Qur'ān only. I just refer to it here in several ways in order to demonstrate how it led to the birth, growth and spread of Islamic Culture in various directions. The most general and important indications and implications in the Qur'ān are the fields or tilths of Muslim Culture. Innumerable verses refer to past and present events, explain matters in, and draw lessons from, the three great departments of life—physical, mental and moral. They are no other than Nature, History, and Conscience. These comprise in fact the whole world, the Universe.

II. What are *the suitable seeds* or seedlings to be sown in Muslim Culture in the fields indicated above ? They are seeds of two related kinds : توحيد و اتحاد, Unity and Union—Unity in principles and beliefs, Union in dispositions and actions. The Qur'ān teaches the Unity of God and inculcates Union into one Brotherhood, of all who believe in God and work righteousness. 1. (اخوة) الذين آمنوا وعملوا الصالحات. "See the One in the Many and become One with All." So, the seeds and seedlings of Unity and Union should be sown in the fields of Nature, History, and Conscience which are respectively the provinces of Science, Philosophy and Religion. The first field, "Science" cannot be divorced from "Art," which it feeds. Science and Arts go together hand in hand. Neither can do without the other. The second field, "Philosophy" in the early days of Islam included History, which was regarded as philosophy taught by examples. Histories written by Arabs, or in Arabic, included Economics. The third field, "Religion," included Ethics or Morality. It included also Mysticism, which has been the basis of all religions of the world. There is no religion without any mystery in, about, for, or against it. Science deals with "*the what in Nature*": what is in the world, *i.e.*, it deals with facts and events in place and time. Philosophy deals with "*the how of Nature*": how Nature moves on, *i.e.*, it deals with the methods of progress or evolution in Nature. The third field, Religion, deals with "*the why of Nature*": why Nature is so and not otherwise, *i.e.*, it deals with the ultimate reasons for the occurrence of facts and events in Nature. All these—Science with Arts, Philosophy with History & Economics, and Religion with Ethics—come within the purview of

1. (Brothers) are those who believe and work righteousness. Cf. also the Qur'ān, 49 : 10 (انما المؤمنون اخوة). The believers are no other than brothers. 3 : 103, 9 : 12, 15 : 47, etc. (Ed., I. C.).

Islamic Culture. In other words (a) the nature of facts and events, (b) the methods of their manifestation, and (c) the reasons for their occurrence dealt with by Science, Philosophy, and Religion respectively, are all comprised in the sphere of Islamic Culture. They are, as it were, so many reeds and plants growing from the seeds and seedlings of Unity and Union which the adherents and advocates of Islamic Culture should sow with energy, care and caution, in order that they should grow, prosper and benefit Muslims one and all.

III. What are the methods of sowing seeds or planting seedlings, fostering the growing plants, and reaping the fruit in Islamic Culture ? They are the root-principles and maxims of Islam indicated by the whole trend of the commands and prohibitions contained in the Qur'an. These may be summed up again in two pairs of words (a) صدق و اخلاص Truth and Sincerity (b) تحفظ حدود و ايفاء عهد , Moderation and Loyalty. The first method is indicated in the maxim : " Be true to yourself and truthful to others." The Qur'an teaches that since God is One, His creatures, men and women in all countries and climes, cannot do better than join in a single Brotherhood. The lives of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs prove that they were the exemplars of Muslim Culture and Muslim Brotherhood. They preached the Unity of God and worked hard for the Union of Mankind in a single Brotherhood. To form and foster such a Brotherhood one should first of all be true to oneself, and next, which follows " as the night the day," one should be truthful to others. Some people derisively call these " copy-book maxims." They are nevertheless as important and purposeful as Life itself. I have no space to illustrate these self-evident aphorisms. I content myself with bare statements of them as so many methods of sowing the seeds and planting the seedlings of Unity and Union in the fields of Nature, History, and Conscience. (a) The first method is that of assembling. It is, as has already been indicated, to form a Brotherhood for the purpose of sowing those seeds or planting those seedlings. If every Muslim—among (الذين آمنوا وعملوا الصلحت) believers in God and workers of Righteousness—considers himself to be trustee to every other Muslim, in all which affects that other, the foundation is firmly and truly laid for the Brotherhood of Muslims. (b) The second method is that of sowing. It is Moderation taught by the Qur'an, which says كلوا و اشربوا و لا تسرفوا Eat and drink but go not to extremes."¹ Avoid extremes, and follow the *via media*. The Prophet declared خير الامور اوسطها that the best of everything is the medium one. That is an injunction to individual Muslims as well as to groups, communities, and nations of Muslims. (c) The third method is that of Loyalty. It is inculcated in the third root-principle of Islam, viz. fulfil pledges. It requires that every man and woman, group, community or nation of

1. It does not say : eat, drink and be merry, but implies that cheerfulness or mirth should not go to extremes.

Muslims should perform promises. These three methods (a), (b), (c) of sowing seeds of Unity and Union are calculated to form, foster, and guard the Brotherhood of Man. Thus it is that to reap the fruit of Muslim Culture, to realize the *summum bonum*, the highest good, in Islam, is PEACE—peace of mind, peace in families, peace among communities, and peace among nations.

Having briefly dealt with Muslim Culture metaphorically I have to deal with the ætiology of it in order to formulate a working definition of Muslim Culture. Before doing so, I shall try to answer the question: how Muslim Culture came about? It was again the study of the Qur'ān itself that brought about what we call Muslim Culture *par excellence*. It was the effort to interpret the Qur'ān by the Qur'ān itself first of all, and next by the doings and sayings of the Prophet himself, and lastly by the habits and customs of clans, tribes and races of the Arabs. In the end, all things in heaven and on earth had to be explored diligently in order to understand the Qur'ān rightly. This exploration was in itself an expansion of Muslim Culture in concentric circles or spheres of ever-lengthening radii. Soon after the Redaction¹ of the Qur'ān—or, as I would call it, “the publication of the first and the last edition of it by the Caliph 'Uthmān”—people began to interpret words and phrases by similar words and phrases in the Book itself and to find their idiomatic uses by the Quraish and other Arab clans. This laid the foundation of Higher Grammar² of which the superstructure culminated in Philology—a science which in the hands of later scholars illuminated and explained not only Science and Philosophy but Theology itself. In order to understand the metaphors, allegories and parables of the Qur'ān, people had to collect meticulously reports or *hadīths* of the sayings and doings of the Holy Prophet. And in order to be quite sure of the authenticity and genuineness of reports and traditions—which grew in abundance like mushrooms and even like pests in Arabia and Iraq in the first and the second century of the Hijri era—the collectors of *hadīths* had to delve deep into the lives of the reporters themselves, to see if their conduct justified reliance on the truth of their reports. This led to Biography. Biographies and histories being reciprocal material for each other, History as a science was sedulously cultivated by Muslims as a necessity for the right understanding of the various *اوامرونواهي* injunctions and prohibitions contained in the Qur'ān, as well as for the correct appreciation of the innumerable allusions made and the stories narrated in it. The progress of Science was directly stimulated and fostered by the Qur'ān. Numerous references to the sun, the moon, the zodiac, and the stars in the heaven, to natural objects on the earth and to many a parable drawn from

1. The assembling and arranging of the chapters of the Qur'ān according to the express and implied directions of the Prophet himself.

2. The writer of “Forty years among the Arabs” in the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington) of September 1942 (p. 385) describing the grammar of the Arabic language says: “How that amazing tongue was developed by a primitive people living in a barren land, and was embodied in a rich and varied literature, is one of the enigmas of history.” A devout Muslim would add: “It is indeed one of the miracles wrought by the Qur'ān.”

physical and mental processes, led Muslims to scientific investigations. Astronomy, Medicine and Surgery were specially cultivated by Arabs and Arabised Persians, as if it was a duty enjoined by the Qur'an. The saying of the Prophet *علم علم الابدان وعلم الاديان*, that there were two important branches of knowledge: the Science of Bodies and the Science of Beliefs—was a great incentive to learning and experimentation. Just as a Bedouin runs after his strayed or stolen camel, captures her wherever he finds her and takes her home, so should Muslims run after Science pursue, seize and appropriate her, wherever they find her. Thus did Islamic Culture owe very much indeed to the Holy Scripture of Islam and very little to any thing else.

That was how Islamic Culture came about, thrived and spread. Was the Qur'an also the *cause* of it? To a considerable extent certainly, but not wholly. Besides its precepts and parables, there was the exemplary conduct of the Prophet himself, and of some of his beloved disciples. The Qur'an was the proximate cause, but the ultimate cause was man's nature and his environment. If you suppose that the proximate cause of a newly erected structure—say a palace—is the contractor who brought material and men to work, you may say that the ultimate cause of the structure was the owner who provided the land for building, and money for wages. So the proximate cause of the grand structure which we call "Muslim Culture" was the Prophet Muhammad, who brought the Qur'an which he and his four great successors—and others of the next generation—explained by their teaching as well as by their exemplary conduct, and thereby induced men and women of their own time and after, to build up gradually and steadily the culture which was characteristically Islamic. I say "characteristically Islamic," because it has persistently adopted the golden mean and followed the *via media* in all its fields—Science and Arts, Philosophy and History, Ethics and Mysticism—as befitted the *امة وسطا*, Moderate People, as the Qur'an calls Muslims, who have to pray to God always for guidance into *الصراط المستقيم* the right way which lies between the crooked paths of *المغضوب عليهم* the wrath-stricken, and the zigzags of *الضالين* the stragglers. So the Prophet with his Qur'an is the proximate cause of Islamic Culture, like the contractor who erects a grand structure. But the ultimate cause of the Islamic Culture, like the proprietor of land who supplies money to erect the structure, is God Himself, who created man and provided him with the world, *i.e.*, man's environment. I have already mentioned that the main object, or the principal function of the Qur'an is to shew God in Nature, History and Conscience as the Harmoniser of Opposites or Adjuster of Contraries. That gives us an excellent clue for defining culture as well as for classifying its main causes.

We find opposites, contraries, and even contradictories everywhere in the physical as well as in the mental and moral world. But the most fundamental of them are rest and motion—*inertia* and *change*. Assuming

what is a fact, that like individuals and groups of individuals—families, communities, states and nations—have a mind that responds from within to stimuli from without, we may define *culture* generally as a conglomeration or complex of certain mental habits of individuals as well as of groups, arising or resulting from the compromise, adjustment, or harmonising of two fundamental opposite tendencies of human nature called inertia and change—a tendency to conserve or preserve and a tendency to effect some change—*conservatism* and *liberalism*. By “conservatism” I mean that spirit in the individual, or in the group, which desires to *preserve* intact what oneself or one’s community believes to be good, beautiful, or useful; and by “liberalism” I mean that spirit which desires to *change* what oneself or one’s community believes to be bad, ugly, or useless. Conservatism interposes inertia (or “restfulness” if I may so call it) to preserve things and matters which it approves, Liberalism imparts motion to effect some change in things and matters which it disapproves. And “culture” may be defined as a *via media*, conciliation, compromise, or resultant adjustment or harmonisation of the *antagonism* between conservatism and liberalism in any matter which becomes a habit in an individual, usage in a family, custom in a community, law in a state, and convention among nations.

I shall first give some homely illustrations of the definition before dealing with culture in the abstract. Certain noble families of Hyderabad wear a particular form of dustar or turban. Suppose a scion of such a family, impelled by modern fashions, began to wear the English hat. This was liberalism (tendency to change) on his part in the matter of discarding the family dustar. His grandmother objected to it strongly. That was conservatism (preservative inertia) on the part of the grandmother. There was therefore “antagonism,” if not conflict, between the opinion of the grandmother and the opinion of the grandson as regards the head-wear of the family. In course of time the grandson began to wear the Turkish fez in place of the family dustar and the newly adopted English hat. The grandmother had no objection to it. This was the compromise of the conflict or antagonism between the conservatism of the grandmother and the liberalism of the grandson—a sort of conciliation, harmonization, or adjustment of the two. Gradually the wearing of the fez became the habit of the lad. That is the cultural habit of the individual in the sense of my definition. To take another example: not very long ago men of the Hindu community in Southern India wore chader, dhoti and chappal. The English fashion made many a young Hindu wear a coat with tie, trousers and boots. Older Hindus strongly objected to such a change. There was “antagonism” or conflict between the old and the young in the matter of Hindu dress. In course of time a compromise or conciliation came about. The young people began to wear a dhoti as before, but with it a coat without a tie, and they wore also sandals in place of the chappal or boots. The older men ceased to object to this partial change in the old dress and gradually it became a

usage in the Hindu community. The change in the dress of the community was an "adjustment" of the old and the new fashion, and it became a "usage" in Hindu families. That is a phase of Culture according to my definition. In the first half of the seventh century A.D. polygamy was the rule and monogamy the exception in Arabia. There was "antagonism" between those who practised the one and those who practised the other. The Qur'an effected a compromise, conciliation or harmonisation between them. It permitted a man to have "two, three, or four," but no more wives, with a "conscience clause," i.e. *provided that* he conscientiously thought he could be perfectly just to "two, three, or four" wives, otherwise he should confine himself to but one wife. The antagonism between the liberalism (desire to change) of the monogamist and the conservatism (desire to preserve) of the polygamist resulted in a compromise, a give-and-take adjustment which became the personal law of Musalmans throughout the world. That was a national phase of culture. And an international phase of culture appeared during the last Great War. Certain nations used poison gas in warfare, and other nations opposed its use most vehemently. The antagonism between the users and opposers led to a silent convention among several nations: that it should never be used. Italy, who broke the convention in Abyssinia, was soon called to account. Just as thoughts are said to "become fossilized or crystalized into words," so do adjustments of opposites, such as compromises of antagonisms become fossilized or crystalized into habits of individuals, usages of families, customs of communities, theories of learned men, laws of states, or conventions of nations. Thus, culture is a name which we give to a conglomeration or complex of a number of such habits, usages, customs, beliefs, laws, and conventions as are habitually observed by individuals, or by organized groups of individuals called Society or the State. Thus, "a man of culture" is one who has good habits, complies with useful usages or customs, obeys just laws, and adheres to suitable conventions. The words good, beautiful, and useful, with their opposites bad, ugly and useless are used here relatively to one another. A "cultured race" is a race which has a large number of men and women of culture. Thus, the word "culture" is used primarily as a name for the process described above. But it has come to be used secondarily for the products of that process, viz., habits, usages, customs, laws, engagements, treaties and conventions, often collectively, sometimes by groups, rarely individually.

I must now conclude with a general classification of culture in the abstract, according to my definition of it.¹ The history of culture is a

1. A briefer and more abstract definition would be: "Culture is the crystallization into habits, customs, beliefs, &c., of compromises of antagonism between conservatism and liberalism in any matter, political, social, or intellectual." It is possible that usages, customs, &c., might be established without any such "antagonisms" and "compromises" as are contemplated above. But the lapse of time and the changing of circumstances sooner or later make usages, customs, &c., so established, subject to "antagonism" by reason of their becoming injurious or useless, wholly or in some respect or other. For instance, the *parda*

(Continued on p. 22).

record of continuous antagonism between inertia and motion, between the tendency to preserve and the tendency to change any matter—or, in other words, a record of the conflict, whether mild or strong, between conservatism and liberalism—in the fields of Politics, Society and Intellect, resulting or culminating in conglomerations, complexes—and often in systems—of habits, usages, customs, beliefs, laws, treaties, engagements and conventions, some jointly and others severally modified, renewed, and superseded in some manner or other. These habits, usages, &c. may be classed briefly as follows: using for brevity's sake, the sign, *v.*, (versus) to represent "antagonism" or "conflict" or "opposed to;" the sign, =, to represent "conciliation," "compromise," or "adjustment of difference;" and, →, (arrow) to represent "resulting in," "giving rise to" conciliations and compromises and give-and-take adjustments:—

I. *Political Culture.*

(i) *In re Government.*

The State *v.* the Subject.

= Conciliation and Compromises: Progress of *Constitutional Culture.*

→ Charters, Constitutional Usages, Conventions &c.

(ii) *In re Laws.*

The Will *v.* the Rule.

= Sanctioned legislation: Progress of *Legal Culture* by give-and-take adjustments.

→ Orders in Council, Regulations and Laws.

(iii) *In re International Relations.*

Imperialism *v.* Nationalism.

= Progress of *National Culture* by conciliations and compromises.

→ Commitments, Engagements, Treaties and Conventions.

II. *Social Culture.*

(i) *In re Life.*

Landlord *v.* Tenant.

= Compromises or conciliations: Progress of *Agriculture.*

→ Agricultural habits, usages, customs and laws.

(Continued from p. 21).

custom (i.e., the seclusion of women) in India might have been established without opposition of any kind when the country was infested with Pindaris, Thugs, and other marauders, and when powerful and wicked chiefs carried away beautiful women by force. This custom has now become useless, if not injurious, when person, property, and reputation are quite safe from molestation. There is therefore "antagonism" between liberalism and conservatism, between those who wish to change the custom and those who wish to retain it. A compromise has been effected in some places—and is in course of time being effected in other places—viz., that women of the higher classes (as in Bombay) may go out without covering their faces with a *burqā* or veil, but not to dinners, dances, &c., as among English people. This is the kind of "compromise" adumbrated in the text.

(ii) *In re Labour.*Capital *v.* Labour.=Compromises or conciliations : Progress of *Economic Culture.*

→ Economic habits, usages, customs and laws.

(iii) *In re Sexes.*Man *v.* Woman.=Compromises, adjustments : Progress of *Culture as between Man and Woman.*

→ Parental, marital and fiduciary habits, usages, customs, laws &c.

III. *Intellectual Culture.*(i) *In re Science.*Intuition *v.* Experience.=Assimilation of facts and adjustment of causes and effects : Progress of *Scientific Culture.*

→ Speculations, hypotheses, theories, generalisations and uniformities.

(ii) *In re Literature.*Revelation *v.* Reason.=Conciliations and compromises adjustments : Progress of *Literary Culture.*

→ Schools of thought, “-isms,” types, styles, standards &c.

(iii) *In re Religion.*Authority *v.* Conscience.=Explanations, conciliations and compromises : Progress of *Religious Culture.*

→ Churches, Sects, Denominations &c.

It will be observed that culture is not confined to habits, usages and customs, but extends to laws and constitutions on the one hand and treaties and theories on the other.

For instances and illustrations of the above classification of culture I must refer the reader to an excellent book by my valued friend and sometime colleague, Mr. ‘Abdullā Yūsuf ‘Alī, C.B.E., *Cultural History of India during the British Period.* It was moreover H. G. Wells’ grand *Outline of History* that gave me ideas for a definition and a classification of culture. To sum up : Most usages, customs, theories, beliefs &c. sooner or later become unsuitable and useless if not injurious too. They outlive their time and circumstances. Antagonism arises between motion and rest, between those who insist on change and those who resist change, necessitating conciliation, compromise, or adjustment, leading to modifica-

tions and supersessions of habits, usages &c. This process is called *culture*. It is a process like *cultivation*. But a heap of any particular kind of produce of cultivation, say a heap of a peculiar kind of rice, wheat, dal, roots or fruits, is *not* generally called "cultivation." Yet a group of products of culture such as a number of usages, customs, beliefs &c. peculiar to a class or community is generally called the culture of that class or community. Culture is thus the name of a *process* transferred to its *products* also, such as customs and beliefs obtaining in a particular community. Histories of Culture are as a rule records of both the process and the products of culture, treated as if they were one and the same. It is often difficult to separate the products of culture from the process of culture, hence the confusion. Almost all cultural laws, regulations convention and treaties are, as a rule, like so many gabled roofs in which rafters of habits, usages and customs are placed in seeming opposition but are really supporting one another, in order to furnish mankind with sheltering *Institutions* against the bombs of calamities.

AHMED HUSSAIN
AMIN JUNG.

SOME ASPECTS OF BAHMANĪ CULTURE

THE empire of the Bahmanīs, along with its subordinate states, may be regarded as the connecting link between two great centripetal tendencies, that of the Khiljīs and Tughluqs and that of the Mughals. It was the direct result of the great expansion which the sultanate of Delhi had attained in the time of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī, Quṭbu'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh Khiljī, and Muḥammad bin Tughluq, by the conquest not only of the plateau of the Deccan but even of the far South. Muḥammad bin Tughluq tried to make a sort of compromise between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies by the establishment of two capitals, one the traditional capital at Delhi and another, the central capital, at Daulatābād,¹ but this proved to be unworkable, and with the abandonment of Daulatābād the centrifugal tendencies again became strong, ending in the disruption of the empire even in the time of its greatest ruler, Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and the setting up of the new kingdom of the Deccan.

The history of the Bahmanī dynasty may be divided into two distinct epochs, indicated respectively by the Gulbarga and the Bīdar periods. There is a great difference in the character of the two epochs, and what happened in 1433 was not merely a change of capital from one town to another but a change in the very basis of government. The period during which Gulbarga, which soon took the place of Daulatābād, was the capital of the new state and the centre of the new culture, was entirely formative in character, and the ruler had not only to make his position secure from within but to fight external enemies as well. The ambition of the first Bahmanī, 'Alā'ud-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, knew no bounds, for he wished not only to suppress the insurrections which were instigated mostly by the agents of the sultān of Delhi but even to conquer the whole

1. "Second capital at Daulatābād"—For this topic see Mahdi Ḥusain, *Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, London, 1938, pp. 108 ff.; Browne, *Some Phases of the Character and Policy of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, June 1918, p. 12; *Maṭlūbu't-Ṭālibīn*, India Office MSS. 653, quoted by Mahdi Ḥusain, pp. 113, 114; 'Abdu'l-tāh el Makkī: *Zafaru'l Wālih*, III, 863.

of the erstwhile Tughluq dominions.¹ The second of the line, Muḥammad I,² further strengthened the kingdom by his administrative innovations, while Mujāhid³ reformed the army especially by the greater use which he made of the new weapon, gunpowder, which had made its way into the Bahmanī army as early as his father Muḥammad I's reign."⁴ Mujāhid was murdered by his uncle Dāwūd,⁵ but the latter did not live long and was succeeded by Muḥammad II (who is wrongly called Maḥmūd I by Firishṭa),⁶ and this king's reign is marked by the great impetus he

1. 'Alā'ud-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh ascended the throne according to the contemporary 'Iṣāmī (*Futūḥ Salāṭīn*, ed. Mahdi Ḥusain, Agra, 1938, p. 525), followed by Firishṭa, *Gulshān-i-Ibrāhīmī*, on Friday, 24-6-748 H. With this evidence *Burhān-i-Ma'āṣir*'s 8-8-748 H., cannot be credited. The date of the accession of his successor as given by *Bur.*, viz., 758 H. is also obviously wrong; the only other date that we have is that given by *Fir.*, i.e., 1-3-759 H. Bahman Shāh, therefore, reigned for 10 years 8 months and 5 days, which is less by about 4 months than the 11 years 2 months and 7 days given by *Bur.*, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* as the duration of his reign. This, however, cannot be helped since *Bur.* is not exact as to the date of his accession and is obviously inaccurate about the date of the accession of his successor, while *Ṭab.*, does not give the date either of his or his successor's accession. We may, therefore, take it that 'Alā'ud-dīn Bahman Shāh ascended the throne on 24-4-748/3-8-1347 and died on 1-3-759/11-2-1358.

2. Muḥammad I ascended the throne on 1-3-759/11-2-1358. He reigned according to *Bur.*, for 17 years or 18 years 7 months (*Ṭab.*, is obviously wrong with its 13 years). His successor ascended the throne according to *Fir.*, on 19-10-776/23-3-1375. He therefore reigned for 17 years 7 months and 8 days, which comes midway between *Burhān*'s two periods.

3. Mujāhid—For the date of accession and death of this king see Venkataramanayya, *Mujāhid Shāh Bahmanī*, Indian History Congress, Hyderabad Session, where he rightly considers Firishṭa's dates, i.e., 19-10-776/23-3-1375—17-12-779/15-4-1378 to be correct.

4. *Gunpowder in India*—We find a regular department of "Ātiṣhbārī" as early as 767/1366, when 300 gun-carriages were employed in the siege of Adōnī by Muḥammad I; *Fir.*, I, 290. This was many decades before 'Abdu'r-Razzāq's mention of pyrotechny at Vijayanagar, and nearly forty years before the Chinaman Mahaun saw firearms in Bengal in 1406; see Gode, *Use of Guns and Gunpowder in India*, Denison Ross Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1939, p. 117 ff.

5. Dāwūd—Only *Fir.*, gives the date of his accession, 17-12-799/15-4-1378. *Fir.*, says that he reigned for one month and five days while *Ṭab.*, has one month and three days. This would fix the date of his death as 22-1-780 H. or 24-1-780 H. We know that Dāwūd was murdered while offering his Friday prayers and 22-1-780/21-5-1378 was a Friday, so we can consider that date to be the end of his reign.

6. The genealogy and even the name of Muḥammad II is wrongly given by *Fir.*, as Maḥmūd s/o 'Alā'ud-dīn Bahman Shāh. Muḥammad was really a grandson and not a son of the first Bahmanī. For a discussion see Sherwānī, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazīr*, pp. 56-57. Accession date, as above, 22-1-780/21-5-1378. Reigned according to *Fir.*, for 19 years 9 months and 20 days and according to *Ṭab.*, 19 years 9 months and 24 days. But both *Fir.*, and *Ṭab.*, are definite that the next king Ghiyāthu'd-dīn ascended the throne on 21-7-799 H. or 7-7-799 H., and *Ṭab.*, has that he reigned for 1 month and 20 days, which makes his deposition to be in Ramaḍān 799 H., while the next incumbent's succession date, as given by *Fir.*, *Bur.*, and *Ṭab.*, happens to be the 17th Ramaḍān 799, one of the few definitely fixed dates in the whole genealogy. We may therefore infer the following:

Muḥammad II .. 22-1-788/21-5-1378—21-7-799/20-4-1397;

Ghiyāthu'd-dīn .. 21-7-799/20-4-1397—17-9-799/14-6-1397;

Shamsu'd-dīn Dāwūd II acc. 17-9-799/14-6-1397.

Shamsu'd-dīn Dāwūd II reigned for 5 years and 7 months both according to *Fir.*, and *Bur.* So we may put his successor Firōz's accession as being on 24-2-800 H., which corresponds with *Bur.*'s "Ṣafar 800," and definitely with *Ṭab.*'s 24-2-800/17-11-1397.

gave to the spread of learning in the kingdom and the early contact with the savants of countries bordering on India. Muḥammad's is a peaceful reign, during which the Deccan was blessed by contentment and the spread of knowledge and culture. The period following Muḥammad, however, proved to be one of the darkest in the annals of the Deccan, for his three successors, Ghiyāthu'd-dīn, Shamsu'd-dīn and Firōz,¹ were either murdered or deposed, and it was perhaps in order to change the whole bloodthirsty atmosphere thus prevalent in the court at Gulbarga that Aḥmad I² changed his capital to the fertile and fruitbearing Bīdar, which even now boasts one of the finest climates in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.

Passing over to the Bīdar period, we immediately see how, except for the perennial conflict between the descendants of the colonists from Delhi and Upper India and the new immigrants from Persia and overseas the conflict, that is to say, between the so-called "Deccanīs" and the "Āfāqīs," the Old-Comers and the New-Comers,³ there is an orderly government and orderly succession to the throne. Aḥmad is succeeded by his son 'Alā'ud-dīn Aḥmad II, who in turn gives place to the much maligned Humāyūn, followed by Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad III, and Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad III.⁴ Except for a series of insurrections by a pretender to the throne in the time of Humāyūn, which he put down first with the new policy of compromise and then with a firm hand, the succession to the throne was as peaceful as possible and was notably different

1. Firōz acceded to the throne on 24-2-800/17-11-1397 and reigned according to *Tab.* for 25 years 7 months and 11 days, which takes us to 4-10-825 H. and which nearly corresponds with 5-10-825/22-9-1421 on which *Fir.*, *Bur.*, and *Tab.* are all agreed as being the date of his successor's accession.

2. Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad I ascended the throne on 5-10-825/22-9-1421 and reigned up to 28-7-837/3-3-1434 which is less than *Tab.*'s date, 20-7-837 H., by only 8 days and may be regarded as approximately correct. The change of the capital to Bīdar was effected in 833/1430 according to *Fir.*, I, 324, but an inscription recently found on clearing the debris of the Solha Kḥambh Mosque in the Bīdar Fort says that the mosque was built in 827/1424 by the king's favourite son, Prince Muḥammad, after whom Bīdar was renamed Muḥammadābād, see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32, p. 27.

3. For the history of this question see *Maḥmūd Gāwān*, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-71.

4. 'Alā'ud-dīn Aḥmad II, Humāyūn, Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad III, Muḥammad III—Counting backwards we find with plausible certainty that Muḥammad III died in the first week of Ṣafar 887/March 1482 (1st according to *Fir.*, and 5th according to *Bur.*) while both *Fir.* and *Bur.* are agreed that he ascended the throne on 13-11-867/31-7-1463. The date of accession of his predecessor Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad III is given by *Fir.* as 28-11-865/7-9-1461, and by *Bur.* just one day earlier, which would make his reign extend to 1 year 11 months and 15 or 16 days. This may be said to correspond to *Bur.*'s estimate of 2 years 10 months and 14 days, while *Fir.*'s 2 months 1 day and *Tab.*'s 11 months and 2 days are obvious mistakes.

Now in footnote 2 we have seen that Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad I reigned up to 28-7-837/3-3-1434. His son 'Alā'ud-dīn Aḥmad II was on the throne for 23 years 9 months and 2 days according to *Fir.*, and 23 years 9 months according to *Tab.* He must therefore have died on 28th or 30th Rabi' II (not Jamādi II as given by *Bur.*), 862 H. corresponding to 7-3-1457. Taking this date to be that of Humāyūn's successor Aḥmad III's accession, we find that Humāyūn must have reigned 3 years 6 months and 28 days, which comes very near the duration of his reign as given by *Fir.* and 3 years 6 months and 5 days as given by

(Continued on p. 28).

from the murderous policy of the pretenders and successors to the throne in the case of the Gulbarga Bahmanis.

There is one other difference between the Gulbarga and the Bidar sultanates. The rule of the earlier Bahmanis was marked by the great learning of some of the rulers themselves, and the sultāns at Gulbarga made their mark in the world of oriental knowledge. This is perhaps not so in the case of most of the Bidar sultāns who were all matter-of-fact persons with a strong inclination towards the sword rather than towards the pen. The Bidar sultanate was distinguished by the presence of a great administrator, Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī, who was the creator of Bahmanī administration and who lived through five reigns, dying at the advanced age of 107, one day after the death of Muḥammad II, on April 20th, 1397. The colleague of 'Alā'ud-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the father-in-law of Muḥammad I, and the prime-minister of three other sultāns, Ghōrī not only steered the ship of state through smooth as well as rough waters but actually laid down the principles of sound government for the guidance of his sovereign in his brochure, the *Naṣā'ihū'l-Mulūk*. This short but illuminating pamphlet treats, among other things, of the qualities necessary in a good ruler, and in his prime-minister and other ministers, of the worth of counsel in political matters of the duties of civil and military officers, and of general principles of administration.¹

The Bidar period was, however, not so blessed by ministers of outstanding merit till the advent of Maḥmūd Gāwān on the political stage. The "ifs" of history are always interesting though perhaps they lead us nowhere, and it is well worth pondering whether the Bahmanī kingdom would have lasted even so long as it did if the great personalities of Humāyūn's widow, Maḥdūma-i-Jahān and that of Maḥmūd Gāwān had not propped it up with all their integrity, far-sightedness and influence.

On the establishment of the new dynasty, the Deccan was cut off from the North by the iron wall of political independence, and it was almost a foregone conclusion that it should get its inspiration direct from

(Continued from p. 27)

Tab. Bur.'s 6 months and 5 days is obviously a mistake for 3 years 6 months and 5 days. We come to the following conclusions :—

Chronology of the earlier Bidar Sultāns up to Muḥammad III.

'Alā'ud-dīn Aḥmad II	..28-7-837/3-3-1434—29-4-862/7-3-1457;
Humāyūn	..29-4-862/7-3-1457—28-11-865/7-9-1461;
Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad III	..28-11-865/7-9-1461. 13-11-867/31-7-1463;
Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad III.	..13-11-867/31-7-1463—5-2-887/27-3-1482.

1. Unfortunately I have only been able to lay my hand on a translation of the *Naṣā'ih*, one by 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār Khān of Malkāpūr included in his *Tadhkirā Ṣalāṭin-i-Dakan*, pp. 75-82, who says that his original Persian copy was lost in the floods of the Mūsī river of Hyderabad, and although it is difficult to judge the genuineness of the authorship from a mere translation, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we may well regard the work as coming from the pen of Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī, to whom it has been ascribed.

Persia and overseas. It must be pointed out here that the Persia of the 14th or 15th century was the centre of a great Aryo-Semitic culture, which was then taking the place of the purely Semitic civilisation once the basis of the caliphate. For it was during these centuries that decentralisation had set in the 'Abbasid caliphate, and Persian and Turkish dynasties like the Buwaihids, the Ḥamdānids, the Ghaznavids and the Seljūqids were establishing their sway in the far-flung corners of the realm of Baghdād and by turns completely overpowering its effete edifice. It was these dynasties that became great centres of culture, and the cultural influence which these centres exercised on the Deccan was considerable.

In spite of this, those who set up the Bahmanī kingdom originally came from the North, and it was only natural that they should have brought great traditions along with them in the matter of political institutions, nomenclature of officials, coinage, and even architecture. The influence of the North is evidenced by some of the royal tombs at Gulbarga, specially the tombs of the first two Bahmanī sultāns. 'Alā'ud-dīn's tomb is a very simple, modest structure, the mortuary chamber being 40½ feet square built on a platform about 4 ft. in height. The dome is flat shaped in the traditional Tughluq style, while the walls have a definite slope towards the base. The finials and the bouquets on the four corners are reminiscent of the contemporary Delhi tradition, while the doorways are wider at their base than near the springers, suggesting how the architect has counteracted his thrust of the dome. Muḥammad I's tomb is built more or less in the same style but is even smaller than his father's, measuring only 26 feet square.¹

The first sultān of the Deccan, 'Alā'ud-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, was a man of iron will, yet it is remarkable that he never showed the slightest tinge of cruelty in his dealings with the partisans of the Tughluq faction or with the Hindu rāyas and muqaddams against whom he had to struggle. He went one step forward and abolished the levy of the Jizyah, a tax really meant for the protection of the non-Muslims but which had become an eye-sore to the Hindu subjects of the sultān.² The Hindu chiefs of the Deccan were so much reconciled that when the king decided to marry his son Muḥammad to Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī's daughter in June 1351, the rāyas of Kaulās, Shakarkhorā and Mudgal were invited as his honoured guests.³

We are not told of the repast that was provided to the royal guests, Hindu and Muslim, who gathered together on that great occasion, but fortunately we have the menu of another royal banquet provided by the Wazīr Khwāja-i-Jahān at Gulbarga on the occasion of the progress of the

1. Report of Hyderabad Archæological Department, 1925-26, pp. 1 and 2.

2. Sherwānī, *Establishment of the Bahmanī Kingdom*, Journal of Indian History, December 1941. Jizyah; 'Abdu'l-Jabbār, *op. cit.*, 121, quoting *Mulhiqāt-i Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* by 'Ainu'd-dīn Bijāpurī, a contemporary of the first Bahmanī sultān.

3. *Fir.*, I, 278.

sultān to quell a rebellion at Sāgar. It was exactly an eighth part of the day when the trumpeters announced that the banquet was ready. Silk tapestries were spread for table-cloths and bread was distributed on them evenly. Then came roasts of various kinds, curry puffs, cooked vegetables, raw celery and salad, along with big and small game as well as curries in gravy, while "wet and dry sweets" and ḥalvās were provided to finish with. The meal ended with the distribution of betel leaves and the presentation of the nobles and leaders of the army to the royal guests.¹

The reign of Muḥammad Shāh I was a period of what may be called the organising and centralising of the kingdom, and the hand of the sultān may be seen in military as well as civil reforms, the division of the kingdom into provinces, and the renaming of the great officer of state. The first Bahmanī had, in a way, risen from the ranks, and in order to keep his former equals in their proper places it was necessary to hedge round the sultān with a certain amount of dignity and prestige. Muḥammad was the man for this, and he was fully prepared to take advantage of the beautiful ebony throne presented to him by the rāya of Tilangānā. This Takht-i Firōzā or Turquoise Throne measured 9 × 6 ft., and was inlaid with priceless jewels to such an extent that the original black ebony was covered with jewels from end to end. It was called turquoise Throne because originally it was covered with enamel of a turquoise colour.² Muḥammad Shāh II used to hold a durbar on all week-days except Fridays in the Hall of Public Audience in the Gulbarga Fort. Carpets of silk of the highest value were spread and shāmiānās of cloth of gold erected in front of the hall. The king came and took his seat on the throne when the first eighth of the day had expired, and remained there till the call to midday prayers at about 1 p.m. The durbar was open to all and sundry without regard to the caste, creed, or religion of the darbārīs or suppliants.³ This throne became the chief emblem of royalty and remained in the dynasty till the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh on the eve of the break-up of the empire, and he, out of sheer penury, had it broken up for the upkeep of the court!⁴

The Great Mosque in the Gulbarga Fort testifies to the taste of the Second Bahmanī, during the latter part of whose reign it was erected.⁵ As Mr. Yazdānī says, there is a cloister of wide-spanned arches which extends on three sides and presents interminable vistas on wide-spanned arches. Adjoining the cloisters are seven avenues of painted arches of exquisite proportions all leading to the main hall measuring 45 ft. each way. The avenues are divided north to south into twelve aisles by insertions of masonry columns which produce a labyrinthine effect in the

1. 'Iṣāmī, p. 549.

2. Fir., I, 288.

3. Fir., I, 282.

4. Maḥmūd succeeded Muḥammad III on 5-2-887/27-3-1482 and reigned till 4-12-924/7-12-1518.

5. Fir., I, 288.

interior of the building.¹ We may here point out that, unlike the usual Indian mosque, the whole building, occupying an area of 38,016 sq.ft., is entirely covered and is without any outside court-yard whatsoever. It is a unique building and testifies to the taste of the Second Bahmanī. There is no doubt that this innovation was due to the influx of foreign architects, especially Turkish, in whose homeland practically the whole area of the mosque is almost invariably covered.

In spite of these innovations the Tughluq tradition persisted in the famous Haft Gumbad or Seven Domes, as the tombs of the remaining Gulbarga sultāns are called, in the single domes, the bouquets on the top of four small minarets which are built over the angles of the square roofs, and even in the sloping walls, which had disappeared in the earlier Great Mosque but which reappear in the Shāh Bazār Mosque. The arch-ways of these tombs remind one of the arch-way of the 'Alā'i Darwāzā at Delhi, built half a century earlier by 'Alā'ud-dīn Khiljī. It is noticeable how the purely Hindu hand appears for the first time in the prayer-niche in the western wall of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn's tomb, an influence which freely recurs in the tomb of Fīrōz Shāh, in which the jambs on the door-ways, the brackets, the chhajja, the double rows of arches, and the lotus leaves on the base of the dome remind one of the freedom given to the Hindu artisan which becomes so prominent in the architecture of the successive states, especially Bijāpūr and Gōlconda. Moreover in Fīrōz's tomb the slope in the walls completely disappears.²

Muḥammad Shāh's successor, Mujāhid, was well-versed in the Turkish and Persian languages as well as in the arts of war, and excelled in archery and wrestling.³ In his days the art of war was being revolutionized by the development of artillery, and Ṣafdar Khān Sistānī was appointed special officer in charge of the "fire rain" and was ordered to keep under his command special gun-carriages in the campaign against Vijayanagar. Firīšta says that the cannon and fire-arms were used for the first time in the siege of Adōnī, where Muqarrab Khān commanded all "Levantine and the Franks" (روميان و فرنگيان) who were in direct charge of the artillery, and this is the first time when we are told of the presence of Europeans in India. We hear of thirty thousand gunners and musketeers taking part in the battle, and two Bahmanī commanders, 'Isā Khān and Mūsā Khān, were killed by musket shot.⁴

Mujāhid and Dāwūd were both murdered, and the latter was succeeded by the peace-loving Muḥammad Shāh II who has been dubbed the 'pioneer of the mediæval culture of the Deccan.'⁵ His reign of nearly

1. Yazdani, *The Great Mosque of Gulbarga*, Islamic Culture, 1928.

2. Haft Gumbad—Report of Hyderabad Arch. Dept., 1925-26, pp. 5-7; Shāh Bazar Mosque, p. 3.

3. Fir., I, 296.

4. *Ibid.*, 290.

5. Siddiqi, A.M. : *Muḥammad Shāh II, the Pioneer of Mediæval Culture of the Deccan*, Ind. Hist. Cong., Hyderabad, 1941.

twenty years was marked by almost complete peace in the Deccan, and even the Vijayanagar border was quiet. Muḥammad was well-versed in Persian and Arabic and was a good calligraphist and a poet of some eminence, some of his lines being quoted by Firīṣhta. He married only once, and was always happy to sit with the learned, some of whom he called from Persia and Arabia to the Deccan.¹ On his behalf Mīr Faḍlu'l-lāh Injū, the great savant of his time, summoned Khwājā Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz and sent him a considerable amount of money to defray his travelling and other expenses. Muḥammad Shāh had sent a special boat to fetch him to India, but as luck would have it, the sea began to heave when Ḥāfiẓ was entering the boat and he was so over-awed that he disembarked at once and composed the following tell-tale lines :

Not all the sum of earthly happiness
 Is worth the bowed head of a moment's pain,
 And if I sell for wine my dervish dress
 Worth more than what I sell is what I gain.
 Full easy seemed the sorrow of the sea
 Lightened by hope of gain, hope flew too fast.
 A hundred pearls were poor indemnity,
 Not worth the blast.

The king was so impressed by the whole episode that he sent 1,000 golden tankas to the Khwājā as a recompense.²

Muḥammad used to wear costly dress when he was a prince but when he ascended the throne he was content to wear a simple garment, as he said that he was only a trustee appointed by God to serve his subjects. When a severe famine attacked the state, he purchased grain in the markets of Malwa and Gujrat in return for 10,000 head of cattle, and sold it cheaply in the bazars of the Deccan. He was the first sultān of the Deccan to appoint teachers for imparting education to the children in large towns such as Gulbarga, Bīdar, Qandhār, Junair, Chaul and Dābul, and supplemented this by the grant of scholarships and emoluments to scholars to encourage the study of sacred texts.³

With Muḥammad's death began the short interregnum which lasted seven months, ending in the accession of Firōz to the throne. Both Firōz and his successors were pupils of Mīr Faḍlu'l-lāh Injū who was later appointed Ṣadr Jahān, and the new king was well-versed in Qur'ānic studies, fiqh, natural and moral sciences, mathematics and geometry. Firōz himself lectured thrice a week to students on the standard texts of logic, rhetoric, the exegesis of the Qur'ān, and Ṣūfic precepts. He was also a poet of some mark, and had Urūjī and Firōzī as his poetic names.

1. *Fir.*, I, 301, 302.

2. Translation by Miss G. Bell, *Poems of Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz*, quoted by Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1265-1502. Ḥāfiẓ died in 791/1389.

3. *Fir.*, I, 302.

Naturally such a sultān would be a great patron of learning and he sent ships "in all directions" every year not only for trading purposes but also to bring scholars and the greatest men to the Deccan.¹ Thus was unconsciously laid the great problem of the "New-Comers" and the "Old-Comers," which finally caused the disruption of the sultanate itself. But naturally Fīrōz had no intention of creating such an incurable wound, and what he wanted, as he said, was to get the most experienced men from far and near for the service of the kingdom. He used to say that he was a king when actually on the throne, but was like an ordinary man otherwise, and he acted according to this novel yet correct idea in being absolutely free with learned men, poets and story-tellers part of the evening, on the solitary condition that no conversation on politics would be allowed in these convivial meetings.² Although he led a number of campaigns against Vijayanagar he was perhaps inclined towards a truce with the Hindu states, as is evidenced by his leaving Khērlā in Narsingh's possession and marrying into the family of the rāya of Vijayanagar, a marriage which was celebrated with great pomp in the capital of the Hindu empire, and again by marrying his son Ḥasan Khān to the famous beauty of the Deccan, Parthāl of Mudgal.

It was in the reign of the Fīrōz's successor Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad I, that the capital was moved from Gulbarga to Bīdar and the Great Fort built which is still the glory of the Deccan, and the excavations of which have brought to light some of the most wonderful buildings the Deccan possesses. After passing through the Sharza Darwāzā built by Aurangzīb nearly two hundred and fifty years later, we pass through another gateway and then come to the Gumbad Darwāzā with its stilted arch, which was the favourite of the Bahmanīs. We wander through the vast enclosure with massive walls, the most partly dug out of solid rock, to Rangīn Maḥal, built almost entirely in the traditional Hindū fashion, the Solha Khamb Masjid, the recently discovered inscription of which shows that it was built in 1424, the Dīwan-i-Ām and the Dīwān-i Khāṣ, and finally the Takht Maḥal and the Baths with beautiful tile decorations and the Persian emblem of the Lion and the Rising Sun in bold glazed tiles on the top of the stilt.³ It was this part of the palace which the poet Atharī, author of the *Bahman Nāma*, praised in his now famous lines:—

'What grandeur ! What strength ! that the very sky appears but the top of the foundation of the edifice ;

And even this comparison is improper, for we must remember that we have in our mind the palace of the king of the world, Aḥmad Bahman Shāh.⁴

1. *Fir.*, I, 306-308.

2. *Fir.*, I, 306.

3. Reports of *Hyderabad Arch. Dept.*, 1928-29, 1929-30, 1930-31, 1931-33, 1933-34, 1934-35.

4. Atharī, 734/1383—866/1462, author of *Bahman Nāma*, which exists no more as a separate work but which is utilised freely by *Fir.* See *Fir.*, I, 325, 326.

The stiling of the arches, of which the Bahmanīs were so fond, shows considerable Persian influence, but this is not unmixed with Hindu art which abounds in the fort in the carvings of marginal borders and many other appliances. Here it may be pointed out that the stilted Bahmanī arch is seen to advantage in many buildings in Vijayanagar, the greatest enemy of the Bahmanīs, which was, however, much taken by the architectural *motif* at Bīdar—*e.g.*, the gateway on the Talarigattu road, domed gateway on the east of Hampi, the watch-towers of the Zenāna Enclosures, the Elephant Stables, the watch-tower in the Danāik's enclosure and many other ruins of Hampi.¹

We are now nearing the period which was enriched by the presence of Maḥmūd Gāwān, the great Bahmanī Wazīr, and with him the culture of the Deccan reached its apex. Maḥmūd Gāwān arrived at Bīdar in the reign of Aḥmad I's son 'Alā'ud-dīn Aḥmad II at the ripe age of 42 and lived at Bīdar throughout the reigns of Humāyūn, unjustly surnamed the Cruel, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad III, and Muḥammad III. He was a great upholder of culture and his famous Madrasah at Bīdar is the most prominent monument of the city. It is visible for miles around, and its tower is definitely the loftiest tower in the town. The Madrasah was built in 1472, nine years before the martyrdom of its founder, and is a permanent symbol of the Khwājā's concern for the public welfare, while he himself was nowhere more at home than in its libraries and lecture-halls. The verse of the Qur'ān :

“ Peace be on you that are good,
So enter it for ever,”

which still adorns the main gate, beckoned every one to come and partake of the intellectual food provided there. The building was damaged by an explosion during the reign of Aurangzib in 1696 and more than a quarter of it was destroyed, but in spite of this damage it is still the glory of the Deccan and an example of the “beautiful Persian architecture in glazed tile developed under the later Mongols.” It is said that the present most acceptable to the Khwājā was that of books, which he invariably presented to the library of this great college.²

Maḥmūd Gāwān was a writer of no mean merit, and the collection of his letters named the *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā* has the distinction of being the earliest existing Persian work compiled in the Deccan. The 145 letters included in the work are addressed to kings, queens, princes, princesses, ministers, men of learning, men of religion, men of literature and others, and throw a powerful light on the man and his contemporaries. To many men of learning he extends his invitation to come to Bīdar and lecture before the pupils of his foundation. Among such was the great philosopher and writer Khwājā Jalālu'd-dīn Dawānī, who dedicated to the

1. Illustrations in A.H. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, Delhi, 1933.

2. The Madrasah at Bīdar, see Maḥmūd Gāwān, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-145. The quotation is from Goetz : *Indo-Muslim Architecture in its Islamic setting*. Journal of the University of Bombay, January 1940.

Wazir his book the *Shawākilu'l-Hūr*, a commentary on Shaikh Shihābuddīn Suhurwardi's *Hayākilu'n-Nūr*. We have eight letters addressed to Maulānā Nūru'd-dīn Jāmī, "the acknowledged leader of the learned of the epoch," in which, among other things, the Khawājā invites the Maulānā to come to Bīdar.¹ On the other hand Jāmī reciprocates the honour done to him by a couple of odes, one in Persian and the other in Arabic in which he lavishes upon the Wazir unbounded praises and the highest honour, and expresses the wish that the "shadow of the Khawājā-i Jahān may continue on his forehead." The Khawājā is likewise extolled by 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, the famous ambassador of the sultān of Hirāt to the court of Vijayanagar, who includes him among the world-famous alumni of Gilan, and by Sakhāwī, who regards him as one of the luminaries of the 9th century.²

Maḥmūd Gāwān was like the last and strong flicker of life before the death-pangs of the Bahmanī kingdom, which set in immediately after his death. With the virtual disappearance of the Bahmanī state and its disruption into five successive states the Bahmanī culture also came to an end, giving place to the three chief composite cultures of Aḥmadnagar, Bijāpūr and Golconda.

H. K. SHERWANI.

1. See Sherwani : *Riyāḍu'l-Insha* as the source book of Deccan History, Indian Historical Records Commission, Baroda, 1941, p. 170. Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn Suhurwardi was the ancestor of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar : See Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān *Nizāmu'l Mulk Aṣaf Jah I*, 1936. . . . *

2. See *Proceedings of the Hyderabad Archaeological and Historical Society*, 1st meeting, 10-8-1941.

SOME REMARKS ON THE DRESS OF THE 'ABBĀSID CALIPHS IN EGYPT

THE 'Abbāsīd caliphs in Egypt, on the whole, lived in the shadow of the Mamlūk sultāns¹ and attracted neither the attention of those mediæval Oriental artists who depicted court scenes,² nor that of the European painters who managed to sketch some of the official receptions.³ They were too highly placed to serve as models for illustrations of the books dealing with military exercises (*furūsiyya*),⁴ nor was there any reason to show them and their court when illuminating the texts of those books which used to be most illustrated in the Mamlūk realm, *viz.*, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the *Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī*, and al-Jazarī's famous technical handbook on automata.⁵ We are thus deprived of any Oriental or Occidental representation of their costumes and have to visualise them through the mist of literary sources only.

1. Besides the fact that Mamlūk sultāns were powerful enough to appoint or dismiss caliphs at will, and often did so, the caliph sometimes appeared, as Suyūfī puts it, as if he were merely an amir in the sultān's service (*Ta'riḫ ul-Khulafā*, Cairo, 1305, p. 164, l. 17 f.). In 726 A.H., during Ibn-Battūṭa's visit to Mecca, several contemporary rulers were mentioned in the *ḫuṭba*, first among them being the Egyptian sultān Muḥammad b. Qalāūn, but there is no mention of any caliph (ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, I, p. 378).

2. To quote only two extremes : cf. such miniatures as the frontispiece of the Viennese Ḥarīrī (A.F. 9) or Pseudo-Galen (A.F. 10) reproduced by Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pls. 43 and 31 resp. or those of Master Osman, first published by Tahsin Oz, 'Hünernamé. Tome I' (in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, XVIII, 1938, p. 167 ff., pl. XXIV).

3. I am referring to the sources of such collections of portraits as those of Paulus Jovius, Theodore de Bry, or Cesare Vecellio ; to drawings which must have circulated in the ateliers of Venice and which found their way into the paintings of Carpaccio, Mansueti, and other contemporary Venetians ; to such original painting as the so-called "Reception of Domenico Trevisano" (cf. Schéfer, 'Note sur un tableau du Louvre, naguère attribué à Gentile Bellini in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. XIV, 1895, pp. 201-204 ; Artin Pasha, *Contribution a l'étude du blason en Orient*, London, 1902, No. 90 bis, p. 120, fig. XIV ; A. J. B. Wace and Muriel Clayton, 'A tapestry at Powis Castle' in *Burlington Magazine*, August 1938, pp. 65-69), now in the Louvre Museum, at various times attributed to various masters, but probably painted by Lazzaro Bastiani.

4. Cf. Ritter, 'La Parure des Cavaliers' in *Islam*, XVIII, 1929, p. 116 ff.

5. كتاب في معرفة الحيل الهندسية .

The 'Abbāsīd caliphs in Egypt (1261-1517) continued the *Baghdād* tradition, of wearing black,¹ which remained their distinctive colour and an emblem (*shī'ār*) of their following. In accordance with their position as spiritual rather than temporal rulers they mostly wore ecclesiastical garb. The caliphs' headgear consisted of a fine round turban with a trailing end-piece (*rafraf*) at the back, about two feet long and one foot wide reaching from the top to the bottom of the turban. They wore a tight-sleeved coat (*qabā'*) over which was a tight-sleeved *kāmiliyya* (overcoat) with a vent in the middle of the back, from the hem upwards.² We have several descriptions of their clothes, mainly of those worn during their investiture³ or on ceremonial occasions. Thus, for example, the caliph al-Mustakfī-billāh watched the battle of *Shaqḥab* in the company of the sultān Muḥammad b. Qalāūn wearing a turban with a long trailing end, carrying a richly ornamented sword across the shoulder of his black dress,⁴ but for his investiture the same caliph received a black robe of honour (*khil'a*) and black head shawl (*tarḥa*).⁵ During the coronation of sultān Faraj, the caliph received a black robe of honour, and a black embroidered turban, over which was worn a black embroidered head shawl (*tarḥa*).⁶ During his first public procession on the first Ramaḍān 914, when presenting his wishes for the new month to sultān Qānṣūh al-Gḥaurī,⁷ the caliph Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil-'ala-allāh b. Ya'qūb wore an '*imāma baghdādiyya*,⁸ that is a small turban with one or two trailing ends as mentioned before. Occasionally we read that the caliph's clothes were not entirely black. Thus, e.g., at the coronation of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Abū-Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Qalāūn (22nd Muḥarram 742), the caliph

1. Hence the general expression *sawād* for the Caliphal black costume, cf., e.g., Tabarī, III, ser. p. 1012, l. 15; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 242, ll. 25, 33; idem, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziada, I, p. 477, l. 16, Suyūṭī, *op. laud.*, p. 192, l. 4, and often elsewhere; for the followers of the 'Abbāsīds in general *Musawwida*, cf. Ibn Taghribirdī, *an-Nujūm az-Zāhira*, Cairo, 1929, I, pp. 302, l. 2, 316, l. 16; cf. also Levy, 'Notes on costume from Arabic sources' in *JRAS*, 1935, p. 337.

2. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aṣḥā*, III, p. 280, ll. 5-7; Levy, *op. laud.*, p. 332.

3. Too often dismissed with curt phrases, of which the following may be considered typical examples: on al-Mu'taḍid's accession in 753 A.H.: اخلع عليه خلع الخلافة (Ibn-Taghribirdī, *an-Nujūm az-Zāhira*, ed. Popper, V, p. 133, l. 2/3); or on al-Mutawakkil's, in Jumādā, I, 791; ما جارت العادة به; اخلع البس الشريف (Ibn-ul-Furāt, *Tā'riḫh*, ed. Zurayk, IX, p. 69, l. 10 f.); or on al-Mustakfī's, in 845 A.H.: شم اخضروا شعار (Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, p. 13, l. 20 f.); or on al-Mutawakkil's in Sha'bān 914: اخلع . . . ف . . . لبس الشعار (Ibn-Iyās, *Badā'i'uz-Zuhūr*, ed. Kahle and Mustafa, IV, p. 140, l. 15-18).

4. *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 242, l. 33.

5. Yūnīnī, Top Kapu Saray Muzesi Library, No. 2907 E, Vol. II, fo. 215v.: خلع الخلافة سوداء و طرحة سوداء.

6. Qalqashandī, *op. laud.*, III, p. 281, l. 9 f.

7. Ibn-Iyās, IV, p. 143, l. 6.

8. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī aṣ-Ṣiddīqī, *at-Tuḥfa al-Bahiyya* (MS. Copenhagen, No. 80, Cat. No. CLVIII, fol. 8v: العمامة البغدادية التي بالذبتين).

wore a green robe of honour (*khil'a*), and over his turban (of unspecified colour) a black shawl (*tarḥa*) with white embroidery.¹ Similarly, in *Dhī'l-Ḥijja* 920, the caliph riding to the right of the sultān, when the latter entered Cairo on his return from Alexandria, wore an '*imāma baghdādiyya*, a *qabā'*-coat of white wool with *revers* of green wool (*bi-muqallab šūf akhḍar*).² But there were official occasions when the caliph appeared in more modest attire. Thus, when homage was paid to the caliph al-Musta'in-billāh in Damascus as sultān, his robe of honour was only a black overcoat, taken from the wardrobe of a Friday preacher of a mosque near by.³ Under the Circassian sultāns, when divested of his caliphal robe, the caliph sometimes wore the clothes of the military aristocracy of his day.⁴ In 857 A.H., for instance, on the coronation of 'Uthmān b. Jaqmaq, the caliph received a satin coat with a pattern of stripes or spots (*aṭlas munammar*),⁵ a robe of honour which was offered, at the same time, to the atābak,⁶ and on various other occasions to other officials of high military rank. Similarly, in *Sha'bān* 914, the caliph Ya'qūb al-Mustamsik-billāh on his abdication was presented with a white woollen tunic (*sallārī*) lined with sable fur (*simmaur*), chosen from amongst the sultān's own clothes.⁷ On at least one occasion, the brother and the nephews of the caliph were also honoured with amirial clothes.⁸

L. A. MAYER.

1. *Qalqashandī, op. laud.*, III, p. 280 l. 13; Suyūṭī, *Husnūl-Muhādāra*, ed. 1299, II, p. 77 l. 10 ff. says that the embroidery was of gold. This wearing on very special occasions, of other colours by 'Abbāsīd caliphs is found in 'Irāq as well as, e.g., when Mā'mūn entered Baghdad on the 15th Šafar, 204, wearing green and insisting on all loyal subjects wearing the same colour (although the decree was abrogated a week later and black reinstalled), cf. Ibn Abi Tāhir Ṭaifūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, Vol. 6, p. 2, l. 5; p. 3, l. 2; p. 4, ll. 2, 11-13; Ṭabarī, III, ser., pp. 1012, l. 15, 1037, l. 7-1038, l. 8; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, VI, p. 253, ll. 9-17; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāq, 1299, I, p. 240, l. 14 f.; 'Alī Dede as-Sigetwārī al-Bosnawī, *Muhādārāt al-Awā'il*, 2nd ed. (on the title page wrongly called "first ed."), Cairo 1311, p. 128/9, and often elsewhere, cf. also Levy, *op. laud.* pp. 325, n. 10, 329, n. 9.

2. Ibn-Iyās, IV, pp. 418, l. 16 f., 420, l. 20.

3. Ibn-Taghribirdī, *op. laud.*, VI, p. 305, l. 2 f.

4. I venture to suggest that the robe of honour unfortunately merely mentioned but not described—offered by sultān Barqūq to the caliph Zakariyyā' al-Mu'tašim-billāh خلع السلطان عليه خلع غير خلع الخليفة (Ibn-Taghribirdī, *op. laud.*, V, p. 383, l. 1) belongs to the same class of military dress.

5. *Munammar* seems to me preferable to *muthammar* or *mutammar*.

6. *Sakhāwī, op. laud.*, p. 423, l. pu. The overcoat with bands of embroidered decoration, فوفاني بطرز زرکش which the caliph was offered at a subsequent ceremony, l.c., p. 424, l. 12, is perhaps too general a term to be quoted as a further instance.

7. Ibn-Iyās, IV, 140, l. 14.

8. Yūnīnī, *op. laud.*, fo. 215v. : The sultān al-Malik an-Nāšir Muḥammad b. Qalāūn offered a regular caliphal robe of honour to the new caliph al-Mustakfī-billāh but خلع على اخيه و اولاد اخيه خلع الامراء الاكابر ملوينة.

THE NATURE OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL THEORY

OF recent years, there has been a tendency on the part of Muslim writers to identify Islam with every form of modern political theory, however conflicting they may be in their nature and contents. If socialism is in vogue, they would say it is found in Islam. If Communism comes into prominence, it is passed on as Islamic. If democracy is much talked of, it is claimed that Islam stands for democracy. If nationalism is praised, they gladly condescend to think in terms of nation and nationality. If the modern secular states are under discussion, they are content with saying that the Islamic state is a theocracy. Some hold that the political system of Islam is based on dictatorship. Then there are extreme views regarding Islam. Some hold that there are no politics in Islam, others believe that Islam is all politics. If they are reminded that Islam is a religion of peace, they at once say, 'Yes, Islam teaches toleration.' The confusion arises out of a misunderstanding of the true nature of Islamic political theory, and a wrong method of interpreting Islam through the medium of western ideas, terminology and technique.

Before describing the underlying principles of Islamic political theory, it is worth-while to consider the meaning and implications of Islam. No other religion is so misrepresented and misinterpreted as Islam, yet it survives by virtue of its purity, vitality and clarity of fundamentals. 'Islam is religion', is the general view, and 'religion is politics.' Religion and politics cannot be separated in Islam. A true Muslim is shocked to think in terms of religion and politics; he only thinks in terms of Islam. Islam is not only a religion or a name for beliefs or certain forms of worship, it is, in fact, *a way of life*—a complete code for the guidance of the individual's entire life, from the cradle to the grave, and from the grave to the yonder world. The Holy Qur'an lays down the broad principles of life, the details came from the Prophet. Islam is all-embracing in its nature and affects all aspects of human activity—a transformation of the individual, of the family, of the society, of the people, of the country and of humanity; an awakening, material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual; and an attainment of the highest pinnacle of civilisation from the lowest depth of degradation. The goal of life is the realisation and perfection of

the individual self, which depends on the development of human faculties in the right direction. Guidance is necessary in every sphere of life and Islam provides the details of law—a complete code of creed and morals, a social order creative of a polity with every institution of an extensive commonwealth—all built up in the belief of One God, Omnipotent, and Omnipresent.

Islam is thus a blending of various elements into one harmonious whole ; no one aspect of it can be isolated or considered without reference to the others. In Islam, state, *millat*, *imām*, individual, and government cannot be treated separately ; again the various aspects of man's life—social, political, religious, and economic—cannot be isolated in water-tight compartments. The British can establish and run their parliamentary form of government without being Christians, but no Islamic state can be worked by non-Muslims. It is Islam that guides all the institutions of the Muslims, and no institution is independent of the others. It is, therefore, wrong to think that we can formulate an Islamic political theory or a conception of the Islamic state as an independent idea or an independent institution. It is not possible to find out where one institution began, and where it ended.

In Islam, religion is not a private affair of the individual ; Allāh and the Universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are all organic to each other. A Muslim is not required to renounce the temporal world in the interests of a world of spirit. Christianity made that mistake and the result was that the ill-adjusted national states of Europe have all along been presiding over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity. In Islam there is no church organization, no priesthood ; Islam believes in a universal polity—a politico-religious system for the entire world—based on fundamentals that were revealed to the Prophet of Islam. The structure and working of the Islamic state rested on an analysis and systematization of those fundamentals into a body of rules called the *shari'at*. The Islamic system of government, therefore, cannot be compared to western theocracy, where the Pope could modify, change, and make laws.

Again, nationalism is foreign to Muslim polity : to a Muslim the entire world is his abode, for it lies within the sovereignty of his Allāh. The national idea produces a materialistic outlook upon life and racial and territorial consciousness counteracts the humanising spirit of mankind. Islam as a world system, is a living force and frees the outlook of man from racial, geographical, and materialistic conceptions. Religious and ethical standards are of the utmost importance in the life of individuals and their organizations. It is not possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal or to reject it as a polity. It is both—an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity. In short, our religion, our social order, our polity and every other thing appertaining to our *millat*, are embodied in that one word, " Islam." Islam represents a noble ideal of a harmonious whole.

Philosophically speaking, Islamic political theory is normative in its character. It deals with a specific ethical ideal. The chief formative factor in the life-history of Muslims is the ethical ideal that Islam puts forth and a definite type of polity that it establishes, the attainment of the former is the end and the construction of the latter is the means to that end. Without organization there is no progress, material or spiritual. Islam sets forth a standard of conduct. "Enjoin right and forbid wrong."¹ Rightness or wrongness of conduct may be considered with reference to their tendency to good or to evil. Conduct is right when it is according to rule, and conduct is good when it is valuable or serviceable for some end. Thus, the supreme good is the supreme end at which we aim. Islam is a creed of service and leads its followers to seek the welfare and finally the perfection of humanity in a co-operative spirit.² The end, therefore, is the perfection of humanity. Perfection has reference to that stage of the highest well-being to which humanity may attain, and this well-being is both moral and material.³ Moral well-being consists in seeking Allāh's pleasure to the full.⁴ To seek the pleasure of Allāh is to act according to the will of Allāh. The will of Allāh is manifested in that ethical and moral code of human guidance called the *sharī'at*. In Islam both the individual and society have the same end—to obey the will of God by enforcing the law of God. Islamic political theory is concerned with the specific ethical ideal—the raising of humanity to the highest well-being both materially and morally by means of an extensive commonwealth built up on the belief in one God, whose sovereignty is supreme. It is towards this ideal that the Muslim is directed,⁵ and the rightness or wrongness of his conduct consists in its serviceableness for that end. That conduct of the Muslim is alone right which is according to law, and law here means the *sharī'at*. 'Enjoin right and forbid wrong' is a duty imposed on the Muslim, and *sharī'at* will tell him what is right (that is, what is to be enjoined) and what is wrong (that is, forbidden).

It is this ethical ideal of Islam which furnishes those basic emotions and loyalties which may gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well-knit people called the *millat*, possessing a moral consciousness of its own. When a number of individuals profess

1. "Amr-i-bil ma'ruf Nahi 'anil munkar," Qur'ān, 22 : 6. "Those who, should We establish them in the land, will keep up prayer and pay the poor rate and *enjoin good and forbid evil* ; and Allāh is the end of affairs."

2. "There is no good in most of their secret counsels except (in his) who enjoins charity or goodness or reconciliates people ; and whoever does this, seeking Allāh's pleasure, we will give him a mighty reward"—Qur'ān 5 : 17.

3. "In the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of the night and the day, there are surely signs for men of understanding ; those who remember God, standing and sitting and lying on their sides and reflect on the creation of the heavens and the earth."—Qur'ān, 3 : 189, 190.

4. "So whosoever hopes to meet his Lord, he should do *good deeds*, and not join any one in the service of his Lord."—Qur'ān 18 : 110.

5. "This Book (Qur'ān), there is no doubt of it, is a guidance to those who guard against evil."

Islam, they adhere to its principles and acquire a passion for it : they are loyal to Islam, they are loyal to their brethren-in-Islam, they are loyal to their leader-in-Islam, and firstly and lastly loyal to their Allāh. These emotions and loyalties create the solidarity which is so essential to the development and organization of a corporate life. This organized life is marked by the attainment of a moral consciousness on the part of every member and an incessant striving towards the realisation of the ideal.

Every organised life is marked by the existence of certain laws and institutions, and Islam also provides for these. Islamic life is lived according to Islamic laws and Islamic institutions, which in pursuance of the ethical ideal are essentially creative of social order and moral development. And this is the culture of Islam. Islam, unlike other systems, is not the name of a type of society, but it is capable of transforming the life of individuals professing the faith into a well-ordered and well-organized community of moral and material well-being. The life of Islam has a peculiar cultural force, and is distinguished by a complete organization and a unity of will and purpose in the *millat*. Thus, Muslim society achieves its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity under the pressing influence of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam. The structure of Muslim society, in other words, is entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by that specific ethical ideal.

Islam postulates a universal polity founded on fundamentals or the first principles revealed to the Prophet. It was the Prophet's religious experience which created a distinct social order. It was again this social order that developed into a polity with implicit legal precepts, the civic significance of which can be determined from the fact that they were revelational. The religious ideal of Islam is organically related to the social order and the social order to the Islamic polity. It is Islam which is the main source of a Muslim's life and behaviour, and which creates in him a moral consciousness and an incessant striving to attain the goal of life. Islam, as previously stated, is not a church ; it is an organised life conceived as a contractual organism, long before Rousseau thought of it, and animated by an ethical ideal which regards man as a spiritual being possessing rights and duties under a social mechanism. It is Islam that makes Muslims, saves Muslims, and lifts Muslims to a higher stage of material and moral well-being. The *millat*, which is composed of individual Muslims, is required to achieve a real collective ego in order to live, move, and have its being as a single individual.¹

The Islamic state is the state of Almighty God. The sovereignty of Allāh extends over the entire universe, the whole of humanity, and all organization. The secular states are limited to a definite territory, parti-

1. " Hold fast to yourself ; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided."

" And hold fast by the covenant of Allāh all together, and be not disunited, and remember the favour of Allāh on you, when you were enemies, then He united your hearts so by His favour you became brethren " Qur'ān, 4 : 11.

cular people, a separate government and territorial unity. All the universes, heaven and earth, the visible and invisible, animate and inanimate objects are all under the sovereignty of one God. He is the Lord of all peoples, believers or unbelievers, Muslims or non-Muslims. The entire organization of nature, heaven, and earth is under His Command, and He is the real sovereign, Omnipresent and Omnipotent.¹ From the Unity of God, there springs the doctrine of the unity of the human race. All men are alike. Man is freed from the slavery of man. One God has its parallel in one humanity.² Allāh is the Lord,³ the Sustainer and the Nourisher of all the peoples,⁴ and all the worlds.⁵

What is the position of the Muslims in the state of God? They are called the best people, created to act as His *Khalīfa* on earth. They are the leaders of the rest of humanity. They have for their guidance the most perfect, chosen, and favoured religion—Islam;⁶ the most perfect revelation, best guide, last word, verifier and guardian of previous scriptures—the Qur'ān; and the last Prophet and exemplar—Moḥammad (may Allāh's peace be on him!). The Muslim *millat* is, therefore a politico-religious unity. God has sent many messengers and prophets to reform the corrupt condition of the world. Every messenger of God was deputed on earth to establish an ethical ideal and a way of life based on that ideal. It has, therefore, been the mission of every messenger to create a system of life which had its origin in the sovereignty of God and a submission to His authority on the part of his people.⁷ The Prophet of Islam is the last and his *ummat* is the best people and leader of the rest.⁸ The Qur'ān revealed that the messengers said to their people: He (God) is your *Rabb* (benefactor) and your *Ilāh* (overlord) who is the creator of you and the universe. Do not recognise any one as your Lord except him." The messengers came to free humanity from the Godhood of man.

The state of God exists for the perfection of the world order, and for the raising of humanity to a higher, nobler, and spiritual life—a continuation of this life to the life in the next world. The Muslims, being the best *millat* and guide, are directed to strive hard to achieve this ethical ideal for which Islam stands. The means to this end is the establishment of a Muslim state which is to be run according to its own distinct law—the will of the sovereign. The *sharī'at*, a code of ethical and religious laws,

1. "Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all,"—Qur'ān, 6: 104.

2. "Nothing is like a likeness of Him."—Qur'ān, 42: 11.

3. "And people are but a single nation."—Qur'ān, 10: 19.

4. "And our God and your God is one."—Qur'ān, 29: 46.

5. The God of the Qur'ān is the Lord of all the worlds—"Rabb-ul-'Ālamīn"—Qur'ān, 1-1.

6. "This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion."—Qur'ān, 5: 3.

7. The Prophet of Islam once declared, "I have brought a message (not to any one people) but to all from Allāh."

8. "You are the best group of people raised up for (the benefit of) humanity: you enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong and believe in Allāh"—Qur'ān, 3: 12.

manifests the will of Allāh, and forms the law of the Muslim state. Allāh is not only the Creator and an object of worship but He is also, the Law-giver.

The Muslim state being extraordinarily God-conscious is permeated by a religious control which extends to every sphere of human conduct. Allāh is everywhere, and a Muslim is never permitted to lose sight of his faith. No one can aspire to attain Godhood and like the Pharaoh of Egypt declare to his people: "I am your *Rabb* (Lord)." Nor can he associate with God any other as lord.¹ The origin of all mischief is to impose the Godhood of man upon man. The original doctrine was soon mixed up with polytheism, to which the Qur'ān refers in these words: "Corruption has appeared in land and sea."² Greatest stress is therefore laid on the unity of the Divine Being. Allāh is the real owner of sovereignty. He bestows power on whom he likes and deprives others of it. "Say, O God; Owner of sovereignty, Thou givest power unto whom Thou wilt and Thou withdrawest power from whom Thou pleasest."³ No individual, no *amīr* and not the whole *millat*, can lay claim to the sovereignty of the state: their status is that of subjects under the sovereignty of God. This doctrine of Divine Unity carries with it a principle of action and forms the basis of the advancement of humanity. It is not only the conviction of the truth but the acceptance of a proposition as a basis for action. Those who "*believe and do good*" means that no belief is acceptable unless it is carried into practice by performing the duties enjoined by Allāh.⁴

The idea of sovereignty in Islam is one of the most prominent factors of Islamic political theory. According to Muslim theology, the Muslim brotherhood is granted political authority,⁵ under the Paramountcy of God, to confer supreme power upon any bona fide Muslim. The executive is thus instituted according to the general will of the *millat*, which retains its right to abolish it. The Muslim *millat* may elect the best person from among them as their *amīr*, the one who is most virtuous and God-fearing, and entrust to him full powers to discharge the functions of government. So long as he functions in accordance with the provisions of the Divine Law, he is entitled to the allegiance of the *millat*, and it is the duty of the *millat* to pay due homage to him.⁶ The moment the *amīr* deviates from the path, he is to be deposed by the *millat*.⁷ The

1. "We shall not serve any but Allāh and we shall not associate aught with Him and some of us shall not take others for lords besides Allāh."—Qur'ān, 3 : 63.

2. Qur'ān, 30 : 41.

3. Qur'ān, 3 : 3.

4. "O you who believe! be careful of your duty to God and believe in His Apostle"—Qur'ān, 57 : 28.

5. "And certainly We have given you (mankind) power in the earth, and created in it means of livelihood for you."—Qur'ān, 9 : 1.

6. "The best rulers are those who keep you (the ruled) as friends, and the worst rulers are those with whom you are in disagreement, and who do not agree with you."—Muslim.

7. "And do not follow him whose heart We have made unmindful to Our remembrance, and he follows his low desires and his case is one in which due bounds are exceeded"—Qur'ān, 18 : 4.

amīr is not above the law and is, therefore, subject to public criticism. The *amīr* and the *millat* are fastened together by means of *bai'at*, which literally means contract or submission. Islam is not a church, but an organised life conceived as a contractual organism. The *bai'at* signifies an offer of fidelity and allegiance on the part of the subjects and its acceptance by the *amīr*. The bond of Muslim organization, therefore, rests on an implied contract or consent, without which none has any right to exercise any authority. Thus, the political authority in Islam depends upon the will of the Muslim brotherhood, which is free from any restriction of caste, creed, race, or colour, and which holds that "all believers are equal in the sight of God."

The *shari'at*, the path of virtue or the Divine Code of ethical and social laws, is supreme; and politically the *amīr*, the caliph, and even the Prophet¹—being members of the Muslim *millat* and subject to the same laws—were never regarded as immune or absolute. The first principle of Islamic polity is that the *amīr* and the *millat* are both deprived of the power of making legislation in order to preserve their liberty, which is ensured by the Divine Law. This power is reserved to the sovereign. God alone is Sovereign and the Law-giver. The command of the Sovereign is law. The apostles and the *amīr* are both subject to God's commands:² they can neither make laws nor modify or change the law of God. The *millat* is to submit to the apostle and the *amīr* because they proclaim and enforce the Divine Commandments as His agents or deputies.³ The *amīr* of the *millat* has thus delegated and not original powers. All Muslims have a claim to *Khilāfat* and every Muslim, in the real sense of the term, is a *Khalīfa* of God on earth and is personally responsible to Him. Consequently; all Muslims have equal status and enjoy equal rights in the body-politics. The Prophet declared: "The Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab. The best among you is the one who is most virtuous." This sort of civil liberty and the theory of equal opportunities dependent upon it is the peculiar feature of Islamic politics. It is the responsibility of the *millat* and the *amīr* to establish the Rule of God according to the Book of God and the traditions of the Prophet. Thus, the supremacy of the Divine Law is one of the fundamental tenets of Islamic polity, and the *amīr* as well as the members of the *millat* have to submit to the *shari'at* for their guidance, considering it as the will and command of Allāh. It is clear from the above that the Islamic system of government is not democracy of the Western type, where a law may be enforced, changed, or modified at the will of the majority. In Islam, it is the Rule of God and it is the Law of God that prevails.

1. "Most certainly We will question those unto whom (Our Message) has been sent, and verily We shall question the Apostles."—Qur'ān 8:1.

2. "I only follow the command, which emanates from God above."—Qur'ān, 6:50.

3. "Allāh has promised to those of you who believe and do good that He will appoint them as His vicegerents on earth as He had appointed others before them."—Qur'ān, 24:7.

The Muslim law imposes upon the individual the duty of obedience to the Imām.¹ "Obey God, Apostle, and those in authority from among you,"² and in case of difference of opinion, turn back to Allāh and his Apostle³ —the basic principle of the faith. The onesided emphasis on the duty of the individual without any corresponding obligation on the part of the *amīr* would be meaningless. It has therefore been explicitly provided that the person in authority is held accountable and responsible to God alone for the welfare of the subjects.⁴ For administrative purposes the *amīr* is made the head of the state ; he is, on the one hand, responsible to God and on the other to the *Muslims*, who delegated their *Khilāfat* to him and whose trustee he is. The interests of the state are prior to the interests of the individual,⁵ and it is the duty of the *amīr* not to betray his trust.⁶

The Muslim *millat* is a politico-religious unity. The Islamic conception of political unity is not based on any geographical or racial consideration. Islamic polity has borrowed the terms *ummat* and *millat* as also *khalīfa* and *imām* from the Qur'ān. It goes without saying that Islam makes no distinction on account of place, birth, or lineage, but teaches a practical brotherhood unparalleled in the history of mankind. The Holy Qur'ān says, "The believers are nothing else but brothers."⁷ Islam lays down a basis of a vast brotherhood, in which all men and women, of whatever tribe or nation, have equal rights as if members of the same family. The slave is to be clothed with the clothing and fed with the food of his master, and is not to be treated harshly. "Your wives," says the Qur'ān, "have rights against you as you have rights against them."⁷ Islam is a complete social structure and embodies in itself the essentials of family life, social laws, and rules for the preservation of human culture and civilisation.

The *amīr* is to conduct the affairs of the state in consultation with counsellors according to the injunction of the Qur'ān. "And consult

1. The Prophet said, "One who obeyed me obeyed God ; one who obeyed the *Imam* obeyed me. One who proved faithless to me is faithless unto God and one, who was disobedient to the *Imam* was disobedient to me."—*Ṣaḥīḥain*.

2. Qur'ān, 45 : 58.

3. "The Apostle is ordered thus, "Go on inviting. . . and say, 'I believe in what Allāh has revealed of the Book, and I am commanded to do justice between you ; Allāh is our Lord and your Lord ; we shall have our deeds, and you shall have your deeds ; no plea need there be between us and you. Allāh will gather us together and to Him is the return'"—Qur'ān, 42 : 15.

4. *واعلموا أنما أموا لكم واولادكم فتنة وان الله عنده اجر عظيم* —Qur'ān, 8 : 28.

5. *يا ايها الذين آمنوا لا تحنونوا الله والرسول و تحنونوا اما ناكم واتم تعلمون* - —Qur'ān, 8 : 27.

6. *انا جعلناك خليفة في الارض ولوشاء الله لجللكم امة واحدة* —Qur'ān, 38 : 26.

7. *قال انى جاعلك للناس اما ما* —Qur'ān, 1 : 124.

7. 49 : 10.

with them upon the conduct of affairs; and when thou art resolved, thou put thy trust in God."¹ The political ideal of Islam is to make human beings capable of acting together in the service of God as well as of one another, and to build up institutions by consent and consultation so as to encourage right conduct and justice. The *amīr* will carry on the administrative work with the help of a *Majlis-i-Shūra* (Consultative body). This body must in any case, whether selected or elected, enjoy the confidence of the *millat*. The *amīr* is not bound to accept their advice, if he thinks their view is contrary to the Divine Law. There cannot be any party system—no question of majority or minority in the *Majlis*. The *amīr* of the *millat* becomes in actual practice the servant of the *millat* and his office carries with it great responsibilities.

"So that it (wealth) may not circulate (only) among the rich," is the key-note of the Islamic policy regarding material wealth. Hence the distribution of wealth among all classes has been emphasised by the institution of a property-tax (*dhakāt*),² restrictions on the process of testamentary disposition, laws of inheritance, and the prohibition of usury.

The constitution of the Islamic state is written and rigid. It cannot be amended or modified. It is fixed for all times and can be adapted to all conditions of life. The question arises, what is the purpose of such a constitution? The answer is, to establish the Rule of God with a view to maintaining social justice according to the Law of God.³ The aim of the Muslim state is to eradicate evil and to perpetuate virtues in accordance with a specific ethical ideal, as laid down in the Qur'ān and as revealed to the Prophet. Only such people can work the Islamic state as firmly believe in and act upon this specific ideology, and no part of humanity is debarred from accepting this ideology. Those who do not conform to it cannot as a rule share in the political authority of the state, but they are entitled to the enjoyment of all civil rights such as the protection of their persons, their property, and their places of worship.

Another distinguishing feature of Islamic polity is a complete separation of powers. It is God who has made law for humanity. It is the *amīr* as the head of government and his subordinate officials who form the chief executive to enforce that law. The judiciary is entirely independent of the executive, and is to be controlled neither by the *amīr* nor by the *millat*. There is equality of law in Islam, and the *amīr* like other individuals is subject to the same law and to the same judicial authorities—the Qādīs, who have to apply the Law of the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* of the

1. Qur'ān, 3 : 159.

2. "And give away wealth out of love for Him to the near kin, the orphan, and the needy, the wayfarer and the beggar, captives, and keep up prayers and pay *dhakāt*."—Qur'ān 2 : 177.

3. "We deputed our Messengers with definite instructions, gave them the Book and a Standard so that people might live to justice, and We gave them steel which carries with it great power and benefits." Qur'ān, 57 : 25.

Prophet to specific cases.¹

The secular states of to-day are torn between socialism and individualism, dictatorship and democracy, idealism and anarchism. The Islamic state neither believes in class-war nor undertakes a complete socialisation or democratic management of the basic instrument of production and distribution. There is no struggle between the 'haves' and 'haves-not' in an Islamic state, which stands for a compromise between capitalism and labour. Islam believes in a limited capitalism; no person can hoard money to an unlimited extent and thus deprive others. The wealth of the *millat* is in constant circulation. The individual in the Islamic state can acquire private property so that his incentive may not be lost, but at the same time he is bound to dispose of a portion of it according to the law of the Qur'ān so that his other brethren may be benefited by it. If this principle is adopted, nobody can remain needy in an Islamic state.

The Islamic state, unlike the Communist state, does not take away "from each according to his capacity," nor does it distribute "to each according to his need." Again, it does not, like individualism, believe in the "minimum possible state-action and maximum possible individual freedom." According to the Islamic polity, the state, the *amīr*, and the *millat* are all animated by an ethical ideal, and it is the duty of everyone connected with the state to achieve that ideal. Why should the power of the state be curtailed and the individual prosper at the expense of the state?

There is no dictatorship in Islam—not the rule of one person or one will but the Rule of God and the Will of God. Under such a system neither is the personal liberty of the individual lost nor is the political power concentrated in the hands of one person.

Islam is not a democracy—a government of the people, for the people and by the people. It is the Rule of God, for the perfection of humanity and by the agents of God.

The Islamic state is not marked by a controversy between the state and the individual, so that it may believe in the idealistic principle that the state is nothing but the individuals themselves in another capacity. Nor does Islam believe that human beings have reached that stage where they do not require any state or government, or that they can only tolerate a free government.

MOHD. AZIZ AHMED.

1. The Prophet asked the governor of Yeman how he would decide cases. "By the Book of God," was the reply. "But if you do not find it in the Book of God?," asked the Prophet. "By the *Sunnah* of the Apostle of God," said the governor.

PARVIN-I-I'TIŠĀMĪ

AN EMINENT POETESS OF MODERN IRAN

THE regenerated Iran of to-day has much improved the status of her womenfolk, who have completely discarded the veil, have boldly come out in public, and are marching side by side with men in all walks of life. Even in the field of poetry there have arisen a number of women poets¹ who have won for themselves a reputation only enjoyed by a few in the earlier periods of the history of Persian literature. Parvīn is certainly one of the best known.

I twice visited Iran—once in 1930, and for the second time in 1934 on the occasion of the Firdausī Millenary Celebrations. On both occasions I failed to get into direct touch with the poetess, but I had the pleasure of meeting her father, who was attached to the Library of the Majlis (House of Parliament). He was a refined gentleman of progressive ideas. He received me with cordiality, but felt diffident about introducing me to the poetess, perhaps owing to the system of the veil then in vogue.

Parvīn (the Pleiades) is to-day a bright star in the firmament of neo-Persian poetry. She was born at Tehrān in 1328 A.H./1910 A.D. Her father, Mirzā Yūsuf Khān I'tiṣāmī, entitled I'tiṣāmu'l-Mulk (d. 1937 A.D.), occupied a prominent place in the journalistic and literary world of Iran as the editor of the *Bahār* and translator of some important Arabic and French works. With a view to giving her a liberal education, her father sent the poetess to the American school for girls from which she graduated. But in spite of her education in the American school, she retained the essential characteristics of Eastern womanhood. She was modest and submissive. She took no part in the woman's movement in Iran, as she entertained the opinion that the betterment of the lot of women should be left to the activities of persons of a different class from herself.

She was an accomplished Persian scholar and well acquainted with English literature. Reza Shah Pahlavi, the ex-Shah, wanted to appoint

1. The names of Nimtāj Khānum, Irānu'd-Dawla Jannat, Fakhr-i 'Ādil Fakhrī and 'Adu'l-Mulūk Khal'atbarī may be mentioned.

her a tutor to the queen, but she refused to accept the post.¹ She began to write poems from an early age. When her poems first appeared in the *Bahār*, readers thought that they were the compositions of a male poet. In the following *qit'ā*, she made it clear that the writer was really a poetess :

از غبار فکر باطل پاک باید داشت دل تابداند دیوکاین آئینه جای گرد نیست
مردپندارند پروین را چه برخی ز اهل فضل این معمه گفته نیکو تر که پروین مرد نیست²

The first edition of her *Dīvān*, comprising about 5,000 couplets, was published in 1354 A.H./1935 A.D., in Tehrān, with a foreword by Maliku'-sh-Shu'arā Bahār,³ who is of opinion that the poem *Safar-i-Ashk* (the Journey of Tears) alone is sufficient to place her in the first rank of Persian poets.⁴ In respect of her moral and ethical poems, she has been fitly compared by Sālār of Shīrāz⁵ with the well-known poet Ibn-i Yamīn (d. 1367/68 A.H.). A second edition of her *Dīvān* with fifty-eight additional poems was published by her brother Abu'l-Fath I'tisāmī in 1360 A.H./1941 A.D. at Tehrān, soon after her death.

Her poems—*qaṣīdas*, *mathnavīs* or *qit'ās*—are didactic in character and deal with moral, social, and realistic topics. *Tifl-i Yatīm*⁶ (An Orphan), *Ṣā'iqa-i mā Sitam-i Aghniyāst*⁷ (the Cruelty of the Rich is a Thunderbolt to Us), *The Ranjbar*⁸ (The Labourer), *Safar-i Ashk*⁹ (the Journey of Tears), *Julā-yi Khudā*¹⁰ (God's Weaver), *Dharrā*¹¹ (The Mote), *Ka'ba-i Dil*¹² (the Ka'ba of the Heart), *Gauhar-i Ashk*¹³ (the Pearl of Tears), *Gauhar-u-Sang*¹⁴ (the Pearl and the Stone), *Lutf-i Haqq*¹⁵ (The Benevolence of God), *Naghma-i Ṣubḥ*¹⁶ (the Morning Song) are among her best pieces.

The tender pathos of her poem — *Tifl-i Yatīm*¹⁷ (An Orphan) has a strong appeal, especially to those who in their infancy lost their mothers

1. Vincent Sheean, *New Persia* p. 255, New York, 1927.

2. *Dīvān-i-Parvīn*. p. 269 (second edition).

3. Ishāq, *Sukhanvarān-i Irān*, I, 358-403.

4. See Bahār's Foreword to the *Dīvān-i-Parvīn*. p. i, second edition.

5. Sālār of Shīrāz (See *Sukhanvarān-i-Irān*, I, 135-45), in a memorial poem written on Parvīn, says :

در قطعه مقتدی بود ابن مین صفت لیک گر بود مقتدی بود برسک او امامی

6. *Dīvān-i Parvīn*, pp. 180-81, (Second Edition). Tehrān, 1941.

7. *Ibid*, pp. 174-77.

8. *Ib.* p. 271.

9. *Ib.* pp. 164-65.

10. *Ib.* pp. 120-23.

11. *Ib.* p. 145.

12. *Ib.* pp. 201-3.

13. *Ib.* p. 234.

14. *Ib.* pp. 235-37.

15. *Ib.* pp. 238-41.

16. *Ib.* pp. 257-60.

17. In pathos this poem may well be compared with Cowper's immortal poem—'On the Receipt of my Mother's Picture.'

and were deprived of motherly love and care. It seems to come direct from a heart which has keenly felt the loss of a mother in infancy. Some of the touching lines of the poem, with a translation, are given below :—

دل من هم دل است آهن نیست	چیز ها دیده و نخواسته ام
چشم طفل یتیم روشن نیست	روی مادر ندیده ام هرگز
که سر من هیچ دامن نیست	دامن مادران خوش است چه شد
گفت بامن که مادر من نیست	خواندم از شوق هرکرا مادر
گفتم آنجا که هیچ مسکن نیست	کو دکی گفت مسکن تو کجا ست
بهر پشمردگان شگفتن نیست	من نرفتم بیباغ با طفلان
دیگرش سنگ در فلاخن نیست ¹	چرخ هر سنگ داشت بر من زد

Things I have seen but wanted them not, my heart is a heart and not iron.

I have never seen a mother's face, the eyes of an orphan do not beam with joy.

A mother's lap is sweet, why is there no mother's lap for me ?

Whomsoever longingly I called mother, she said she was not my mother ;

A child asked me, " Where is thy home ? "

" There, where there is no home," said I.

I repaired not to the garden with the children, for there is no mirth for the melancholy.

The celestial wheel hurled on me every stone it had ; there is no stone left in its sling.

The present consciousness of the oppression of the poor by the rich is echoed in her poem *Ṣā'iqā-i mā Sitam-i Aghniyāst* (the Cruelty of the Rich is a Thunderbolt to us). She has drawn a pathetic picture of the sufferings of the poor brought on by the cruelty and injustice of the rich. An old farmer advises his son to follow his occupation and to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow after his father's death. The son does not accept this piece of advice without venting his spleen against the rich. Mark his emotion in the following lines :

صاعقه ما سم اغنیا ست	گفت چنین کای پدر نیک رای
قسمت ما درد و غم و ابتلاست	پیشه آنان همه آرام و خواب
گرحق آنها ست حق ما کجا ست	دولت و آسایش و اقبال و جاه
روزی ما در دهن اژدها ست	قوت بخوناب جگر میخوریم
همه نداریم و زمان شتا ست	غله نداریم و گد خرم است
زحمت ما زحمت بی مدعا ست	حاصل ما را دگران می برند
قامت دهقان بجوانی دوتا ست	از غم باران و گل و برف وسیل

1. *Dīvān-i Parvīn*, pp. 180-81 (second edition).

سفره ما از خوردش و نان تهی است در ده ما بس شکم ناشتا ست
 گه نبود روغن و گاهی چراغ خانه ما کی همه شب روشناست¹

Thus he replied, "O wise father, the cruelty of the rich is a thunderbolt to us.

"Their profession is only to enjoy and sleep; our portion is pain, sorrow and suffering.

"If wealth, comfort, prosperity, and grandeur be their rights, where are our rights?"

"We earn our food by shedding our life-blood, our daily bread is, as it were, in the jaws of a dragon.

"We have no grain though it is the harvesting season; we have no firewood though it is winter.

"Others carry away our crops; our labour goes for nothing.

"Toiling in the rain, mud, snow, and flood the farmer's body is bent in his youth.

"Our table is without food and drink, there are many hungry stomachs in our village.

"At times there is no oil while at times there is no lamp; how can our house be illuminated all night long?"

The poetess latterly developed much sympathy for labour. We hear an echo of the modern conflict between labour and capital in some of her poems, of which the most notable is the *Ranjbar* (the Labourer) quoted below:—

تابکی جان کندن اندر آفتاب ای رنجبر
 زین همه خواری که بینی ز آفتاب و خاک و باد
 از حقوق پایدمال خوبش کن پرستی
 دیو آرز و خود پرستی را بگیر و حبس کن
 حاکم شرعی که بهر رشوه فتوی میدهد
 آنکه خود را پاک میدانند ز هر آلودگی
 گر که اطفال تویی شامند شها باک نیست
 گر چراغت رانبخشیده است گردون روشنی
 در خوردنش امیر اند و فرزندانشان
 هر که پوشد جامه نیکو بزرگ ولایق اوست
 جامه ات شوخ ست و رویت تیره رنگ از گرد و خاک
 هر چه بنویسند حکام اندرین محضر رواست
 ریختن از بهر نان از چهره آب ای رنجبر
 چیست مزدت جز نکو هوش یا عتاب ای رنجبر
 چند می ترسی زهرخان و جناب ای رنجبر
 تا شود چهر حقیقت بی حجاب ای رنجبر
 کی دهد عرض فقیران را جواب ای رنجبر
 میکند مردار خواری چون غراب ای رنجبر
 خواجه تپه میکند هر شب کباب ای رنجبر
 غم مخور می تا بد امشب ماهتاب ای رنجبر
 تو چه خواهی فهم کردن از کتاب ای رنجبر
 رو تو صدها وصله داری بر ثیاب ای رنجبر
 از تو میبایست کردن اجتناب ای رنجبر
 کس نخواهد خواستن زیشان حساب ای رنجبر²

تابکی جان کندن اندر آفتاب ای رنجبر
 زین همه خواری که بینی ز آفتاب و خاک و باد
 از حقوق پایدمال خوبش کن پرستی
 دیو آرز و خود پرستی را بگیر و حبس کن
 حاکم شرعی که بهر رشوه فتوی میدهد
 آنکه خود را پاک میدانند ز هر آلودگی
 گر که اطفال تویی شامند شها باک نیست
 گر چراغت رانبخشیده است گردون روشنی
 در خوردنش امیر اند و فرزندانشان
 هر که پوشد جامه نیکو بزرگ ولایق اوست
 جامه ات شوخ ست و رویت تیره رنگ از گرد و خاک
 هر چه بنویسند حکام اندرین محضر رواست

How long in agony under the sun (wilt thou) pour out the sweat of thy brow for thy bread, O, Labourer?

1. *Divān-i Parvīn*, (second edition) p. 175.

2. *Ibid.* p. 271.

For all the hardships thou receivest from the sun, dust, and wind,
'what is thy reward save reproach and scorn, O, Labourer ?
Assert thy despised rights ; how long wilt thou fear every lord and
esquire, O, Labourer ?
Arrest and imprison the demon of greed and selfishness, so that
the visage of truth may be unveiled ,O, Labourer ?
The Qāḍī who gives his verdict for a bribe, how can he listen to the
petition of the poor, O, Labourer ?
He who professes to be free from every defilement feasts upon the
dead like a carrion-crow, O, Labourer ?
If thy children for nights go without dinner, what of that ; the
master enjoys roasted pheasant every night.
If the heavens have bestowed no light on thy lamp, be not sorrowful;
the moon will shine to-night, O, Labourer ?
The rich and their children are worthy of learning. What wilt
thou understand of books, O, Labourer ?
One who puts on fine garments is great and worthy. Hence !
Thou hast hundreds of patches on thy clothes, O, Labourer !
Thy garments are dirty and thy face is dark on account of soil and
dust, thou shouldst be shunned, O, Labourer !
Whatever the officials write in the records is proper, (there is)
none to call for an explanation from them, O, Labourer !

Her ideas about the mission and functions of women have been shaped and influenced by Western thought. She thinks that man and woman are the complement of each other.

وظیفه زن و مرد ای حکیم دانی چیست	یکی است کشتی و آندیگریست
چوناخداست خرد مند و کشتیش محکم	دگرچه باک ز امواج و ورطه و طوفان
بروز حادثه اندر یم حوادث دهر	امید سعی و عمل هاست هم ازین هم از آن
همیشه دختر امروز مادر فرداست	ز مادر ست میسر بزرگی پسران ¹

O, Sage ! Do you know what are the duties of woman and man ?—

One is a vessel and the other is the captain ;

If the captain be wise and the vessel strong, what then is the fear from waves, whirlpools, and tempest ?

In times of adversity in the ocean of life, there is expectation of effort and action from him as well as from her.

The daughter of to-day is the mother of to-morrow ; it is from the mother that the sons derive greatness.²

Let us now notice some of the striking features in her writings :—

1. The most noticeable feature in her *Divān* is the absolute lack of

1. *Ishāq, Subḥanvarān-i Irān*, i, 50.

2. Cf. Tennyson :

' Boy,

The bearing and the training of a child
Is woman's wisdom.'

(*The Princess*, Canto V, ll. 454-56).

the Bacchanalian and amorous poems with which Persian poetry is replete. She devoted herself to the mission of teaching her fellow-men how to live a wise and happy life.

2. It is rather strange that she has not wielded her pen for the amelioration or uplift of her own sex. It was only when the abolition of the veil was enforced by an Imperial Edict of 1936, that she gave full vent to her pent-up feelings in her *Ganj-i 'Iffat* (the Hidden Treasure of Chastity). She has expressed full appreciation of the bold step taken by the *Shāh* in the following lines :—

خسروا دست توانای تو آسان کرد کار ورنه در این کار سخت امید آسانی نبود
 شه نمیشدگر درین گم گشته کشتی ناخدای ساحلی پیدا از این در پای طوفانی نبود¹

O, Monarch ! Thy strong hand made the task easy, else there was no hope of the accomplishment of the difficult task.

Had the king not been the captain of the bark which lost its way, no shore in the stormy sea would have been visible.

3. The *Munāẓara* (Strife-poems) form of poetry is her favourite composition. While it must be admitted that in some poems of this type she has acquitted herself admirably, the rest are rather dull and tedious. The beauty of this verse-form lies in its smart and pointed replies, and it cannot lend itself to the treatment of genuine poetic themes.

4. In her didactic poems, she has exhorted people to be kind and pure-hearted, and only to do good which will endure for ever. These and other such moral lessons she has imparted in a charming and effective manner by means of fables like those of Aesop, which she has frēely woven into her poems.

So far as the rhyme-scheme is concerned, besides the classical mono-rhyme and double rhyme, her *Divān* contains some poems² which rhyme ab, ab, ab,, k ; cd, cd, cd,, k ; ef, ef, ef,, k ; and so on. This type of verse-form, with refrains after a fixed number of hemistichs, may be said to be stanzaic in nature. In this class of poems each stanza consists of nine or eleven hemistichs, of which the first eight or ten, as the case may be, rhyme alternately, and the ninth or eleventh serves as a refrain. This alternate rhyming probably received sanction from the rhyme-scheme of the classical tetrastich in the *Gulistān* of Sa'di.³

In the choice of subjects, as well as in their treatment, Parvīn is really a modern poet. She writes poems on modern topics in simple and forceful

1. *Divān-i-Parvīn*, p. 233 (second edition).

2. See *Divān-i-Parvīn*, pp. 79-80, 86-87, 87-88, and 257-60.

3. Cf.

اول اردی بهشت ماه جلالی بلبل گوینده بر منابر نضبان
 بر گل سرخ از نم اورناده لالی همچو عرق بر عذار شاهدغضبان

language. Her poems bear the impress of her Western education. Her poetry is generally characterized by a natural flow, well-chosen diction, and graphic style. Though her poems, interwoven with fables, are light on the surface, there is an undertone of seriousness and pathos running through them.

Parvīn died on the 16th Farvardīn 1360 A.H./1941 A.D.,¹ and was buried by the side of her father in the family vault at Qum. Her death was deeply mourned throughout the country. Condolence meetings were held in many places, the most important being that held on the 25th Urdibihisht at the Anjuman-i Dānishvarān, in Tehrān. The lectures delivered after her death and the memorial poems on her have been collected and published by her brother, Abu'l-Faṭḥ I'ṭiṣāmī. The following poem now inscribed on her tombstone was found among her unpublished work :

اختر چرخ ادب پروین است	اینکه خاک سپس بالین است
هرچه خواهی سخنش شیرین است	گرچه جز تلخی از ایام ندید
سائل فاتحه و یاسین است	صاحب آن همه گفتار امروز
دل بی دوست دلی غمگین است	دوستان به که زوی یادکنند
سنگ برسینه بسی سنگین است	خاک در دیده بس جان فرساست
هرکه را چشم حقیقت بین است	بیند این بستر و عبرت گیرد
آخرین منزل هستی این است	هرکه باشی وز هر جا برسی
چون بدین نقطه رسد مسکین است	آدمی هر چه تونگر باشد
چاره تسلیم و ادب تمکین است	اندر آنجا که قضا حمله کند
دهر را رسم و ره دیرین است	زادن و کشتن و پنهان کردن
خاطری را سبب تسکین است ²	خرم آن کس که درین محنت گاه

One whose pillow is the black dust is Parvīn, a star of the firmament of poetry ;

Though she tasted nothing but the bitterness of time, yet her utterances are sweet ;

The author of such poems today is begging for *Fātiḥa* and *Yāsin* ;³

1. Sālār of Shīrāz has given her date of death in the following chronogram :—

دیدى كاز اينجهان شد پروين اعتصامى

i.e., 1360 A.H.

Nādirī, another well-known poet (see *Sukḥanvarān-i Irān dar 'Aṣr-i Iḥāḍir*, 404-13) has given the following chronogram :—

بسال يك هزار و سيصد و بيست از ين محنت سرا بگذشت پروين

i.e., 1320 A.H. (solar).

2. *Divān-i Parvīn* last page, (second edition).

3. These are the names of the first and thirty-sixth Chapters of the Qur'ān, often recited as an intercession for the souls of the departed.

'Tis desirable that friends should think of her ; the heart of the friendless is sad ;

The earth is very painful to the eye ; the stone sits too heavily on the chest ;

The discerning eye should see this bed and learn a lesson from it ;

Whoever thou mayst be and whence thou mayst come, the ultimate goal of life is this ;

However rich a man may be, when he comes to this spot he becomes a pauper ;

When the summons of death comes, all must obey with due respect and submission ;

To bring forth, to kill, and to reduce to nothingness—these are the functions of time from antiquity ;

Blessed is the man who in this vale of tears is the cause of solace to a heart.

Parvin was the model of plain living and high thinking. She was a modest, good-natured, thoughtful, and kind-hearted lady, affectionate to her friends though somewhat reserved.

May her soul rest in peace !

S. MOHAMMAD ISHĀQ.

WHY WAS NĀSIR JANG SUMMONED TO DELHI?

ANANDA Ranga Pillai was perfectly right in his shrewd prediction that Nizāmul Mulk's death would involve the whole of South India and the Deccan in utter chaos and interminable anarchy.¹ The news of his passing away quickened into activity all the smouldering intrigues which were kept down by the late Nizam's tact and skill as a ruler, and the prestige of his redoubtable name.

Nāsir Jang, the second son of Nizāmul Mulk, who had stayed near his father at the time of his death, assumed the title of Subedar of the Deccan. Appropriating all the treasures of his father, he hastened to have himself recognized by the army as the lawful successor to the Subedari. To give his assumption the colour of right, Nāsir Jang announced that his elder brother Ghāziuddīn Khān had renounced his claim to the Subedari of the Deccan in his favour, and that his younger brothers were content to live a life of ease and contentment at his court.

But besides his sons, the deceased Nizāmul Mulk had also left a grandson (born of his favourite daughter), who was known as Muẓaffar Jang and who held the Subedari of Bijapur and Adoni. He put forward his claim for the Subedari of the whole of the Deccan in virtue of an alleged Firman of the late Emperor, Muḥammad Shāh. Although some French writers vouch for the genuineness of this document,² there is no contemporary record to support their claim. To counteract Muẓaffar Jang's pretensions, Nāsir Jang on his part sent, with all despatch, an emissary to the Emperor Aḥmed Shāh at Delhi, in order to obtain confirmation of his succession to the Subedari of the Deccan. As the prestige of the Emperor's name carried great weight even in the mid-eighteenth century in India, his countenance and support were desired by rival claimants to power and authority, although no one cared to pay the least attention to the Imperial commands if they went against his own interests. Moreover, the name of the Emperor was employed to appease the general public, which still retained a certain reverence for him, and to give a moral and legal foundation to individual claims and pretensions.

1. The *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. V, p. 41.

2. Martineau's *Dupleix et l'Inde Francaise*, Vol. 3, p. 83.

While Nāṣir Jang was busy making administrative arrangements in connection with his newly-acquired Government, his nephew had started raising large forces near Adoni, ostensibly for the purpose of putting down the local rebellious Poligars, but in reality to complete his preparations, to defy his uncle's authority. At first Nāṣir Jang tried to win over his nephew. He sent him a conciliatory message through a special envoy, asking him to visit Aurangabad. But Muẓaffar Jang in his overweening pride refused to take any notice of Nāṣir Jang's message and openly declared himself to be the rightful Subedar of the Deccan. He started touring the districts in the neighbourhood of Bijapur and Adoni requiring the local Poligars (Zamindars) to pay special contributions to him in order to enable him to furnish equipment for his army. According to *Tārīkh-i-Fathiyah*¹ the Emperor, in accordance with time-honoured custom, had sent some mourning robes to Nāṣir Jang for the near relatives of the deceased Nizam. There was one four-piece robe for Muẓaffar Jang also. According to practice these robes should immediately have been distributed to the persons concerned. But as Nāṣir Jang was expecting Muẓaffar Jang to visit Aurangabad to offer his obeisance, he did not send the four-piece robe to him directly. The latter took this as an insult and an act of hostility on the part of his uncle. When Nāṣir Jang came to know of this, he immediately sent another emissary, Rasūl Muḥammad Khān, with the Imperial robe and a dagger set with precious stones as a gesture of reconciliation. Muẓaffar Jang refused to receive the emissary in audience. Nāṣir Jang's personal message was conveyed to Muẓaffar Jang verbally through one of the latter's officials, but no reply was given to it. These proceedings created a lot of misunderstanding between Nāṣir Jang and his nephew, which ultimately led to the latter's open defiance of his uncle's authority and his assumption of the Subedari of the Deccan. This dispute between the uncle and the nephew also opened the way for the interference of the French and the English in the affairs of the Deccan.

In these circumstances it was natural for Nāṣir Jang to press for the Imperial orders as soon as possible, in order to strengthen his legal and moral position in the Deccan. But the Emperor purposely deferred sending the Firman to Nāṣir Jang as he wanted him to go to Delhi for his own purpose.² The Emperor Aḥmed Shāh sent him a secret letter directing him to march in all haste to Delhi with his army and provisions, in order to chastise some refractory Amirs.³ Some historians believe that Nāṣir Jang was summoned to help the Imperial Government against the impending invasion of Aḥmed Shāh Abdālī. This view is wholly incorrect.

The Emperor's favourite courtier, Jāwid Khān, also sent a separate letter to Nāṣir Jang asking him to go to Delhi soon, as so many important

1. *Tārīkh-i-Fathiyah*, by Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān (Daftar-i-Diwani).

2. *Tārīkh-i-Rāḥat Afza* (Aṣafiya, Pers. Hist. MSS. No. 1313 and 1001).

3. *Ma'āthir-ul-Kirām*, p. 186; *Khazāna-i-'Āmira*, p. 55.

decisions rested on his presence. The real reason for inviting Nāşir Jang to Delhi was that the Emperor wanted to get rid of his Vizier, Şafdar Jang, who had publicly usurped all authority leaving the Emperor a mere puppet. He misappropriated the revenues and took for himself the most fertile jagirs and revenue-yielding markets. The Jamna canals alone brought him a clear income of 25 lakhs a year, while the emperor was left with only a pittance. Şafdar Jang's overbearing attitude antagonised Jāwid Khān, the chief favourite of the Emperor and hitherto the real man behind the throne, as well as the sons of the late Vizier Qamruddīn, cousins of Nāşir Jang.

Ghāziuddīn Khān Firoz Jang, Nāşir Jang's elder brother, who was at Delhi at the time of his father's death, preferred to remain at the court, being more interested in Imperial politics than in the Subedari of the Deccan. During the lifetime of his father, Ghāziuddīn Khān officiated for him as the Chief Paymaster (Amīrul-Umara) and later on also acted as the Subedar of Agra. When Nizamul Mulk had retired to the Deccan, Ghāziuddīn Khān had established his position at the court as the natural leader of the Turani party. Besides Intizāmud Daula, son of the late Vizier Qamruddīn, Ghāziuddīn Khān was supported by Jāwid Khān, Superintendent of the Privy Audience-hall (Diwan-i-Khas). It was at the instance of Şafdar Jang that Ghāziuddīn Khān was deprived of the post of Paymaster (Amīrul-Umara) and the Subedari of Agra, and Şalabat Khān Dhulfiqār Jang, a close friend of Şafdar Jang, appointed in his stead. Intizāmud Daula, the second Paymaster, regarded himself as having been dispossessed of the high office of Vizier by Şafdar Jang, against whom he entertained great envy and ill-will. As Intizāmud Daula was nearly related to Ghāziuddīn, being his cousin as well as his brother-in-law, both these discontented nobles joined Jāwid's party in an effort to overthrow Şafdar Jang. An attempt was made on Şafdar Jang's life while he was returning from the Idgah, but it failed. The Vizier suspected that the attempt was instigated by Intizāmud Daula and Jāwid Khan's party, which was in close touch with the Emperor. As a mark of protest and in fear of another attempt on his life, Şafdar Jang gave up attending the court in person and an open breach between the Emperor and the Vizier took place, each trying to make the other bow to his will.

As the anti-Vizier party lacked adequate resources to oust Şafdar Jang from his position of authority, it felt that it had little chance of resisting him successfully in the open field. Thus, filled with despair, Intizāmud Daula and Jāwid secretly invited Nāşir Jang to visit Delhi with his army and challenge Şafdar Jang to a trial of strength. In his own interests as well as in the interests of his brother and cousin, Nāşir Jang decided to proceed to Delhi. Moreover he had got an inkling of the fact that Şafdar Jang was trying to make friends with the Marathas in order to strengthen his own position *vis-à-vis* the court party. This move was bound to result in increasing the influence of the Marathas in the counsels of the Empire,

which might also affect his position in the Deccan and was therefore impossible for him to ignore. Since Nāṣir Jang had not yet received royal confirmation of his succession to the Subedari of the Deccan, he naturally felt apprehensive of Şafdar Jang's ascendancy at the court.

The letter of Hingné, the Peshwa's envoy at Delhi, reporting Nāṣir Jang's plans at the Emperor's court, throws much light on the whole affair. The letter, dated the 23rd June, 1749, runs thus:—

“Nawab Nizāmud Daula (Nāṣir Jang) pretends that he wants to go to Delhi to kiss the feet of his Royal Master. But in his letter to his brother, Ghāziuddin Khan Firuz Jang, he wrote that his real object in undertaking the journey to Delhi was to regulate the affairs of the Empire, oust Şafdar Jang from the wazirship, and give this exalted office to Intizamud Daula.”¹

Hingné further points out that Nāṣir Jang has written quite differently to Şafdar Jang to whom he says—“I want to chastise the Marathas and then I shall go to court. Do you befriend me and secure my appointment to the Subedari of the Deccan. In addition I only want the Paymastership of the Empire which used to be held by my father (Nizāmud Mulk), and to which Dhulfiqār Jang has been appointed. You and I shall turn with one heart to setting right the affairs of the Empire. Balaji is a dishonest fellow. He has seized the Empire, even up to Hindustan. If you put reliance on his word, you will be disappointed. Being a deceitful person, his main interest lies in money and nothing else. Give me oaths of assurance and we two shall join together to punish Balaji. Rest assured, I shall ever remain devoted to you.”¹ Şafdar Jang showed Nāṣir Jang's letter to Hingné, who tried to convince the Vizier of the sincerity of the Peshwa's professions of friendship towards him. Hingné grimly warned Şafdar Jang to be on his guard against the deep machinations of the Turani party, which aimed at estranging him from the Peshwa in order to be better able to overthrow his authority.

As Nāṣir Jang, in obedience to the royal summons, contemplated starting for the North at the head of a huge army, Şafdar Jang sent the following appeal to the Peshwa through Hingné:—

“This is the time for testing our alliance. If you are truly my friend, then your generals ought to oppose Nāṣir Jang. I am supplying Hingné with funds for equipping the Marathas' army and making all necessary arrangements for fighting Nāṣir Jang. If the Marathas will not do so, I have 50,000 men under me and shall raise more from all sides.”²

To anticipate Nāṣir Jang's movements, Şafdar Jang took the precautionary measure of posting Malhar Holkar and Jayaji Sindhia in Malwa, directing them to throw themselves across Nāṣir Jang's route and block

1. *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar*, II, No. 13.

his way towards north India. This was a clever move on the part of the Vizier to prevent the war extending north of the Chambal, the region now directly under the Empire.¹

In spite of pressing requisitions from the court of Delhi, it was not feasible for Nāšir Jang to start immediately for the North on account of Muẓaffar Jang's warlike preparations. It took him several months to get ready for a trial of strength with Šafdar Jang, who had the full support of the Marathas and who was in a position to array all the available forces of the Empire on his side. It was also very risky to leave the Deccan unprotected without the acquiescence of Muẓaffar Jang who, with the support of Chanda Šāhib, intended to move towards the Carnatic, having already sent Raza Ali Khan (son of Chanda Šāhib), early in 1749, to Dupleix, the French Governor at Pondicherry, to seek his help against the Nawab of the Carnatic.

Nāšir Jang left Aurangabad in May 1749. At the time of his departure for Delhi Nāšir Jang gave his own ring (signet) to Shāh Nawāz Khān and appointed him Diwān and his deputy for the whole of the Deccan. Syyed Lashkar Khān was given the title of Naseer Jang and was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the armies. Qādi Muḥammed Dayam was appointed Faujdār of Baklana. Syyed Sharif Khān, Subedar of Berar, was given the title of Shujā'at Jang.²

From Aurangabad Nāšir Jang went straight to Bidar where he had to make some administrative arrangements, thence he set out for Burhanpur where he arrived in April 1749 A.D. (Jamādī-ul Awwal, 1162 Hijra).³ It was here that he was appraised of Muẓaffar Jang's movements towards the Carnatic.⁴ While he was intending to ford the Narbada at Akharpur⁵ with his huge army, well-equipped with a train of artillery, he received royal orders to the following effect :—" At present the blaze of mischief has subsided. In these circumstances your coming to our presence is not necessary. It behoves you to stay in the Deccan and attend to its administration."⁶

This royal Firmān needs some explanation. For some time past the breach between the Emperor Ahmed Shāh and Šafdar Jang, although far from closed, had not seriously widened. Nāšir Jang's delay in starting towards the North gave Šafdar Jang ample time to make preparations to meet any challenge to his authority. This effectually cowed and dispirited the Emperor and the court party. When the Emperor came to know

1. J. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, p. 355.

2. *Hadiqatul-'Ālam*, p. 190; see also *Rāhat Afza* (Pers. Hist. MSS. Aṣāfiya No. 1313 and 1001).

3. Do.

4. *Ma'athir-ul-Kirām*, p. 186.

5. According to *Tuzuk-i-Wālājāhi*, Nāšir Jang had already crossed the Narbada when he received the Firman. But *Tariḫ Rāhat Afza*, *Hadiqatul 'Ālam*, *Ma'athir-ul-Kirām* and *Siyarul-Muta'ahḫherin* agree in saying that he had not yet forded the river when he received the royal order.

6. *Tuzuk-i-Wālājāhi*, (Aṣāfiya MS.).

that Şafdar Jang had directed his Maratha co-adjutors to intercept Nāşir Jang, and thus prevent his army from reaching the north of river Cham-bal, he became extremely frightened. On the 7th April 1749, the Emperor, accompanied by his mother, paid a visit to Şafdar Jang in order to patch up the quarrel and effect a thorough reconciliation by promises of friendly support in the future. To show his *bona-fides* the Emperor signed a counter-order directing Nāşir Jang to turn back immediately to the Deccan and attend to its affairs, while to appease him he was informed that he had been appointed to the Subedari of the Deccan.¹ Nāşir Jang complied the more willingly with the royal orders as Muẓaffar Jang's movements in the Carnatic, where he had laid many districts under contribution, had created an extremely difficult situation for him in that part of the country.

Before returning to Aurangabad, Nāşir Jang sent the following petition ('Arzi) to the Emperor which has been copied *in extenso* in *Ĥadīqat-ul 'Ālam*.² It runs thus :—

“ Your devoted servant has previously intimated to your Eminent Self that, after having received the royal orders, he hastened to set out from Aurangabad (Khojasta Bunyād), paying no heed to the impediments and obstacles in the way. The forces were properly organised, suitable persons were appointed to the different Subas, preparations for the journey were undertaken in right earnest, and arms and war-like equipment were completely overhauled in order to be better able to defend the rights and responsibilities of religion and the State. A halt was made at Amrapur, where most urgent administrative business was satisfactorily disposed of. From Amrapur your devoted servant set out for Burhanpur (the Abode of Delight). The various holders of land assignments who had come here from the neighbourhood were dismissed after they had made their contributions towards the provisions for the forces in such a manner that, even if the royal commands had to be executed in such remote parts of the Empire as Kābul or Bengal, nothing should have been found amiss. After deep planning and careful arrangements, your devoted servant set out to kiss the royal threshold. This arduous journey involved much expense, as the pay of all the soldiery was increased and all the well-wishers were given suitable awards to soothe their feelings and induce them to undergo the hardships of the successive stages of the journey cheerfully. At last we reached the Narbada and intended to cross it in order to be able to reach the royal presence as soon as possible. At every stage of the journey the deep longing of kissing the royal feet was enhanced, the very idea of which has exalted the devoted servant's rank to the skies. Your devoted servant did not pay any attention to the fatigue and affliction of the journey

1. *Rāhat Afza* ; *Ĥadīqat-ul-'Ālam*, p. 191.

2. *Ĥadīqat-ul-'Ālam*, p. 191.

caused by the torrential and incessant rains, nor to the idea of the distance of six hundred miles (three hundred kirohs) which was to have been traversed. While the devoted servant was halting on the bank of the Narbada and intended to cross the river the next day, the sacred order, bearing the royal signature, reached him on the 18th of Jamadiul Akhir, causing him to be exalted thereby. As the Firman contained the joyful news of favouring the devoted servant with the Subedari of the Deccan and other gifts, his gratitude knew no bounds, although he was much aggrieved to know that he should have to return to Aurangabad. This was like ordering an eager lover to remain away from the beloved, and be deprived of the felicity of kissing the threshold, which fact rendered the heart restless and the eyes sleepless. Yet the royal command must be obeyed at any cost, and swerving from the path of obedience is the greatest sin in the religion of the devoted servant. Thus, acting in accordance with the traditions of Prophet Jacob and all the while repeating the words 'resignation is elegant,' he set out on the return journey. The devoted servant expects from the Divine Grace that his prayers will be granted and that one day he will be favoured with the felicity of presenting himself in the royal presence."

When Nāṣir Jang reached Aurangabad he received the formal Firman of appointment to the Subedari of the Deccan and the Carnatic. When the royal emissaries arrived at Aurangabad they were given a rousing reception. A huge procession was organised. The nobility, mounted on elephants, horsemen, and musketry entered the city in array. For fifteen days continuously feasts and social entertainments were held. Titles and jagirs were bestowed on the nobility in recognition of their eminent services and steadfastness in loyalty.¹

Curiously enough, the only extant version of the Emperor Aḥmed Shāh's Firman granting to Nāṣir Jang the six Subas of the Deccan is to be found in Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary*. The Firman must have been written in Persian which, as was usual in such cases, the diarist must have translated into Tamil for his own use. A copy of the Firman, written and signed in the customary form, was sent to Duplex by Khwaja Nimatullah Khān, Nawab of Rajahmundry² and a partisan of Nāṣir Jang, in order to induce the former to give up the policy of supporting Muzaffar Jang's cause. When Nāṣir Jang received the formal Firman from Delhi, he must have sent copies of it to different Faujdars and Qilledars in order to strengthen his claims to the Subedari of the Deccan as against those of

1. *Tārīkh-e-Rāḥat Afza*.

2. Khwaja Ni'amatullah Khān was the son of Khwaja 'Abdullāh Khān, who for a short time in 1743 administered the Carnatic on behalf of Niẓāmul-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh I, and whose sudden death just after Niẓāmul-Mulk's departure from the Carnatic led to the appointment of Anwaruddin Khān and the foundation of the Wālājāhī dynasty.

Muzaffar Jang. The Firman is to this effect :—

“ After the death of your father Aṣaf Jāh, you wrote to me requesting the grant of the Deccan Subas. As I have ever regarded with favour my servants in the Deccan, I graciously received your petition and commanded the six Subas of the Deccan to be given to you, the chief of my servants, All Qilledars, Jagirdars, Mansabdars and other people of the country shall obey your orders. Treat with justice the cultivators, the merchants (both those dwelling there and those from other countries) and the rest of the inhabitants. Do not oppress the poor but punish those who plunder them. Let each attend to his own affairs, and let the country be ruled with justice.”¹

YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN.

1. *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. V, p. 247.

SOME DOCUMENTS BEARING UPON THE HISTORY OF KARNATAK (1749-1755)

BR. Mu. Or. No. 7010, described as "Official Indian Correspondence, English" contains among other papers a number of letters bearing upon the history of Karnatak from the year 1749 onwards. These are not, however, the original letters but an English translation carefully entered in a neatly bound volume. Unfortunately the translator appears to have been not quite equal to the task, because certain errors committed by him are quite obvious. There is however no doubt that the papers which the translator had in his hand were original and the care with which the documents have been preserved shows how important they were considered to be by their owner.

These letters are mostly written to or by Muḥammad 'Ali the Nabob of Arcot, during the said period, which was, indeed, an epoch-making period in the history of Karnatak. Anwar-ud-din Khān had been killed in the battle of Ambur in July 1749 and the struggle for the *nabobship* of the province raged furiously. Every one knows how events shaped themselves, and how the English and the French Settlements on the Corromondal Coast were involved in the struggle. The great historian Orme has given a prolix description of these events. Since the publication of Orme's *History of Military Transactions* much original material,¹ both in English and French, has been brought to light, as will be seen from the historical publications of the Government of Madras and the Historical Society at Pondicherry. There is, however, a singular lacuna in this otherwise abundant material. We do not as yet possess the correspondence that passed between the important personages who were parties to the struggle. What a prodigious amount of letter-writing took place at that time may be guessed from the letters published in the *Country Correspondence*. A perusal of even these few letters convinces one that a large amount of correspondence must have passed between the

1. It may be also pointed out that *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vols. 25 & 28, contains many valuable letters written mostly to the Peshwa by persons who were eye-witnesses to these events. *The Private Diary* of Anand Ranga Pillai, again, stands by itself as a valuable source for the history of those times.

moving figures who were involved in the vortex of political life. *Burhan's Tuzak-i-Wālājāhī* (pt. 1 & 2), which is something like the official history of the Nabob, Muḥammad 'Ali, contains some such correspondence ; but it must be admitted that it is very meagre. Efforts must therefore be made to hunt for this material. Part of it may have already been lost but some may still remain bound in the dusty *rumals*, unnoticed or uncared for.

In order to show that much correspondence of this nature may be discovered, the English translation of the Persian letters referred to above is reproduced here. Although the letters here published do not materially alter our knowledge of the events to which they refer, they contain sundry details which are absolutely necessary for a minute study of those events. The importance of original and reliable material need not be emphasized. No justification therefore is necessary for publishing the letters in full.

At the outset it may be as well to give a résumé of these letters. No. 1 is a letter written by Nāṣir Jang to Muḥammad 'Ali and is obviously another version of the one which is published in *Country Correspondence*, 1749 (p. 41). It makes clear that Nāṣir Jang intended to send help to Anwar-ud-din Khān before the fatal battle of Ambur was fought, but the Nabob did not wait long enough. Nāṣir Jang perhaps insinuates that the Nabob was rather hasty. No. 2 throws light on an early movement of the "rebel" meaning, probably, Muẓaffar Jang. No. 3 is important because it shows where the leaders of the Maratha Army, whom Orme¹ describes as "hussars," met Nāṣir Jang. It was probably at this place that the plan of further action was decided upon. In any case it was from here that Nāṣir Jang wrote, "the Van of the Victorious army shall proceed by forced marches." This Van was composed of the Marāthas. No 4 is a threatening letter written by Nāṣir Jang to Dupleix, and from the nature of its contents it is obvious that it must be one of many such letters written to the French Governor. No. 5 refers to an incident which is so far unknown. Nāṣir Jang expresses his felicitations at the victory of Muḥammad 'Ali in capturing Votconde (Volconda?). This appears to be an important event in the career of Muḥammad 'Ali. That is why he was highly rewarded by the Subadar of the Deccan. The event, being new, needs further elucidation. No. 6 is an imperial order which makes reference to the *firman* granted by the Emperor to the ill-fated Ghāzi-ud-din Khān and calls upon Muḥammad 'Ali to secure his province "against the invasion of any rebel." No. 7 is a letter written by Nāṣir Jang to Pertapa Sing, the Raja of Tanjore. Nāṣir Jang praises the Raja for the help he vouchsafes and asks for a large amount of money and corn. In an attempt to persuade the Raja, he goes to the extent of writing, "When you consider the fame of your illustrious ancestors whose victories have extended from the Deccan to Guzerat through the whole Empire of Hindostan, you will not, I hope, allow yourself to remain inactive

1. *History of the Military Transaction 1764* ed., Vol. 1, p. 137.

when so fair an opportunity offers to distinguish yourself." No 8 is a *firman* granted by the Emperor Alamgir II, soon after his accession to the throne. By this *firman* Muḥammad 'Ali was given "the Dewānee and Foujdāry of Arcot and the qiladāry and Foujdāry of Trichinopoly." No. 9 is a letter written by Ghāzi-ud-din Khān, Junior, to Muḥammad 'Ali. It announces the changes brought about in the government of the Empire, especially mentioning that the writer of the letter was made Vazir of the Emperor. The writer also informs Muḥammad 'Ali that it was because of his intercession that the latter was able to obtain the above-mentioned *firman*. No. 10 is a letter written by Ṣalabat Jang to Muḥammad 'Ali, praising him highly for his services and significantly adding, "Out of consideration for all these services I ever entertained a regard for you and kept a grateful remembrance of them, but the times would not allow me to make public acknowledgements of the inward sentiments I possessed for you. Thanks to God that I now have it in my power to do so." The last document, No. 11, is a letter written by Muḥammad 'Ali to Mir Asad, the former Diwān of Anwar-ud-din Khān, and so also of his son and successor, Sufdar 'Ali Khān. In this letter, Muḥammad 'Ali refers to the communication he had from Ṣalabat Jang (No. 10 ?), glorifies the success he had lately obtained over his enemies, and refers to the help he is receiving from the English.

Now to the letters themselves :

No. 1.

Dated August 23, 1749.

"Letter from the Nabob Nazamud Dawla Nassar Jung Bahaudur Soubahdar of Deckan, to Mahomed Aly Cawn, dated 20 Ramzan, Hegra 1161."

Chan of distinguished valour and Noble in rank.

I repeatedly wrote your father not to engage the enemy till he was joined by Shanawaz Cawn (Nassir Jung's Dewan) Abdul Nubbee Cawn and Nabob of Cudapa of (sic) Himut bahaudur and to keep close in his quarters till their arrival. Yet it pleased fate that his natural valour should prevail over the reins of his prudence. Still his feets shall be recorded in the annals of History as those of Rustum, and his valour has exalted the standard of his fame. The Decrees of Heaven must be fulfilled. If the sorrow I felt on this event is too great to be described which (sic) must yours have been ?

Nothing is left for it but resignation to the will of God.

You may rest assured of my favour and that I shall soon visit your part of the Country. In the mean time be careful in keeping a strict watch over all the forts and garrisons. I have sent you a horse, dress and sword as marks of my favour. The Enemy will soon meet with the punishment he deserves. You have only to depend upon my favours and the protection of the almighty."

Note.—The translator has committed a mistake in giving the Hijri year of the letter. It must be 1163 and not 1161, because it is clear that the letter was written after the famous battle of Ambur in July 1749, corresponding to 1163 A.H. The date of the letter therefore is August 23, 1749. Another version of the same letter is entered in the *Country Correspondence*, 1749 (p. 41).

Incidentally it may be noted that there is some difference of opinion about the date of the battle of Ambur. Orme,¹ Malleson,² and Dodwell³ give July 23, 1749 (O.S.) as the date of the battle. The family history⁴ of the Nabobs of Arcot says that it was July 20. The family history should not commit any mistake at least in recording an event which cost the life of the head of the family. Yet the authorities which give the other date are so strong. One small but significant fact, however, may be taken into consideration in this connection. Entry No. 94 in *Country Correspondence*, 1749, is a letter written by Chanda Sahib to Governor Floyer who was at that time at Fort St. David. In this letter Chanda Sahib refers to his victory over Anwar-ud-din Khān and the letter was received on July 24. The distance between Ambur and Fort St. David is over 100 English miles even by a direct route. If the battle were fought on the 23rd it seems improbable that the news could be carried such a long distance the very next day. It is therefore more likely that the event took place at an earlier date such as the one given in *Tuzak-i-Wālājāhī*.

As regards the grief with which Nāṣir Jang was afflicted when he heard of Anwar-ud-din's death, Anand Ranga Pillai writes "When Nāṣir Jung heard that Anwar-ud-din Khān had been killed he cast his turban on the ground and bit his hands."⁵

No. 2.

Dated Oct.-Nov., 1749.

"From Nasser Jung to Mahomed Aly."

Upon the 17th of Zeycade (Oct. 25) I received your address of the 17th Chewal (Sept. 19) acquainting me that the rebel had left Gengee and was going to Pondicherry and from thence to Trichinopoly and that he was everywhere giving troops (proofs ?) of the puerility of his conduct, which yet deserves punishment. This I understand as well as the contents of the letters received from Hussein Mahomed Chan and Mahomed Sherif. By the Blessing of God the Victorious army will soon arrive in these parts and the childish efforts of the ungrateful rebel be punished as they deserve. Continue to give me the necessary information concerning every thing which relates to your country until the arrival of the army, when you may rest assured of victory. What shall I say more ?"

1. *History of Military Transactions*, 1764 ed., Vol. I, p. 129.

2. *History of the French in India*, 1909 ed., p. 237.

3. *Anand Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. VI, Introduction, pp. viii-ix.

4. *Burhān's Tuzak-i-Wālājāhī*, pt. I, p. 147.

5. *Diary*, Vol. VI, 171.

Note.—This letter does not bear the date on which it was written. But, as Nāṣir Jang says : “ The victorious army will soon arrive in these parts,” the Hijri year must be 1163. So the date of Muḥammad ‘Ali’s earlier letter to Nāṣir Jang and the date on which it was received become clear. Nāṣir Jang’s reply must have been written towards the end of October or in the beginning of November.

Muḥammad ‘Ali in his letter to Nāṣir Jang wrote that “ the rebel had left Gengee (Jinji) and was going to Pondicherry and from thence to Trichinopoly.” The same “ rebel ” is again described as “ ungrateful.” The reference may therefore be to Hidāyat Muḥi-ud-din Khān Muẓaffar Jāng, who alone appears to have gone by way of Jinji at this time on his road to Pondicherry. *Anand Ranga Pillai’s Diary*¹ for September 9, 1749, (N.S.) reads :—“Vakil Subhayyan’s letter to me says Chanda Sahib will choose a proper time to go to Pondicherry after the new moon has been seen and the Khutḅa celebrated at Wandiwash. Hidāyat Muḥi-ud-din Khān proposed to do this at Arcot and proceed to Pondicherry by way of Gengee.”

The *Diary*² for September 17 (N.S.) adds :—“ When I went to the Governor this Morning, he had received a letter from Chanda Sahib saying Hidāyat Muḥi-ud-din Khān left Arcot on the second day after the new moon and is marching by way of Gengee. I shall accompany him.”

No. 3.

Dated Nov. 24, 1749 (?)

“ From Nasir Jung to Mohamed Aly.”

Be it known to you that I arrived the 21st of the present month on the borders of the river Tungabudra which is 75 measured coss from Sera. I shall remain here all tomorrow, Friday the 25th, in order to receive Murhar raw, Janogee, Jeswunt. Nothing else detains me. The Van of the victorious army shall proceed by forced marches to the passes and the enemy shall follow them. I with the remainder of the army shall follow them at easy marches with (without ?) fatigue to the men and cattle and shall soon join it. I hope with the assistance of the Almighty to punish the rebel who has withdrawn from his allegiance and shed the blood of the innocent. I have repeatedly given him advice which he has not chosen to follow. He was blind and deaf to every thing. I could do no more as his superior. The Almighty knows it. May you always consider (?) as tending to your welfare and continue your obedience and attachment to me.”

Note.—This letter refers to an important halt of Nāṣir Jang’s army along the bank of the Tungabhadra. Unfortunately, the letter does not bear any date. The year in which it was written is, however, obvious from the fact that Nāṣir Jang was then on his march in the south and had

1. Vol. VI, p. 163.

2. Vol. VI, p. 169.

reached only the Tungabhadra. The year therefore is 1163 A.H., that is, 1749 A.D. As regards the month, the clue supplied in the body of the letter is the sentence, "I shall remain here all tomorrow, Friday the 25th." As "the rebel who has shed the blood of the innocent" is mentioned, the letter was written after the death of Anwar-ud-din Khān, in July 1749. But according to Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* there is no coincidence between the date and the day (Friday) from August to December of the year, 1749. Indeed, there is no such coincidence until March 23, 1750. The information we get of Nāṣir Jang's halts compels us to discard this latter date (March 23, 1750). From *Tuzak-i-Wālā-jāhī* (pt. II, pp. 29-30) and *Anand Ranga Pillai's Diary* (Vol. VI, p. 361, 371, 372) we get the following dates (O.S.).

1749, Sept. 12, Nāṣir Jang left Aurangabād.

Oct. 15, Arrived at the bank of the Manjra.

1750, Jan. 23, News brought to Pondicherry that Nāṣir Jang at his camp at Rayadrug had heard of Raja Shahu's death (which occurred on Dec. 15, 1749).

Feb. 9, News that Nāṣir Jang had reached: "Mathugiri this side of Sirpi."

Feb. 21, N. Jang had reached Chengama Pass (between the Salem and South Arcot districts).

Thus it is clear that before the end of Feb. 1750 Nāṣir Jang had reached his destination in the South. In his letter Nāṣir Jang says that he was encamped "75 measured Coss from Sera" on the day when he wrote the letter. From the itinerary given above we see that Nāṣir Jang was at Rayadrug (which is 31 miles south of Bellary) when the news of Shahu's death reached him. So before this news reached Nāṣir Jang he had left the Tungabhadra far behind him and arrived at Rayadrug. The month in which the letter was written appears to be Dhi'lq'ad or Dhi'l Hajj," corresponding to October or November (1749). In *Indian Ephemeris* the 25th Dhi'lq'ad is a Thursday and the 25th Dhi'l Hajj a Saturday. But there may be some mistake in computation particularly because the Muḥam-medan day begins at sunset whereas the English day begins at midnight. Thus the "tomorrow" mentioned in the letter was either Oct. 26 or Nov. 25, more probably the latter. Hence the letter may have been written on Nov. 24, 1749.

No. 4.

Dated October or November, 1749.

"From Nasser Jang to Mr. Dupleix, Governor of Pondichery."

As this time I have received information of my rebel subject's finding his way into the Carnatick and that you have given him open assistance and protection. As I regard the professions you have made me of your fidelity I cannot consider your present attachment to the rebel as sincere and you ought to beware of having any part in his rebellion in future.

Consider the victorious army which is marching to punish him as already arrived. If I should hear the like again which I hope I will not the consequences will be that all your factories in the Deckan and Bengal shall be destroyed. Depend upon this notice of it."

Note.—This letter appears to have been written after Hidāyat-ud-din Khān's march into the Karnatak. He reached Pondicherry on Sept. 29, 1749 (N.S.).¹ A similar letter written by Nāṣir Jang about this time is recorded in *Anand Ranga's Diary*, Vol. VI, p. 289.

No. 5.

Dated, 1750.

"From Nasir Jang to Mahomed Aly."

I have just received the accounts of the Capture of the fort Votconda (Volconda ?) by your arms and offered (offer ?) my sincere thanks-givings to the almighty throne for this success. I am highly pleased with the acts of bravery you and my well-behaved Mauphuz Cawn have shown on this occasion which will be the means in future of encreasing my regard for you. May victory and success ever attend my fortunate arms assisted by your bravery and experience in war. At your desire I have made application to the throne for dignities to be conferred upon you and your brother, according by (?) dresses the pillows,² one given as a mark that he has a right to sin in the presence chelaats, and Musned Pillows will be soon sent you. May they be propitious to you. His gracious Majesty has also been pleased to dignify and honour me by his royal gifts and marks of his honour."

Note.—The fort mentioned in this letter appears to be Volcondah, a full description of which is given by Orme.³ But if this is the fort referred to, the incident appears to be new. According to Orme⁴ the fight for that fort ensued after Nāṣir Jang's death.

No. 6.

Dated Jan. 9, 1752

"Firman from His Majesty Ahmed Shah Mahomed Aly Chan dated 2nd Rubyul in the 3rd year of the reign."

Distinguished Amongst Warriours, deserving our Royal favour, May you ever continue to hope and rest on our protection and know that this time It has pleased us to issue our Commands that the Government of the Provinces of Deckan vacant by the death of our trusty subject Nizam-ud-Dowla Naser Jung shall be conferred on the Glory of Seyeds and Amirs, the Illustrious and approved Warriour, the Pillar of the State, the Glory of the Empire, Exalted amongst the Chans of illustrious rank, first of Ameers, distinguished servant of the crown, the eldest son of the famous Nazamul Mulk, Ghazyud Deen Cawn Bahadur Ferosus Jung.

1. *Anand Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. VI, pp. 184-88.

2. The text here is not at all clear.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

4. *Idem.*, pp. 172-74.

You are in consequence of this to maintain yourself against any enemy and secure your province against the invasion of any rebel obeying every order given to you by the aforesaid Ghazyud Deen Cawn, and you are not to act in any shape without his consent. In so doing you will consult your own interest. And be careful in paying strict obedience to this order."

Note.—Though this *firman* states that the suba of the Deccan was given to Ghāzi-ud-din Khān after the death of Nāsir Jang, the same was offered to him as early as January 1751.¹ He made all his preparations to depart from Delhi and even moved out of the capital.² But he met with difficulties from his army and could not continue his march.³ A year later, with the help of the Peshwa's generals Malharrao Holkar and Jayaji rao Shinde, he left Delhi⁴ on May 7, 1752, and reached Aurangabad⁵ on September 28. After about a fortnight he was poisoned and he died on October 16.⁶

No. 7.

Dated July 5, 1752.

"From the Nabob Mahomed Aly Cawn to Pertaub Sing the Rajah of Tanjore dated 4th Ramzan 1165 of the Hegyra."

High and Illustrious in rank, greatest of the most potent Rajahs and my best friend, May you ever be seated on the Musned of Joy.

I have received your letter replete with friendship in which you tell me, "That the forces which you intend for my assistance are to be sent to me soon by the road of Tondimans' country." You say that you find the supposed to be Rajah of Mysore Mah Rajah fickle and insincere and that you do not think any dependence can be put on him. You also acquaint me that you had delivered a quantity of grain to Seyed Muchadom Aly for my use and intend sending me through his means another quantity which is collecting for that purpose. Heaven be praised that the sincerity of my friendship and the disaffection of the Rajah are now made known to you. It is my sincere wish that every one will be rewarded according to his deserts and since a firm union and friendship subsists between us, you ought to consider of the surēst means to force the enemy to repent of his imprudence in not listening to your advice. When with the assistance of the Almighty you and I and the English are joined in alliance, when the fort of Trichinopoly has stores sufficient to be in a defensible state and when your troops shall have joined ours the Mah Rajah and his confederates will soon find the insufficiency of their power and meet

1. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 359.

2. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 26, Letters 175, 176.

3. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

4. Mackenzie, *Collection, Gen.*, Vol. XLII, (I.O.L.)

5. His own letter in Br. Mu. Or. 7010. See also *Purandare Rojanisi* in *Rajawade* Vol. 6, p. 82.

6. *Purandare Rojanisi*, *op. cit.*, p. 86; *Purandare Daftar*, Vol. I, Letter No. 377 dated Oct. 18, 1752.

7. The Country of Tondaman lay between the Kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura. See Orme *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 208.

with a total overthrow from our arms. At present I am in want of a lack of rupees and a lack of Cullums¹ of paddy. When our friendship is considered, this country and Trichinopoly fort may be said to be yours and when the Arcott and Trichinopoly countries are in a peaceful state you may be easily reimbursed without distressing those countries. This is the time to serve your friends, and give them cause to remember what you have done for them. I have acquainted you with the exigencies of my situation and you can give me any assistance in this way. I shall consider it as a mark of your generosity and friendship. All my cares at present are bent in providing ammunition and money for our army; for I have no doubt that the enemy will not dare to face us in the field.

By the divine favour of the almighty I have the English forces and European cannon at my disposal and when we are joined by your cavalry who have ever distinguished themselves for their valour and discipline, it will be seen what we can do and how high your fame will be raised. To dwell longer upon this subject would appear as if I were doubtful of the sincerity of your friendship. When you consider the fame of your illustrious ancestors whose victories have extended from the Deckan to Guzerat through the whole of the Empire of Hindoostan, you will not, I hope, allow yourself to remain inactive when so fair an opportunity offers to distinguish yourself. What should I say more?

Note.—Pratap Sing was the Raja of Tanjore from 1739 to 1763. For a brief account of his reign see Subramanian's *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, pp. 47-57, as well as Pārasnis, *Tānjāwarché Rājagharāné*, pp. 61-85.

No. 8.

Dated August 5, 1754.

“*Firmān from His Majesty Allumgiur the 2nd dated 15 Chiwal in the 1st year of the reign, To Mohamed Ali Cawn.*”

Trusty and deserving of favour. May you ever hope in the Royal protection and know that at this time when by the blessing of the almighty the imperial throne has received new lustre and splendour Audub Ram the Vakeel kept by you at the Court which is like that of heaven has addressed us and made us acquainted with the Loyalty and fidelity shewn by you, our house-born servant. We out of our gracious favour have accordingly appointed you to the Dewannee and Fougedary of Arcott and the Kelladary and Fougedary of Trechonopoly which you will take possession of on the receipt of these commands. You will return thanks for the favour conferred upon you and appoint a person at the Heavenly Court to give the tribute due to the Crown and you will pay great care and attention to the good management of these districts and consider your future loyalty and good behaviour as the means to acquire fresh dignities and employments.

Note.—Alamgir II ascended the throne on June 2, 1754. See Note to letter No. 9.

¹: One Cullum was about 3/4 mound. See Pārasnis, *Tānjāwarché Rājagharāné*, p. 45.

No. 9.

Dated October 8, 1754.

“ From the Nabob Sheabud din Cawn Vizier Asoph Ja Nizamul Mulk Bahaudur Fatteh Jung to Mahomed Aly Cawn dated 20 Zehudge in the 1st year of his Majestys reign or A.D. 1753 (?) ”

Chan of distinguished valour, illustrious in rank. Be you ever possessed of His Majesty's favour.

At this happy and fortunate time the Imperial Throne has received new lustre and Glory by becoming the seat of His present Exalted Majesty, renowned for his magnanimity and heroism, has justice liberality and tenderness for his subjects and every quality and virtue befitting a Monarch. The World on this occasion has revived and began anew and mankind upon the Joyful tydings of this event are happy and rendered easy in the cradle of content. Thanks be offered to the Almighty for his infinite goodness and mercy. The Office of Vizier and general superintendancy of the affairs of the Empire has been conferred upon me. May this be propitious to me and all my well-wishers and particularly to you who have distinguished yourself in your attachment to me since fortune has been so favourable as to put us in possession of the Jewel of our desires. You will remain easy and satisfied and assure yourself of my protection and favour, and your affair will meet with success. Audub Roy has obtain at my intermediation a Firman in your favour and you will act agreeably thereto. Whatever requisite you make by Audub Roy's means shall be complied with.”

Note.—Shihāb-ud-din Khān, ‘Imād-ul-Mulk, was the son of Ghāzi-ud-din Khān and the grandson of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk. He was made Vizier on June 2, 1754, the same day on which Aḥmad Shāh was deposed and Alamgir II was seated on the throne. A detailed account of these events is given in the Mackenzie Collection, Gen. Vol. XLII (I.O.L.). For a brief and clear narration of the same see Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, 541-44. ‘Imad's full title was Ghāzi-ud-din Khān Bahadur, Firoz Jung, Amir-ul-umara, ‘Imād-ul-mulk, Nizam-ul-mulk, Aṣaf Jāh.—Sarkar *op. cit.*, p. 455.

No. 10.

Dated August 13, 1755.

“ From the Nabob Sallabut Jang Bahadur to Mahomed Aly Chan dated 14 Zeycade 1168 H., Chan of Distinguished valour and illustrious rank.”

The faithfull attachment and services you have displayed in my cause are eminent to such a degree as to deserve to be recorded in the annals of time. It has pleased Divine Providence to make you the instrument to raise the glory and fame of the family of Asoph Jah.

Your late father dyed a Martyr in shedding his blood to support their cause and you also have ever been ready to follow his example and revenge his death. After the Nabob Nasser Jung fell a Martyre to his enemies and in the troubles which succeeded that event you omitted nothing in your power to display your fidelity to him in such a manner as sur-

passes description. Out of consideration for all these services I ever entertained a regard for you and kept a greatfull (grateful) remembrance of them but the times would not allow me to give public acknowledgements of the inward sentiments I possessed for you. Thanks to God that I have it now in my power to do so. Every thing necessary has been explained to your Vakeel who will write you the particulars.

What can I say more ?

Note.—As Şalābat Jang himself says, this was the first time he publicly expressed his sentiments towards Muḥammad 'Ali. Yet in *Tuzak-i-Wālājāhī* (pt. II, p. 135) the following strange letter is entered :—

• The letter of Şalābat Jang to Hazrat-i-Ala (*i.e.*, Muḥammad 'Ali).

“ The glad news of your continous success reached me. Husan Dost Khan (*i.e.*, Chanda Sahib) in spite of his influence and power is killed¹ and the family of *nawayat* who claimed the *nizam* is also disconcerted. You have put to shame M. Dupleix in all his fights by defeating him, and done great service to Nawwab Asafu-Dawla Bahadar. We congratulate you on your success.”

The author of the history remarks that this was merely a “ formal letter.” But whether Şalābat Jang would write even a formal letter like this, expressing his thoughts so strongly against a people on whom at that time he entirely depended, is very doubtful. The doubt rather increases when we find that in the letter given here and dated 1755 Şalābat Jang says that it was the first time he could express his sentiments to M. Aly.

No. 11.

Dated 1755.

“ *From the Nabob Mahomed Aly Chan to Meer Assud (he had been Dewon to Sufdur Aly the Nabob of the Carnatich and was a man of great Power and consequence at this time).*

Thanks to the Eternal and Omnipotent God that at this fortunate time when by his devine assistance victory has been decreed to my arms. I received consumate pleasure at the receipt of your two friendly letters congratulating me on my success and at the same time have been made fully acquainted with every particular by Md. Sadduck and the latters of Ballagee Row.² My first wish is to render our alliance and friendship every day more lasting ; and when you consider the intimacy which has subsisted between our familys, the length of the time we are acquainted with each other and our connection in religion, you will no doubt have the same wish. At this time an admiral, Bescown,³ sent by the King of England to my assistance is arrived at fort St. Davids with a

1. He was murdered on June 2, 1752.

2. The Peshwa Balajirao, also known as Nanasahib (in English records sometimes called Nana only).

3. If the name is Boscawan it is clearly wrong. The admiral who had arrived at the coast at this time and whose ship Muḥammad 'Ali himself visited was Watson. See note to the letter.

large force. The French at Pondicherry have sent to make a truce¹ with the English and it is accordingly settled between them that for the space of three months they shall continue in peace with each other. The above mentioned Sadduc has been an eye-witness to this and will acquaint you himself with it. When that time is expired I make no doubt every thing will turn out as we wish most. The fidelity and attachment which I have shown to the family of Nizamul-mulk are manifest. The Nabob Vizier Nizamul-mulk Shehabuddeen Cawn Bahadar Fatteh Jung has been pleased to continue his gracious favour to me. Asopud Dowla Salabet Jung Bahadur has also at this time been pleased to acknowledge my fidelity to his family and distiguish me by marks of his favour in confirming me in the government of this country. I beg leave to transmit you a copy of his letter on this subject. You will I hope continue to keep me in your remembrance and let me hear tydings of your welfare.

Note.—The year 1755 was one of great success for Muhammad 'Ali. He succeeded in putting down the *Palagars* and *Rajas* in the surrounding countries, most of whom finally acknowledged his "Sovereignty,"² (Nov. 19). It was in this year, again, that Admiral Watson arrived on the coast of Corromondal. The Nabob visited the Admiral's ship *Kent* at Fort St. David in the month of May. "The Nabob went on board the admiral's ship, *Kent*, of sixty-four guns, and having never before seen the interior structure and arrangements of such a machine, could not suppress his astonishment when conducted on to the lower deck."³ On August 21, "a lucky day," he made his entrance into the city of Arcot.⁴ The letter, which unfortunately does not bear any date, appears to have been written after the occurrence of these victorious events.

A. G. PAWAR.

1. See Maleson, *History of the French in India*, ch. 10.

2. See Orme, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-99.

3. *Idem*, p. 398.

4. *Ibid.*

IBN-TAIMIYYA'S CONCEPTION OF ANALOGY AND CONSENSUS

SUMMARY

IBN-TAIMIYYA left a vast number of books on different topics of the *Sharī'a*. He is not a systematic writer on any subject. His views can be understood only by piecing together fragments from several treatises, but on the other hand he is consistent in his principles.—List of available books and treatises written by him on *Fiqh* (law) with a brief summary of each.—The main principle on which he bases all his teachings is "Go back to the Book of God and the *Sunna* of His Prophet."—He was an adherent of the Hanbalite School, but ultimately he gave up *taqlīd* and acted as a *mujtahid*.—His methods in deciding points of law are determined by his personal views on the text of the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadīth*.—He was not against *Ijmā'* and *Qiyās* as is generally supposed.—In his opinion there is nothing against *Qiyās* in *Sharī'a*—Criticism.—He never blamed the early caliphs for the decisions, and the view expressed by Goldziher, "So scheute er sich auch nicht, die ersten Chalifen offen zu tadeln, Omar zick er eines Fehlers, von 'Ali sagte er, das er in 17 Fragen eine irrege Entscheidung traf," cannot stand.—A few striking *fatwās* relating to Islamic rituals.—He never pronounced *tahلیل* to be illegal, but he condemned only the existing practice of his time in this problem.—Conclusion.

ALTHOUGH Ibn-Taimiyya¹ is said to have left five hundred works² of which about two hundred and fifty may be traced even now,³ it cannot be said that he deals in a systematic manner with any single topic.⁴ His views can often be fully understood only by piecing

1. Taqī al-Dīn Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, commonly known as Ibn-Taimiyya, was born at Harrān, a place near Damascus in 661/1263, and died in 728/1328 in the citadel of Damascus, where he was for the last time imprisoned. For his biography see al-Kutubī (Muḥammad b. Shākir) ob. 764 A.H., *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāq, 1299 A.H., Vol. I, pp. 35-45; al-Dhahabī (Shams al-Dīn Abu 'Abd'-allāh) ob. 748 A.H., *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, Hyderabad, 1334 A.H., Vol. IV, pp. 278-80; Ibn-Battūta, ob. 779, A.H., *Rihla*, Vol. I, 215-18 (Paris); *Enc. of Islām*, III, 421 sqq.; Schreiner, Z.D.M.G. 52, 540-63; Brockelmann, *Geshichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, II, 100 sqq.

2. Al-Kutubi, *Fawāt*, l. c., I, 38.

3. An investigation will show that nearly 85 books have already been published, 17 are in manuscript and 145 others have been ascribed to him.

4. Possibly his refutation of the *Imāmi* doctrines in his *Minhāj al-Sunna* (Būlāq, 1321-22 A.H. in 4 parts, pp. 1156) may be excepted, but its discursive tendencies and repetitions are characteristics of Ibn-Taimiyya's style.

together fragments from several treatises, but on the other hand it will generally be found that he is consistent in his principles.

The available books and treatises written by Ibn-Taimiyya on different topics are either in print or in manuscript in different libraries of the East and the West, and those available on Fiqh, (jurisprudence) may be enumerated as follows :—¹

1. *Risālat al-Niyya fi-l Ṭahāra wa'l-Ṣalā*, etc., MRK,² Vol. I, 241-256, written in 725 A.H. In this treatise Ibn-Taimiyya argues that it is not necessary to utter a formula of *niyya*, (intention) before beginning one's ablution or prayer, etc. One who does so is doing an act of innovation, (*bid'a*).³

2. *Risālat al-Ḥalāl*, MRK, II, 36-52. A *fatwā* regarding the opinion of certain jurists on the lawfulness of *rizq*, sustenance derived from state revenue, because during Maṣū'ūr's time the booty was not properly distributed, consequently it became, and has ever since remained, impossible to distinguish between legal and illegal sources of revenue. In this connection Ibn-Taimiyya mentions an interesting story (which he considers to be false) that Ṣāliḥ son of the Imām Aḥmad ate no home-made bread after he was appointed a Qādī. Once, it is said, when his people had prepared it for him and he refused to partake of it, they threw it in the river Tigris, whereupon Ṣāliḥ stopped eating the fish of that river.⁴

3. *Bayān al-Hudā min al-Ḍalāl fi-'Amr al-Hilāl*, MRK, II, 152-166. This is on the appropriateness of religious and social observances according to lunar calculations.

4. *Risāla fi Sunnat al-Jumu'a*, MRK., II, 167-179. A *fatwā* in reply to the question whether the Prophet or his companions or those who came later on said any prayer on Fridays just after the first *adhān*, (call for prayer). Ibn-Taimiyya points out that the present custom of two *adhāns* at the Friday prayer was not in vogue during the Prophet's time. After the Prophet took his seat on the pulpit for the sermon on Fridays, Bilāl called the *adhān* and nobody said any prayer after it, during sermon. Of course the Companions, he adds, used to say a prayer when they entered the mosque on Fridays, but they never limited it to any particular number of *raka'āt*, (bowings) on the basis of which the authorities of the four schools recommended a definite number, some two and some four.

5. *Al-'Uqūd al-Muḥarrama*, MRK, II, 203-216. A *fatwā* on certain wrong practices which may become right in special circumstances. For example, to say one's prayers in a house occupied by force, to slaughter

1. It will probably interest our readers to learn that an extensive collection of the works of Ibn-Taimiyya and Ibn al-Qaiyyim is found in the Library of a noble of the district of Shākrānwan in Bihar. Ed. 8.

2. MRK (*Majmū'at Rasā'il al-Kubra*), by Ibn-Taimiyya, in 2 vols. consisting of 29 treatises, Cairo, 1323 A.H.

3. MRK, I, 242.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 37.

animals by instruments obtained from others unjustly, or to cook food with fuel seized from others unlawfully, are all forbidden, but if the wrong-doer makes due reparation to the man he has wronged, all these actions cease to be wrong.¹

6. *Risāla fī Ma'na al-Qiyās*, MRK, II, 217-276. This *risāla* has also been published along with *Fuṣūl fī'l-Q'* o Ibn-Qaiyyim by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, with the title of *al-Qiyās fī'l-Shar' al-Islāmī*, Cairo, 1246. A *fatwā* as to whether *muḍāraba*, *musāqa*, etc., are in agreement with analogy or not.²

7. *Al-Kalām fī Raf' al-Ḥanafī Yadaih*, MRK, II, 346-353. A *fatwā* relating to the conduct of a Ḥanafī who lifted his hands (which is against the code of his school) at every *rukū'*, while bowing and rising. Ibn-Taimiyya argues that not only is it lawful for a Muslim, to whatever school he may belong, to raise his hands in his prayer at every *rukū'*, but it is even commendable.³

8. *Risāla fī Manāsik al-Ḥajj*, MRK, II, 355-400. Here he describes the rites of pilgrimage. On page 356 he mentions that ignorant Arabs called a well at Wādī al-'Aqīq, the well of 'Alī, (Bi'r 'Alī) in the belief that he fought the *jinn* (L. *genius*) there.⁴

9. *Tanawwu' al-'Ibādāt*, on the variety of forms of several religious formulas such as *taṣṭahhud*, *tarjī' fī'l-ādhān*, *jahr bi'l-Qur'ān* in supererogatory night worship, etc., MR, 84-93.⁵

10. *Al-Mazālim al-Mushtarika*, MR, 25-34, on showing justice to the non-Muslims in collecting taxes from them according to the Qur'ānic injunction. "Stand up as witness for God by righteousness: and let not ill-will against any induce you not to act uprightly. Act uprightly. Next will this be to the fear of God."⁶

11. *Risāla fī Aḥkām al-Safar wa'l-Iqāma*, on religious observances while on travel or in a settled condition. MRM,⁷ col. II, 2-100.

12. *Al-Madḥhab al-Ṣaḥīḥ fī mā jā' min al-Nuṣuṣ fī waḍ' al-Jawā'ih fī-mubāy'āt wa'l-damānāt wa'l-mu'jarāt*, on sale, indemnity, and wages. MRM, Vol. V, 208-232, quoted from the 31st part of *Kawākib al-Durari*, preserved in the Maktabat al-Zāhiriyya, Damascus.

13. *Risāla Khilāf al-Umma*, Cairo, 1347 A.H., 2nd edition.

14. *Mas'ala fī Sujūd al-Qur'ān*, Berl., No. 3570.

1. MRK, II, 210.

2. This is discussed below in connection with *qiyās*.

3. MRK, II, 347; *Majmū'at Fatāwā*, II, 375 sqq.

4. See also *Rihla*, Ibn-Battūṭa, I, 295. (Paris)

5. MRK, (*Majmū'at Rasā'il*), consisting of 9 treatises edited by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn, Cairo, 1323 A.H.

6. Qur'ān, Sūra V, 11.

7. MRM, (*Majmū'at al-Rasā'il wa'l-Masā'il*), ed., by Muḥammad Rashīd Ridā in 5 vols., Cairo, 1341-49 A.H.

15. *Mas'ala fī Sujūd al-Sahw*, Berl., No. 3573.
16. *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Nahy wa'l-Nazā' fī Dhawāt al-Asbāb wa Ghairiha*, Berl., No. 3574.
17. *Kitāb fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, Berl., No. 4592.¹
18. *Al-Farq al-Mubīn bain al-Ṭalāq wa'l Yamīn*, Leid., 1834.
19. *Bāb al-Ṭahāra*, Leid., 1835.
20. *Qā'ida fī 'Adad Raka'āt fī al-Ṣalāt* Berl., 3571.
21. *Fatwā* given in 708/1308 in Egypt on diverse points relating to prayer. Berl. 3572.
22. *Iqāmat al-Dalīl fī Ibtāl al-Taḥlīl*, Leid., No. 4665. An extract by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥanbalī, Berl. 4665.²
23. *Majmū'at Fatāwā* in 5 vols., containing 2459 pages, on exegesis, tradition, jurisprudence, theology, etc., Cairo, 1326-29.

The main principle on which Ibn-Taimiyya bases his teachings is "Go back to the Book of God and the *Sunna* of His Prophet." Beyond this there is nothing but *bid'a*, innovation, *fiṣq*, impiety, *shirk*, polytheism, and *kufr*, infidelity. This principle underlies his arguments in regard to dogmatic or legal problems. In interpreting the text he is a literalist and clings to the old doctrines, even though they are opposed to the current belief of his time. He does not like other authorities, maintain that the door of *ijtihād*, right of private judgment, has long ago been closed, and though he does not appear to have claimed the title of a *mujtahid*, (one who forms his own opinion from first principles) for himself in his extant works, yet the opinion of his contemporaries and of subsequent generations was that he acted like a *mujtahid*.

In his younger days Ibn-Taimiyya studied *fiqh* under his father,³ and gave legal decisions while he was still in his teens. The jurists of all schools, it is said, benefited from his vast knowledge of law.⁴

Although an adherent of the Ḥanbalite School he did not hold to it on many points. His method in deciding points of law are determined by his views on tradition and his manner of handling the *Ḥadīth*. In order to make it clear let us enter into the discussion of Ibn-Taimiyya's attitude towards legal principles of *ijmā'* and *qiyās* along with some typical points of law.

Ibn-Taimiyya admits *ijmā'*⁵ but in a narrower sense. That is he,

1. I have a copy of the MS. from Berlin covering 208 pages of quarto size.

2. This occurs in full in *M. Fatāwā*, III (2nd part), p. 2-266.

3. See Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadh'rāt* VI, 81.

4. Al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, I, 36.

5. *Ijmā'*, literally means 'agreeing upon' but in the *Sharī'a* it means the agreement of the *mujtahids* on any matter of the faith in any age after the death of the Prophet. Such agreements became *hujja* (authority) for their own and all succeeding periods. This agreement could be expressed in speech called *ijmā' al-qawā'*, or in action known as *ijmā' al-fi'l*, or by silence considered as *ijmā' al-sukūt*. *Enc. of Isl. s.v. idjmā'* Ṣadr al-*Sharī'a*, *Tawḍīḥ*, p. 339 sqq. Aghnides, *Muḥammadan Theories*, etc., p. 60 sqq.

accepts *ijmā'* of the Companions and even then on condition that it does not contradict *Kitāb* and *Sunna*.

The reasons why he rejects the *ijmā'* of others than the Companions are (i) that once Caliph 'Umar despatched a letter to Qādī Shuraiḥ, in which he ordered Shuraiḥ to abide by the Qur'ān in his decisions; in case the Qur'ān did not help him in the matter, he should search in the *Sunna* for it, and if even the *Sunna* failed to decide it, he should follow the *ijmā'*, agreement of the Companions on the question, (ii) when Ibn-'Abbās could not decide a case by the Qur'ān or the *Sunna*, he followed the opinion of Abū-Bakr and 'Umar.¹

After basing his argument on the above principles, Ibn-Taimiyya classifies the statements of the Companions into four grades.²

(i) A statement that does not contradict a *naṣṣ* and which was evidently known among the Companions and nobody objected to it. This he calls *ijmā' iqrāri*.³

(ii) One that was not widely known among the Companions, but which is known to have passed without contradiction. This he calls a *ḥujja*, authority, which must be followed.

(iii) One that was not widely known among the Companions and which met with contradiction. This must be accepted as a *ḥujja* which is universally agreed upon.⁴

(iv) One about which it is not known whether other Companions agreed upon it or not. This must remain in suspense, but if there be any *Sunna* against it, it must be rejected and the *Sunna* acted upon.

When an *ijmā'* contradicts a *naṣṣ*, text of the Qur'ān, Ibn-Taimiyya continues, "there must be another *naṣṣ* with the *ijmā'* to supersede the previous one. A *Sunna* cannot abrogate the *Kitāb*. A verse of the Qur'ān can only be abrogated by another verse, not by *ijmā'* or *Sunna*."

Ibn-Taimiyya accepts *qiyās*, analogy, as one of the four fundamental principles of Islamic law,⁵ but he argues in his treatise *Fī ma'n al-Qiyās*⁶ against certain processes of analogy adopted by the Hanafites and other jurists. This treatise confirms the statement made above, while at the same time it makes clear his opinion that *qiyās* is subordinate to the literal meaning of the scriptures.

The definition of *qiyās* given by him is as follows:

Qiyās means the combination of two similar things and the differentiation of two dissimilar things. The first is called *qiyās al-ṭard* and the

1. MRK, I, 215 sq.

2. Ibn-Taimiyya, *Qā'idat Jalil fi'l-Tawassul wa'l-Wasīla*, Cairo, 1345 A.H., p. 100.

3. This is also called *ijmā'al-sukūt* or *al-taqrīr*.

4. MRK, I, 216 sq.

5. *Ibid.*, I, 208.

وان الاجماع اجماع الامة حتى فانها لا يجتمع على الضلالة وكذلك القياس الصحيح حتى يوافق الكتاب والسنة.

6. *Ibid.*, II, 217-276.

second *qiyās al-'aks*.¹

In a valid analogy, the cause ('*illa*) by which the ruling (*ḥukm*) is attached to the basis (*aṣl* or *maqīs 'alaih*) must be found also in the '*far'*, or *maqīs* (thing compared) without any contradiction that may oppose the application of the ruling to the *maqīs*.²

Having stated his view on *qiyās* Ibn-Taimiyya declared that there is no accepted practice in Islam which is against *qiyās*, and that it is not a necessary condition of valid *qiyās* that every scholar should know its validity. Indeed, it may sometimes appear contrary to his own conception.³

In order to appreciate his arguments it is worth while to take a few problems from his treatise on *qiyās*⁴ in which he attacked the Ḥanafite reasoning, and to discuss how far he was justified in censuring the Ḥanafites.

According to Abū-Ḥanīfa, in business transactions there are certain practices such as *muḍāraba*,⁵ *musāqa*,⁶ *muzāra'a*,⁷ etc., which though they cannot be declared lawful by analogy, are considered lawful by virtue of *istiḥsān*.⁸ Ibn-Taimiyya does not contradict the result of this *istiḥsān* but seeks to prove that none of these practices is contrary to analogy and that Abū-Ḥanīfa is wrong in his reasoning.⁹

1. MRK, II, 217.

2. This is more clearly expressed by Ṣadr al-Ṣharī'a in his *al-Tawḍīḥ*, p. 360, (ed. Cal. 1245 A.H.). *Qiyās* in *Ṣharī'a* means the process of transferring the *ḥukm* (ruling) from one thing to another on account of the same '*illa* (reason) which exists in both, and which is not based solely on lexical arguments. The first is called *aṣl* (root) or *maqīs 'alaih* (thing compared with) and the second *maqīs* (thing compared). For instance, *nabīḍh* has been forbidden by some jurists because wine is prohibited. Wine is forbidden because it causes drunkenness, and because this drunkenness is also caused by *nabīḍh* the prohibition in wine should be applied to *nabīḍh*, which must therefore be declared forbidden.

3. MRK, II, 218.

فليس في الشريعة ما يخالف قياسا صحيحا ، لكن فيها ما يخالف لقياس الفاسد وان كان من الناس من لا يعلم فساده . وليس من شرط القياس الصحيح المتدل ان يعلم صحته كل احد . فمن رأى شيئا من الشريعة مخالفا للقياس فانما هو مخالفا للقياس الذي انعقد في نفسه ليس مخالفا للقياس الصحيح الثابت في نفس الامر .

4. *Ibid.*, II, 217-276.

5. *Muḍāraba* signifies a contract of co-partnership, of which the one party, (the proprietor) is entitled to a profit on account of the stock (*rā's al-māl*), he being denominated *rabb al-māl* or proprietor of the stock ; and the other party is entitled to a profit on account of his labour ; and this last is denominated the *muḍārib* (or manager) inasmuch as he derives a benefit from his own labour and endeavours. Grady, p. 454.

6. *Musāqa*. This is a contract between two men, one of whom takes charge of the fruit-trees of the other man on condition that the crops shall be divided between them on specified terms.

7. *Muzāra'a*. This is a contract between two persons, one being a landlord and the other a cultivator, in which both agree that whatever is produced by cultivation of the land shall be divided between them in specified proportions.

8. *Enc. of Isl.* s.v. *Istiḥsān* (supplement).

9. Ibn-Taimiyya, *Kit. fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, Berl. 4592, fol. 57 (b) sqq.

وهذا قول أبي حنيفة وهو أشد الناس قولاً بتحريم هذا وأما مالك والشافعي فالقياس عندهما ما قاله أبو حنيفة ادخالاً لذلك في القدر لكن تجوز منه ما تدعوا إليه الحاجة . فجوز مالك والشافعي في القديم المسافات مطلقاً .

p. 305 ; *Ris. fī ma'n-al-qiyās* in MRK, II, 218. *Majmū'at Fatāwā*, III (2nd part).

He points out that the Ḥanafites unreasonably make the above transactions contrary to analogy by comparing them to *Ijāra*, hire, in which the 'iwāḍ, thing received in exchange, is unknown and 'amal, labour and ribh, profit are not defined.¹ In his opinion, (a) these transactions are purely of the type of *mushārakāt*, sharing in a business, (b) they have nothing to do with the system of *mu'āwadāt*, mutual exchange, in which the exchanges should previously be specified, and (c) the object in them is not the labour but the wages.²

Further, in *muḍāraba* the proprietor does not intend to gain the labour of the employee. For instance, a land-owner employs a man to plough his field on condition that they will share the crop between them. If the crop is destroyed by a flood the labourer gets nothing for his labour and the land-owner cannot expect anything from the labourer for his seeds or land. The employee expects the benefit of his labour and the employer that of his money or property : whatever the benefit be, they will divide it between themselves. This is why Ibn-Taimiyya suggests that in *muḍāraba* it is forbidden to assign the crop of a particular part of the land to either of the parties, as this will hinder them from acting justly.³

The problem of *Ijāra* :—The Ḥanafites consider it to be *bai'al-ma'dūm*, the selling of non-existing goods, but a transaction which has been made lawful, contrary to analogy, by means of *istihsān*. Ibn-Taimiyya contradicts them and says that it is in full agreement with analogy.⁴ His argument is that *ijāra* is a special kind of transaction recommended by the Prophet, in which it is not necessary (though Abū-Ḥanifa thought otherwise) to present the *mubī'a* on the spot. The reason why selling of non-existing goods has been made unlawful, is that it is sometimes deceptive, as when a thing is sold which cannot be delivered,⁵ but *ijāra*, though it resembles *bai'al-ma'dūm*, is not deceptive at all—it is a contract of ordinary mutual exchange. Such a contract cannot be held void simply on the ground that its usufruct is non-existing. Neither the Qur'an nor the Sunna forbids it. On the contrary there is a hint of the lawfulness of such a contract in the Qur'an in permitting the hiring of nurses for suckling.⁶

As regards the practice of *muḍāraba*, Ibn-Taimiyya notes that it is not a new thing in Islam. It had already been in existence in the Days of

1. For a detailed description of the Ḥanafite reasoning see *Hidāya*, Kit. *al-Buyū'* under each chapt. of *muḍāraba*, *musāqāt*, etc.

2. MRK, II, 218 sq.

3. *Ibid.*, II, 219 sq.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 237-53.

5. *Ibid.*, II, 246. For example, to sell a runaway slave.

6. MRK, II, 237 sq. Qur'an, Sūra lxxv, 6-7. - وَأَنْ تَعَاوَنَهُمْ فَتَرْضَعُوا لَهُ أُخْرَىٰ لِيَتَّقِيَ ذُرِّيَّتَهُ مِنْ سَعَتِهِ

The above verses which permit suckling by foster-mothers have been explained away by the Ḥanafite jurists in several ways. They did not hold it to be selling of non-existing goods, for some of them were of opinion that the remuneration that a nurse receives is not for her suckling but for taking care of the babies, and so on. *Hidāya*, kit. *al-riḍā'*.

Ignorance. The Prophet himself in his early days made a contract of *muḍāraba* with Khadija in her business, and the Companions did the same among themselves. After the advent of Islam the Prophet maintained this practice and thus it was authenticated by the Sunna.¹

In addition to Ibn-Taimiyya's treatise on *qiyās* we have another pamphlet written by his pupil, Ibn-Qaiyyim, on the same theme,² in which we find more than forty questions all of which are dealt with exactly on the same lines as those adopted by his teacher, though he brings into his *risāla* more curious problems than those discussed by Ibn-Taimiyya.

From these two treatises it is clear that neither Ibn-Taimiyya nor his pupil Ibn-Qaiyyim disagrees with the Ḥanafites in their decisions. The only point in which they disagree is that they do not accept certain technical terms of *qiyās*, namely *istiḥsān* of the Ḥanafites and *istiṣlāḥ*, and *istiṣḥāb* adopted by the Shāfiites and Malikites. They seem to have misunderstood the spirit in which the Ḥanafites called the problems in question contrary to analogy. Abū-Ḥanīfa and his followers, when they speak of *qiyās*, mean by it *al-qiyās al-jalī* (an analogy readily understood by every body), because they divided *qiyās* into two classes, namely *al-jalī* and *al-khafi*. The latter has been named *istiḥsān*. So whenever they find any problem that does not come under the category of *al-jalī* they call it *khilāf al-qiyās*, contrary to analogy. Under these circumstances Ibn-Taimiyya and his pupil seem to have been labouring under a misapprehension in composing such treatises against the Ḥanafites. The Ḥanafites may not be wrong in declaring *muḍāraba*, etc., contrary to analogy according to their own standpoint. For example, in regard to *muḍāraba*, the argument as to whether it is *ijāra* or *mushāraka* is only hair-splitting.

That the arguments used by our author and his pupil are mere *asrār* or remote causes is also manifested in the writings of Ibn-Qaiyyim, for in the course of his arguments he repeatedly tells us that such and such problems are intelligible only to those who are acquainted with the mysteries of the *Sharī'a*.³

Some are of opinion that Ibn-Taimiyya blames the early caliphs for their decisions,⁴ but as a matter of fact he never does so. Of course he does not hesitate to point out the mistakes of the early leaders whenever he finds them to have misunderstood the true meaning of tradition or of verses of the Qur'ān. He relates instances of wrong judgments on the part of the early caliphs and maintains his own opinion as against them. But it should be observed that his object in doing so was not to glorify himself or to criticise these early leaders, but to find out the true solution

1. MRK, I, 211 sq.

2. *Al-Qiyās fi'l-Shar' al-Islāmī*, Cairo, 1346 A.H.

3. Ibn-Qaiyyim al-Jawziyya, *Fuṣūl li Ibn-Qaiyyim fi'l-Qiyās*, published with *Al-Qiyās fi'l-Shar' al-Islāmī* of Ibn-Taimiyya, Cairo, 1346, pp. 135, 138, 201, 216, 217, 220, etc.

4. Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten*, pp. 188, 190; Z.D.M.G. 52/156; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, II, 102.

of a problem. He has a profound respect for them all, which has been well exhibited in the title and contents of his *Raf' al-Malām 'an al A'immat al-A'lām* (Removal of Blame from the Great Leaders).¹ Moreover, in his *Minhāj al-Sunna*,² he repeatedly quotes traditions from the Prophet forbidding ill-feelings against the early leaders of Islām. Therefore the view expressed by Goldziher, "So scheute er (Ibn-Taimiyya) sich auch nicht, die ersten Chalifen offen zu tadeln, 'Omar zick er eines Fehler, von 'Ali sagte er, das er in 17 Fragen eine irrigte Entscheidung traf'" cannot stand.³ It is true that Ibn-Taimiyya mentions the mistakes of 'Alī⁴ as well as of 'Umar,⁵ but he does so not in order to injure their prestige, but either in the course of his own investigation of Ḥadīth materials, or in defence of the Sunnīs against the exaggerations of the Shī'as.

Now let us consider a few striking *fatwās* given by Ibn-Taimiyya. 'Asqalānī tells us that Ibn-Taimiyya disagreed with the four imāms on several questions of jurisprudence,⁶ but he ('Asqalānī) does not enumerate them. The following examples may be quoted from the *Majmū'āt Fatāwī* of Ibn-Taimiyya.⁷

(1) Juice of plants, etc. may be used for *wuḍū'*, minor ablution.

(2) It is lawful in performing the ablution not only to wipe the shoes and feet but even to wipe over anything which cannot be put off easily.

(3) There is no limit to the length of time during which the *khuff*, inner shoes, may, if necessary, continue to be wiped (instead of making full ablution). While travelling to Egypt Ibn-Taimiyya himself did so.

(4) It is lawful in performing ablution to wipe *lafā'if*, anything like socks covering the feet.

(5) It is allowed to perform daily and *jumu'a* prayers after *tayammum* (a formal ablution with fine sand), if there is no time for ablution with water.

(6) There is no fixed period for *ḥaid*, menstruation, *ṭuhr*, legal purity, and *ayās*, the age at which menstruation stops. They may vary according to one's nature.

(7) One who has missed prayers intentionally need not perform them anew. He should say plenty of optional prayers instead.

(8) In order to benefit from the concession of *qaṣr*, shortening of prayers, it is not necessary to make a journey of any specified distance, for

1. *Majmū'at Rasā'il*, l.c., pp. 55-83.

2. *M. Sunna* I, 153 sq. These were directed in the first place against the Shī'ite abuse of Abū-Bakr and 'Umar.

3. *Die Zahiriten*, l.c., p. 188 sqq; Brockelmann, II, 102.

4. *M. Sunna*, IV, 137.

5. *Ris. raf' al Malām in Majmū'āt Rasā'il*, l.c., p. 56.

6. 'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* (Hyderabad, 1348 A.H.), Vol. I, 158.

7. Vol. IV (2nd part), pp. 2-220; cf. Nawāb Ṣiddiq Ḥasan Khān Bahadūr, *Ithāf al-Nubalā'* (in Persian) Cawnpur, India, 1288, pp. 216-17.

it depends solely on local customs, *al-'urf*.

(9) Ablution is not necessary for making a prostration after reciting the verses that require it.

(10) *Raf'al-yadain*, lifting of hands at every *rukū'*, is not unlawful for any one, to whatever school he may belong.

The problem of *tah̄lil*:—Ibn-Taimiyya was not against the institution of *tah̄lil* as prescribed by the verse of the Qur'ān, *Sūra* II, 230. "But if the husband divorce her (a third time) it is not lawful for him to take her again, until she shall have married another husband; and if he also divorce her, then shall no blame attach to them if they return to each other, thinking that they can keep within the bounds fixed by God." But what he condemned was the existing practice of his time,¹ which did not exist in the early days of Islām. The correct interpretation of the verse, he suggests, is that a man may remarry his thrice divorced wife only (i) when another man marries her in his own interest and not with an evil intention of making her lawful for the first husband, and (ii) if the man then either dies or divorces her on account of any unbearable trouble between them. In support of this explanation he quotes a number of traditions and opinions of the Companions. He also gives us the opinion of the jurists—Shāfi'ī, Aḥmad, Mālik, etc., who disallowed *tah̄lil*, as understood by the common people and was current among them. He moreover quotes the first tradition of the Bukhārī, "Actions are judged by intentions," in support of his arguments, and asserts that if a man does even a good action with evil intention, he commits sin.²

What he means by this is that the Qur'ān permits a divorced wife to be remarried only under the aforesaid conditions, laying stress on the point that there must not be any intention of divorce in the second marriage on the part of the woman or the man, in order to make her lawful for the first husband.

We have seen that in deciding points of law Ibn-Taimiyya is not against *ijmā'* or *qiyās*, though he accepts the first in a narrower sense and holds the latter subordinate to the literal meaning of the text. We may justly give him the credit for his honesty of purpose in searching for the truth unfettered by the chains of *taqlīd* or blind following of authority. The underlying principle in giving the striking *fatwās* seems to be that he does

1. Prof. Macdonald makes the following statement of the misuse of *tah̄lil*, and the protest of Ibn-Taimiyya against it. "... and the custom," he says, "has grown up, when a man has thus divorced his wife in hasty anger, of employing another to marry her on a pledge of divorcing her again next day. Sometimes the man so employed refuses to carry out his contract; such refusal is a frequent *motif* in oriental tales. To avoid this, the husband not infrequently employs one of his slaves and presents him to his former wife the next day. A slave can legally marry a free woman, but when he becomes her property, the marriage is annulled, *ipso facto*, because a slave cannot be the husband of his mistress or a slave woman the wife of her master. It is to Ibn-Taimiyya's credit that he was one of the few to lift up their voices against this abomination."—*Theology*, p. 276.

2. To this topic Ibn-Taimiyya devoted pp. 2-226 in his *Majmu'āt-i-Fatāwi*, III, (2nd part).

not follow any restriction laid down by the jurists in certain problems of jurisprudence. He goes back to the early sources of the *Kitāb* and the *Sunna*, and interprets them in a wider way so as to derive the full benefit of the privileges recommended by them.

In regard to the right of *ijtihād*, (private judgment) Ibn-Taimiyya does not go against the popular view. In his opinion two groups of *mujtahids* will not be pardoned for their judgments. They are the self-opinionated and the careless. In proof of this, he quotes the saying of the Prophet, "Judges are three, two in Hell, and one in Heaven. The one in Heaven is he who knows the truth of a matter and gives his decisions accordingly. As for the two who are in Hell, one judges ignorantly and the other, though he knows the true affair, acts contrary to it." The rest, he adds, deserve recompense in spite of their errors, as it is difficult to give right judgments in all matters.¹

Ibn-Taimiyya further notes that it is not necessary for a *mujtahid* to be acquainted with all traditions, because if such a condition is laid down for *ijtihād* not a single *mujtahid* would be available in the community.²

SIRAJUL HAQ.

1. *Kit. ft Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, Berl. 4592, fol. 47/a ; *Majmū'āt Rasā'il*, l.c., pp. 64, 69.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

A CONFERENCE BETWEEN BRIGADIER- GENERAL MACLEOD AND TĪPŪ SULTĀN

TĪPŪ Sultān's success on the Malabar Coast forced the English to ask for a cessation of hostilities. Major Campbell drew up the terms of the armistice, which was signed on the 2nd of August 1783.¹ The Bombay Government had sent three small vessels with provisions, but these could not arrive in time. The vessel carrying Brigadier-General Macleod also could not leave Bombay earlier than the 12th August.

But the Madras Government was anxious for peace with TĪpŪ Sultān. Lord Macartney had already twice made efforts in this direction. A treaty with TĪpŪ Sultān was regarded as a logical consequence of the peace declared between England and France by the treaty of Versailles, TĪpŪ being the ally of the King of France.² The Commissioners of the Madras Government were therefore on their way to restart negotiations with TĪpŪ.³

Brigadier-General Macleod had therefore no alternative but to pursue the policy of peace when he arrived off Mangalore on the 17th August, 1783. He, however, thought that the Bombay Government had borne the chief burden of the war on the Malabar Coast, and therefore was more concerned in negotiating a peace with TĪpŪ than the Madras Government.⁴ Accordingly, he expressed a desire to see TĪpŪ Sultān in a letter to Major Campbell, saying "I rejoice in the idea of a general peace as I shall get home happily to my little family. It would make me proud to see the warlike prince I once had the honour of fighting."⁵ He also wrote to TĪpŪ Sultān for permission to land and interview him.⁶ The permis-

1. *Secret Consultations* 14 Nov. 1783 No. 1 (Imperial Records Department).

2. Appendix to *Sec. Cons.*, 18th Aug. 1783.

3. This Treaty is known as the *Treaty of Mangalore*, concluded on 11th March 1784. Aitchison, pp. 228. (Fifth edition).

4. Letter from Genl. Macleod to the President, Select Committee at Bombay, dated "Morning Star" off Mangalore, *Sec. Cons.*, 18th August 1783.

5. *Sec. Cons.*, 14th Nov. 1783.

6. Letter from Genl. Macleod to TĪpŪ Sultān, dated 19th Aug. 1783 (*Sec. Cons.* 14th Nov. 1783).

sion seems to have been granted. The General landed at Mangalore and had an opportunity of seeing the "warlike prince." He has left an interesting record¹ of his conversations with the Sultān which took place on the 20th and 21st of August 1783. In a letter to the Select Committee at Bombay, dated Mangalore, 2nd October 1783, he describes his conversation with the Sultān as "plain, but open and spirited," and he believed himself to have "extinguished every idea in him (the Sultān) of renewing the war with the English and inspired him with a keen wish to have their friendship."² The following is the account of this interview.

On August 20th Lieut.-Colonel Campbell presented Brigadier-General Macleod to the Sultān. The usual darbar ceremonies were performed. Some general conversation took place which consisted mostly of enquiries from the Sultān about the engagement which the Brigadier-General had fought with the Maratha Fleet.³

Tipū then asked if the General had anything particular to say concerning peace or war. After this the conversation continued in the following manner (as recorded by Brigadier-General Macleod).⁴ Lieut. Lighton acted as interpreter.

Brigadier-General Macleod :—"One of my greatest reasons for landing was that as there is now a prospect of peace I intend to return soon to Europe⁵ and wish to have the honour of seeing the Nabob⁶ that I may give my own royal master an account of the person of so famous a prince; I am also rejoiced to find by the cessation of arms which His Highness has concluded with Lieut.-Col. Campbell that there was likelihood of peace between our nation and him; I am desirous to strengthen the beginnings of it by confirming the cessation as Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, and if His Highness would allow me I would mention something to him which would prove it to be in his own interest to be a firm friend to the English and would pave the way to a peace."

Nabob :—"I am sincere in my desire for peace with the English. I respect them and if they act fairly with me I will be their friend. I should be glad if the General would go to the King of England from me and tell him about me. I want to be a friend to him and

1. Letter from Genl. Macleod to Tipū Sultān, dated 19th Aug. 1783 (Sec. Cons. 14th Nov. 1783).

2. Sec. Cons., 20th Janu. 1784.

3. This refers to the capture of the English vessel, *Ranger Snow*, by the Marathas. Genl. Macleod was on board the ship and took an active part in the fight and was seriously wounded. (Sec. Cons., 28th July 1783) vide my paper on "The *Ranger Snow* Episode, Indian Historical Records Commission Progs., Vol. XVIII.

4. A similar record is also available of a Conference of Srinivas Row, Wakil of Sir Eyre Coote, with Haider Ali. (Appendix to Sec. Cons., 26th Sept. 1762). Another conference is described in Forrester's *Selections from Foreign Dept. Records*, pp. 885-895.

5. Sec. Cons., 16 Dec. 1783 no. 1 C.

6. Among the East India Company records Tipū Sultān is generally referred to as "Tipoo Sahib" up to 1782. After his accession he is addressed as "Nabob Tipoo Sultan Bahadur."

his people and will send presents through the General to the King. I will be glad to see the General at my darbar to-morrow and to hear all he has to say. I will open my heart to him and he must act fairly with me and I have a great opinion of him and Lieut.-Col. Campbell. They have shewed themselves good warriors and I wish to raise their name. I will see them to-morrow."

Brigadier-General Macleod then writes that "during this conference Mr. Pierson de Morlat, the French envoy, came in. The Nabob told me that as the French had proposed the peace he had sent for him that I might see him in the darbar."

August 21st.

"The Nabob sent for us in the evening. The Nabob asked me to proceed in what I had to say to him which I did as follows:—"

Brig.-Genl. Macleod:—"I always had a great respect for the Nabob and his family. His father was a great warrior and a great prince and every soldier admires him. The Nabob himself has great renown as a warrior and he has come to great power and fame at a much earlier time of life than his father. I know the wise means that he is taking to strengthen his army and discipline them. I wish him great increase of power and glory and if he will be a friend to our nation I should rejoice to see the House of Hyder as great as ever that of Temur (sic) was. But I will prove to the Nabob, if he will let me speak without taking offence, that if he hopes to be great and successful it cannot be by war with the English: (I was desired to speak freely and went on). The Nabob is too well-informed a prince not to know that at the breaking out of this war with him the Government of Madras and their allies were not well prepared for war, that his father and he had taken great advantage of this and met with great success at first; that notwithstanding this the English soon became equal in the field and at this moment the Nabob enjoyed recompense for all his great expense and trouble. The English were able to make this head against him when they were engaged in war with the French, Spaniards, Dutch and Americans¹ and with the Marathas in India. These wars employed all their resources of men, ships and money. Now we have peace with all these nations. The Nabob is our only enemy; all the force of the British Empire may now be employed against him. I assure the Nabob in the most solemn manner that the greatest preparations are being made against him. That ships and men are daily arriving from Europe

1. This refers to the war of the American Independence in which the French and Spanish States were the allies of the American Colonies.

and will continue to arrive till we have finished the war with him. I own that the Nabob is a great and formidable prince. But he cannot but think that the English, who were able to contest with all the greatest nations in Europe and with him and the Marathas in India at the same time, would have the advantage against him or any one of those enemies alone. The Nabob is too wise not to see that he can gain nothing by the war. The English may make conquests upon him and even if he was able to keep his ground and lose nothing he must at any rate lose his time, his money, and his best troops. His superiority in military talents would make him great against any other enemy, and as I wished well to his renown I wish him to choose some other enemy. Notwithstanding the advantageous situation of the English I am well convinced that it is their interest and inclination to have a firm friendship with him. Their principal interest is in Bengal and the Carnatic. The powers most likely to interfere with these possessions are the Marathas and the Nizam. The English would always wish him for their natural ally because it would be his policy to keep a watchful eye on those neighbours. Besides we do not want more territories but to enjoy peaceably what we have. We should, therefore, be glad to make peace with him. I have now spoken a long time, if what I have said is pleasing to the Nabob I shall be happy. I beg him to open his heart to me and tell me if I can be of any use to him by telling his mind to any of the governments in India. I will be rejoiced to be of service to so famous a prince."

Nabob:—"I am much pleased with what the General has said. I see he has good abilities. He has spoken sensibly and openly to me and that is the way I wish to be dealt with.¹ I am sincere in my desire to have a firm and solid friendship with the English, and the General and Lieut.-Col. Campbell have shewed themselves good warriors and I should be glad to make peace with them. I wish to exalt their names and to let their king know they are good servants. I will now say something about the war. Some time ago Mahommed Ally² borrowed above one hundred lacs of money from us and we assisted him with our army. In return he promised to give us Trichinopoly.³ But he broke his word

1. Being himself bold and courageous the Sultān admired courage and frankness in others.

2. Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī Wālā Jāh of the Carnatic.

3. The affair was a sore point with Tipū just as with Ḥaider Ali. In his conversation with Srinivas Row, Wakil of Sir Eyre Cooté, Ḥaider Ali is reported to have said, "It was stipulated that I should have Trichinopoly and Madura made over to me; the paper of agreement, including a receipt for the money paid, is here ready, you may see it," and "upon these are the signatures, both of Mahamed Ally Khan and a European named Saunders. You may see them here." (Forrest's Selection from For. Dept. records, p. 889) and again Warren Hastings, while criticizing the Treaty of Mangalore of 1784, observes:

"It ought to be remembered that one ground alleged by the late Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn for commencing this war was that the Nabob Ali Wallah Jah had failed in the performance of the stipulation

and would not pay us the money. He has done everything to shew himself our enemy. Being so near Madras he has poisoned the minds of the English against my father and me. He has even sent people to England to abuse us to the king and the people there. This is a bad usage from a man of our own caste¹ and was the great cause of the war. Muḥammād Ali is not true to the English. He has sent people to me to say that the English have taken so much money from him and made him so much in debt that the Carnatic would be no use to him if they remain there and that he would be glad to be friends with me and drive them out.

I desire to make peace with you and Lieut.-Col. Campbell. What terms do you propose? Mr. Bussy and the French want to make the peace but I will do it myself and will not have them interfere. Make you the peace with me and I will make you great."

Brig.-Genl. Macleod :—"I most humbly thank His Highness for what he has been pleased to say of me and Lieut.-Col. Campbell and I wish to shew him my gratitude by doing everything in my power to serve His Highness consistent with my duty to my own master and my country. I am a military servant and General of the Bombay Force. I have no power to make peace. That must be done by the three Governors of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. All I can do is to confirm the cessation of arms and represent His Highness's sentiments in the most favourable way to the Governors."

Nabob :—"Why cannot the Sardars make peace? They are the proper persons to do it."

Brig.-Genl. Macleod :—"It is ordered by the King and Company that the Governors and Counsellors shall make the peace because they understand matters of revenue and trade better than the Sardars. I am happy to find that the Nabob is sincere in his desire for peace and I have no doubt that the Governors and Counsellors will conclude it with him to his satisfaction. If I should say anything against Mahomed Ali, who is a respectable prince, and a steady friend of the English, the Nabob himself would have a bad opinion of me. With respect to Trichinopoly I know that story very well. (I then related it as it is in Orme,² at which the Nabob and his minister shewed great surprise. They said I spoke the

(Contd. from p. 91).

made about 30 years past for the surrender of Trichinopoly with the Raja of Mysore, to which Hyder laid claim as the representative of that Government. This claim is personal and as it was an express cause of war, it ought to have been removed; on the contrary, it has acquired additional force by the past omission of it, and on the Nabob's refusal to assert his right by a renewal of the war." (Forrest's Selections, p. 1093).

1. Tipū means religion. It would be interesting to note that Nawab Muḥammad 'Ali always referred to Haider 'Ali as the son of a Naik. He called the Mysore rulers Haider Naik and Tipū Naik.

2. This refers to Orme's *History of Indostan*, The description of this affair is in Vol. II.

truth and they saw I knew affairs well). The Nabob must be sensible that the English never will give up Trichinopoly; his mentioning such a thing would stop all thoughts of peace. If he is so sincere, as he has done me the honour to say, I exhort him to begin by renouncing all claim to Trichinopoly that it may never appear again in dispute. As His Highness has commended me for speaking so freely I will add another advice to give the English at once a proof of his good-will and magnanimity by releasing all their prisoners immediately. This will strike all mankind with a high idea of his grandeur of soul. It will also be a noble token of his good-will. I advise it for the sake of his renown as much as for the sake of the prisoners, for as a peace will certainly take place, a few months' longer captivity is of no great consequence. I will never deceive the Nabob. It would be presumptuous in me to propose terms of peace. I have no power to do so, though I believe the Governor of Bombay would trust me to make their share of the peace. I wish the peace equal for both sides and that it may be lasting."

Nabob :—" I praise you for what you say, I believe you speak truly and openly to me which I like. At your request and Col. Campbell's I will release the prisoners—everyone of them—immediately. If you will go with me to Seringapatam I will deliver every man to you and you may send them to their different governments. Will you engage that if peace is not made these prisoners shall be sent back to me ?

Brig.-Genl. Macleod :—" I engage my head for it exclusive of the common accident of death."

Nabob :—" Go with me to Seringapatam. I will give you the prisoners. Mr. Bussy shall not make the peace for me. You shall make it. I will send the terms with you to Madras on which I will make peace. Will you go ?"

Brig.-Genl. Macleod :—" I humbly thank your Highness for the great honour you do me in promising to give up the prisoners at my request and desiring me to make the peace for you. I will go most readily and your Highness will promise in case the peace does not take place to send me either to Tellicherry or Bombay as I shall choose."

Nabob :—" I do promise it. Let me know to-morrow what horses, palankeen and etc., you and your suite will want. Mangalore and other places will remain according to the cessation. I will give up all claim to Trichinopoly."

The above is a true account.

(Sd.) Norman Macleod, Brig.-General.

(Sd.) John Campbell, Lieut.-Colonel.

The subsequent events, however, took a different shape than is suggested by the very cordial tone of the foregoing conversations between Tipū Sultān and Brigadier-General Macleod. While suspending hostilities Col. Campbell had accepted very disadvantageous terms. He had agreed for instance to receive no supplies of victual by sea—the only way by which he could possibly receive them.¹ Thus the question of sending provisions to the garrison became the chief point of dispute between Tipū Sultān and the English army officers. Brigadier-General Macleod was keen on supplying as large a quantity of victuals as he could from Tellicherry or Bombay so that the garrison might not surrender, as the loss of Mangalore, he thought, would greatly affect the impending peace negotiations and would thus put Tipū into a more advantageous position. When Tipū put restrictions on the supply of provisions he was accused of violating the articles of the truce. A lengthy correspondence between Tipū Sultān and General Macleod took place which is characterized by Wilks as “among the most remarkable in the history of diplomacy.”² The following two letters³ are typical of many that passed between the Sultān and the English General. After his return from Tellicherry General Macleod wrote to Tipū Sultān.

“I have the honour to inform your Highness that I am returned to this place in order to know from you what are your intentions about Mangalore and whether you have allowed Col. Campbell to receive one month’s provisions according to the articles of cessation. I have brought with me one month’s provisions, and I desire you to admit them into the Fort as you promised by the articles. If you do admit them peace will go on between you and the English, and they will love you as a great and good prince. If you refuse to admit them I will write immediately to all our Admirals and Generals and to the Governors of Bengal, Madras and Bombay that you have broken your faith and that your promises are good for nothing. You will soon be sorry; Sir Richd. Bickerton one of our King’s greatest Sirdars by sea, and who always stands in his presence, is now here with the ships which you see. I wish to have your answer soon. Admiral Hughes will soon be here, and I will tell him what you say and do. I beg you to send the enclosed letter to Col. Campbell.

May God direct your mind to wisdom, truth and prosperity.”

The Nabob’s reply.⁴

“Yours I receive. I am very glad you are come back, as well at the arrival of Sir Richd. Bickerton. The things which could be got in the country for the Fort’s provision, I have ordered to be sold at

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 288.

2. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, p. 67, Vol. II, 2nd edition.

3. *Sec. Cons.*, 20th Jany. 1784, No. 29.

4. This is most probably the translation of the Sultān’s letter by some army Munshi and there are therefore mistakes of language, grammar and punctuation.

proper price and they buy it every day. You have wrote me that you have with you a month of provisions for the Fort. In the articles it is not mentioned that you should bring any on the sea, rice and other provisions; look upon the article then you will know when you were here last to oblige your friendship. I have let go into the Fort one month of arrack and other provisions at two different times, which is not according to the article, which was come on the sea, if you go according to the article I will do the same.

What can I say more ?”

A true copy

(Sd.) Thos. Lighton, Secretary.

Mangalore, Pettah, 24th Oct. 1783.

Thus the correspondence continued. The Sultān, however, did not give way. The lack of provisions made the condition in the garrison miserable. On the 29th January 1784 Lieut.-Col. Campbell surrendered to the Sultān. In a letter¹ to the Select Committee of Fort St. George, dated 6th February 1784, he wrote, “With pain I have the cruel mortification of acquainting you that on the 29th of last month I found myself from the distress of the garrison in every respect under the disagreeable necessity of delivering up the Fort of Mangalore to the Nabob under articles the most beneficial I could ask for the garrison and which the Nabob has most hon’bly and strictly adhered to.” This was a serious loss for the English. They had decided not to surrender Mangalore till all English prisoners were released. But Tipū Sultān was not going to take any risks. Col. Fullarton was at Tellicherry contemplating a march towards Seringapatam; Brigadier-General Macleod attacked the Bibi of Cannanore;² these facts had greatly estranged his feelings. General Macleod never went to Seringapatam as was contemplated in his conversations with the Sultān. Instead, the Commissioners appointed by the Madras Government, Messrs. Sadlier, Staunton and Hudleston, negotiated with the Sultān the Treaty of Mangalore of 1784.

IRSHAD H. BAQAI.

1. *Sec. Cons.*, 18th March 1784, No. 3.

2. *Vide* Dr. S. N. Sen’s paper in “*The Cannanore Incident*,” *Indian Historical Records Commission Progs.* Vol. XVIII.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Authenticity of an important document of the Prophet.

A DOCUMENT of concessions conferred by Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be on him!) upon the descendants of Salmān al-Fārsī, the famous Companion of the Prophet, was discovered about a hundred years ago. A lithographed reproduction of the manuscript under the caption 'Ahd Nāmāh, together with another 'Ahd Nāmāh of Khalif 'Aliy, along with their translations in Persian and another in Gujarati by Sorabjee Jamshetji Jejeebhoy were published at his own cost by Sir Jamshetji Jejeebhoy, Kt., in Bombay in 1851 A.C. A member of the Jejeebhoy Family of Bombay is said to have in his possession a long roll of the 'Ahd Nāmāh, from which the one in this litho-copy has been transcribed. This roll of 'Ahd Nāmāh is reputed to have been copied from one on red leather owned by another Parsi gentleman in 1840 A.C., the trace of which has been entirely lost. A second edition of the same 'Ahd Nāmāh along with its Persian translation has been lately brought out and curiously enough the date of its first publication, 1851 A.C., again appears on it.

Since the discovery of this 'Ahd Nāmāh, Parsi scholars have written a number of articles on it. Some Parsi scholars, basing their conclusions hypothetically on unauthenticated sources, have tried to establish the identity of Salmān al-Fārsī with that of the well-known Nestorian monk, Bahīra, who is alleged to have played a conspicuous part during the life of the Prophet. A pamphlet entitled 'A Contribution on the Life, Time, Identity and Career of Salmān al-Fārsī *alias* Dasturan Dastur Dinyar (Part I) containing a version of 'Ahd Nāmāh translated into English by Late Mr. G. K. Nariman, has recently been published. Mr. J. E. Saklatwalla, who has published a brochure on Salmān al-Fārsī, has sent to the *Islamic Culture* the 'Ahd Nāmāh in question for its thorough investigation and publication in this Journal. The conclusion which the writer of these lines has drawn from the study of the 'Ahd Nāmāh is therefore given below :—

For a long time in the past the origin of 'Ahd Nāmāh in question was a puzzle to scholars since it was not mentioned in the early histories or the biographies of the Prophet. Even in the latest work like *مجموعۃ الوثائق السياسیہ* Dr. M. Ḥamidullah has reproduced the text as published by Late Sir Jamshetji and could not find mention of it in Islamic literature earlier than Zaini

Dahlān who compiled his work in 1297 H. (i.e., about twenty years after the publication of the Bombay document) and 'Abdul-Mun'im Khān an author of still later date. As this 'Ahd Nāmah has now been traced by this writer in the early works like *Ṭabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn of Iṣbahān* by Imām Ibn-Ḥayyān (d. 369 H.) and *Akḥbār-Iṣbahān* by Imām Abū-Nu'aim Aḥmad-b.-'Abdullāh-b.-Aḥmad al-Iṣḥāq (d. 430 H.), it is now possible to ascertain when this 'Ahd Nāmah might have at first come to knowledge.

Ibn-Ḥayyān in his *Ṭabaqāt* (MS. Aṣafiya No. 238, *Rijāl*) does not refer to any chain of authorities who owned the existence of this 'Ahd Nāmah. He simply mentions that those who took interest in Salmān's affairs related that a family of Salmān's tribe the leader of which was Ḡhassān, a descendant of the brother of Salmān al-Fārsī, settled in Shirāz ; that they held in their possession this grant of rights by the Prophet. Who this Ḡhassān was and when he lived cannot be traced in any of the early histories like al-Ṭabariy, Balādhurī and Ibn al-Aṭhīr. But the authorities who passed on this 'Ahd Nāmah to the posterity are mentioned by Abū-Nu'aim in his *Akḥbār-Iṣbahān* (MS. Aṣafiya, *Rijāl*, Nos. 235 and 236).

Abū-Nu'aim writes as follows :—“Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ibn-'Abdul Raḥmān heard al-Ḥasan ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn Iṣḥāq al-Burjī al-Mustamlī (it is probably a slip of the scribe that on page 286 of *Akḥbār-Iṣbahān*, his name is given as al-Ḥasan ibn Iṣḥāq ibn-Ibrāhīm) say that he heard Abū-'Aliy al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad ibn 'Amr al-Wath-Thabiy say that he had seen this deed ('Ahd Nāmah) written in favour of the descendants of Salmān al-Fārsī by the hand of 'Aliy ibn Abī Ṭālib and sealed by the seal of the Prophet.” Regarding the reliability of the first two Traditionists, Abū-Nu'aim's opinion is non-committal. The former, he says, possessed good character and correct beliefs and the latter was a scribe and heard the Traditions from 'Abdullāh ibn Mitwayh in Iraq, Ḥijāz and Iṣbahān ; but Abū-Nu'aim does not mention whether they were trustworthy (ثقة) in the matter of relating a Tradition. As it is well-known that Abū-Nu'aim usually remains non-committal while referring to a false Tradition, no importance can be attached to these reporters. (See *Lisān al-Mizān* by Ib. H. al-'Asqalāniy, Vol. I, p. 202). Moreover, the original reporter of this 'Ahd Nāmah—Abū 'Aliy al-Ḥusain-ibn-Muḥd. ibn-'Amr al-Wath-Thabiy is an anonymous figure of whom nothing is known. As al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Iṣḥāq al-Burgi (d. 370 H.)¹ is said to have been a contemporary of Abū-'Aliy al-Ḥusain ibn Muḥd. ibn 'Amr al-Wath-Thabiy, it may be reckoned that al-Wath-Thabiy, the original reporter would have flourished at the end of the third century Hijri which is later than the period of the followers of persons who had seen the Companions of the Prophet (i. e., تبع تابعين). This kind of Tradition in the terms of al-Muḥaddithīn is called “ Mu'aḍḍal ” which is regarded weak and unreliable.

1. See *Akḥbār-Iṣbahān*, Vol. I, p. 287.

Such reports of weak Traditions by authoritative Traditionists are not uncommon. Here it must be noted that together with the 'Ahd Nāmāh in question another Prophetic document granting liberty to Salmān al-Fārsī is also preserved in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn-Ḥayyān MS. p. 27 and *Akḥbār-Iṣbahān* MS. p. 59. Regarding this document of bestowal of liberty, al-Kḥaṭīb al-Baḡhdādiy (who died in 463 A.H.) in his *History of Baḡhdād*, Vol. I, p. 170, observes that the first battle in which Salmān took part along with the Prophet was the *Kḥandaq* which took place in the fifth year of Hijra. If Salmān al-Fārsī had won freedom from slavery in the first year of Hijra, as the document of the emancipation indicates, he would have accompanied the Prophet in all his campaigns, and the date of Hijra given in this document of emancipation makes it still more doubtful as the Hijra date was adopted by Khalif 'Umar during his *Khalifate*. Thus, al-Kḥaṭīb al-Baḡhdādiy rejects the authenticity of this document. It is curious to find that al-Kḥaṭīb al-Baḡhdādiy (d. 463 H.) while mentioning the document of emancipation only thirty-three years after the death of Abū-Nu'aim (d. 430 H.) does not even refer to the document of concession (*i.e.*, 'Ahd Nāmāh) although both of them are put together by his predecessors—Ibn-Ḥayyān and Abū-Nu'aim.

In any case, as the period of the reporters denotes, the existence of the 'Ahd Nāmāh under discussion seems to have first attracted notice some time in the third century when the dismemberment of the Muslim empire had weakened the *Khalifate*, and Fatimids in Nahrewān and Egypt and Ṭāhirids in Persia held the sway, and Persian political supremacy was the order of the day. This is, however, a period during which similar documents are known to have been forged by the Jews. Whatever may be the prevailing condition of the age, it is however obvious that the chronological data of this 'Ahd Nāmāh do not go back further than the third century. As such, a certain al-Waṭḥ-Ṭḥabiy's mere notice of this document does not make it valid as long as its existence is not traced back to the life-time of the Prophet.

The doubts as to the authenticity of the document become still greater when we come to examine it in the light of the internal evidence. The difference between the lithographed copy of this 'Ahd Nāmāh and the documents preserved in the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn-Ḥayyān and *Akḥbār-Iṣbahān* is as follows:—

Documents of Ibn-Ḥayyān and
Abū-Nu'aim

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هذا كتاب من محمد رسول الله¹ ساله سلمان
وصية باخيه مابنداز فروخ واهل بيته و عقبه
من بعده² ماتتاسلوا من اسلم منهم واقام على دينه سلام
الله احمد اليك³ الذي امرني ان اقول لا اله الا

Lithographed copy of the 'Ahd
Nāmāh

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نسخة منشورة بخط امير المؤمنين على بن
ابي طالب رضی الله عنه كتبها على الاديम الاحمر هذا
كتاب من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بمهدى
(كذا) فروخ بن شخسان اخي سلمان الفارسي

Documents of Ibn-Hayyān and Abū-Nu'aim

Lithographed copy of the 'Ahd Nāmāh

الله وحده لا شريك له اقولها و آمر الناس بها ان
الخلق خلق الله والامر كله لله خلقهم واماتهم .
وينشهم واليه المير وان كل امر يزول و كل شي
يبيد و يفنى و كل نفس ذائقة الموت . من آمن
بالله و برسله كان له في الاخرة ترعة الفائزين
ومن اقام على دينه تركناه⁴ ولا اكراه في الدين . هذا
كتاب لاهل بيت سلمان ان لهم ذمة الله و ذمتي
على دمائهم و اموالهم في الارض التي يقيمون
فيها سهلها وجبلها ومراعيها و عيونها غير مظلومين
و لامضيق عليهم فمن قرى عليه كتابي هذا من
المومنين والمومنات فعليه ان يحفظهم و يكرمهم
و يبرهم ولا يتعرض لهم بالاذى والمكروه و قدرعت⁵
جز الناصية و الحزبية و الحشر والعشر وسائر المثون
و الكلف ثم ان سالوكم فاعطوهم وان استغاثوا
بكم فاغيثوهم وان استجاروا بكم فاجبروهم وان
اساوا فاغفروا لهم واسئى اليهم فامنعوا عنهم
ولهم ان يعطوا من بيت مال المسلمين في كل سنة مائة
حلة في شهر رجب و مائة في الاضحية فقد
استحق سلمان ذلك منا لان الله تبارك و تعالى قد
فضل سلمان على كثير من المومنين وانزل على في
الوحي ان الجنة الى سلمان اشوق من سلمان الى الجنة
و هو ثقتي و امينى و تقى و تقى ناصح لرسول
الله و المومنين و سلمان منا اهل البيت فلا يخالفن احد
هذه الوصية فيما مرت به من الحفظ والبر لاهل بيت
سلمان و ذراريتهم من اسلم منهم آو اقام على
دينه و من خالف هذه الوصية فقد خالف الله
ورسوله وعليه اللعنة الى يوم الدين ومن اكرمهم
فقد اكرمنى وله من⁶ الله الثواب و من اذاهم
فقد اذانى و انا خصمه يوم القيامة جزاوه جهنم
وبرئت منه ذمتى و السلام عليهم⁷ . و كتب على
ابن ابى طالب بامر رسول الله في رجب تسع من
الهجرة و حضر⁸ ابوبكر و عمر و عثمان و طلحة

رضى الله عنه و اهل بيته و عقبه من بعده
وامتناسلوا من اسلم منهم او قام على دينه سلام الله
اليك ان الله امرنى ان اقول لاله الا الله وحده
لا شريك له اقولها و امروا (كذا) الناس الخلق
خلق الله والامر كله لله خلقهم واحياهم واماتهم
ثم ينشهم و اليه المير و كل امر يزول و يفنى
و كل نفس ذائقة الموت ولا مرد لامر الله ولا نقصان
لسلطانيته (كذا) ولا نهاية لعظمته ولا شريك
له في ملكه سبحانه مالك السموات والارض الذى يقرب
الا موركا يريد و يزيد الخلق على ما يشاء سبحانه
الذى لا يحيط به صفة القائلين ولا يبلغه وهم المتفكرين
الذى اقتتح بالحمد كتابه وجعل له ذكرا و رضى
من عباده شكرا احمده لا يحصى احد عدده ممن حمد الله
واشهد ان لاله الا الله فهو في الغيبة والسر الكلافة
(كذا) والعصمة يا ايها الناس اتقوا ربكم و اذكروا يوم
ضغطة (كذا) الارض و نفيخ نار الحميم والفرع
الاكبر والندامة والوقوف بين يدي رب العالمين
اذنتكم كما اذن الرسولون لتسئلن عن النبء العظيم
ولتعلمن نباءه بعد حين فمن آمن به و صدق ماجاء فبا
اوحى الى من ربي فله مالنا و عليه ما علينا وله
العصمة في الدين والسور في جنات النعيم مع الملائكة
المقربين و الا نبياء و المرسلين (كذا) و الامن
والخلاص من عذاب الحميم هذا ما وعد الله المومنين
وان الله يرحم من يشاء و هو العليم الحكيم
شديد العقاب لمن عصاه و هو الغفور الرحيم لو انزلنا
هذا القرآن على جبل لرأته خاشعا متصدعا من
خشية الله ومن لا يؤمن به و هو من الضالين ومن آمن
ببائه و بدينه و رسله و هو في درجات الفائزين
و هذا كتابي ان له ذمة الله و على ابناؤه على دمائهم
(كذا) و اموالهم في الارض التي اقاموا عليها
سهلها و جبلها و عيونها و مراعيها غير مظلومين
و لامضيق عليهم ومن قرى عليهم كتابي هذا فليحفظهم

Documents of Ibn-Ḥayyān and
Abū-Nu'aim.

والزبير و عبدالرحمن وسعد وسعيد وسلمان وابوذر
وعمار وصهيب و بلال والمقداد و جماعة آخر (ون)
من المؤمنين -

- (1) صلى الله عليه و سلم، في اخبار اصهبان
لابي نعيم (2) من بعد ما تنازلوا في اخبار اصهبان
(3) احمد اليك الله الذي في اخبار اصهبان (4)
فلا اكراه في اخبار اصهبان (5) وقد رفعت عنهم
في اخبار اصهبان (6) وله عند الله في اخبار اصهبان
(7) و السلام عليكم في اخبار اصهبان (8)
وحضره في اخبار اصهبان (9) و عينه في
اخبار اصهبان .

Lithographed copy of the 'Ahd
Nāmāh.

ويبروهم (كذا) ويمنع الظلم عنهم ولا يتعرض لهم
بالاذى و المكاره و قد رفعت عنهم جزا الناصية
و الزناة و الخزية الى الحشر والنشر و سائر المثون
و الكلف و ايديهم مطلقا على بيوت النيران و ضياعها
و اموالها و لا يمنعونهم من اللباس الفاخر و الركوب
و بناء الدور و الاصلبيل و حمل الجنائز و اتخاذ
ما يتخذون في دينهم و مذاهبهم و يفضلوهم
(كذا) على سائر الملل من اهل الذمة فان حق سلمان
رضى الله عنه (كذا) و واجب على جميع المؤمنين برحمهم
الله (كذا) و في الوحي الى ان الجنة الى سلمان
اشوق من سلمان الى الجنة و هو ثقتي و اميني
و ناصح لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم (كذا)
و للمؤمنين و سلمان منا فلا يخالفن احد هذه الوصية
بما امرت به من الحفظ و البر و الذي
لاهل بيت سلمان و ذراريتهم من اسلم منهم اوقام
على دينه و من قبل امرى فهو في رضاء الله تعالى
و من خالف الله و رسوله فعليه اللعنة الى يوم
الدين و من اكرمهم فقد اكرمنى وله عند الله خير و من
اذاهم فقد اذانى و انا خصمه يوم القيامة و جزاؤه
نار جهنم و برئت منه ذمتى و السلام عليكم
و التحية لكم من ربكم . و كتب على بن ابي طالب
بامر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بحضور ابي بكر
و عمرو عثمان و طلحة و زبير (كذا) و عبدالرحمن
بن عوف و سلمان و ابوذر (كذا) و عمار و صهيب
و بلال و مقداد بن الاسود و جماعة من المؤمنين
رضوان الله عليهم و على الصبحا بة اجمعين هذا الخاتم
كان في كتف النبي العربي محمد القرشى صلى الله
عليه و آله و صحبه و سلم تسليحا كثيرا .

A comparison of these two versions shows clearly that they not only differ from each other in certain words and sentences but that a full paragraph beginning from (ولا مرد لامر الله ولا نقصان لسلطانيته) and ending with (وهو من الضالين) appearing in the lithographed copy is not found in the documents preserved by Ibn-Ḥayyān and Abū-Nu'aim. Some explanatory

sentences such as (نسخة منشورة بخط اميرالمومنين على ابن ابي طالب رضى الله عنه كتبها) (هذا الخاتم كان في كتف النبي في كنف النبي) (على الماديم الاحمر) (العربي محمد القرشي صلى الله عليه وصحبه وسلم تسليما) are also included in the litho-copy. Moreover, the names of witnesses such as (سعد و سعيد و عيينه) given in the documents of Ibn-Ḥayyān and Abū-Nu‘aim are also missing from the lithographed copies. Furthermore, the original text from which this litho-copy is made is said to have been written in red leather whereas the reporters of Ibn-Ḥayyān and Abū-Nu‘aim had noticed the ‘Ahd Nāmah written on a white leather. All this leads us to conclude that either two versions of one and the same ‘Ahd Nāmah existed during the time when the document was made public or that the ‘Ahd Nāmah which has been lithographed is a still later fabrication. Besides the above, the language and style used in the ‘Ahd Nāmah of which we possess a lithographed reproduction were not current during the life-time of the Prophet. For instance, the word *li-Sulṭāniyateh* (لسلطانيته) in its abstract sense of almightiness was unfamiliar in the early days of Islam. The use of such forms of blessing as ‘peace be on him’ by the Prophet for his own self, or of رضى الله عنه (may God be pleased with him) by the Prophet in respect of his juniors like ‘Aliy ibn Abī Ṭālib and Salmān al-Fārsī, or, again, the use of يرحمهم الله in favour of the Muslims sound very unfamiliar and are not noticed in the other documents of the Prophet. Moreover, the language and grammar of the lithographed reproduction are very faulty. To bring home the point, a few examples are quoted below :—

correct.	wrong.
الى or لهدى	بمهدى فروح
آمر الناس بها	ان الله امرنى . . . اقولها و آمر والناس
فمن قرى عليه ويبرهم	ومن قرى عليهم كتابى هذا فليحفظهم ويبروهم الخ
الذير	محضود وزير

Besides these mistakes, the vocalisation of the text is also defective.

Although the above-mentioned grammatical defects are not found in the versions of Ibn-Ḥayyān and Abū-Nu‘aim, the contents of these documents do not agree with the actual facts of history. As it is evident from the text, the ‘Ahd Nāmah aims at exempting the descendants of Salmān al-Fārsī from the payment of Jizyah (capitation tax). But the request of Salmān al-Fārsī to the Prophet for this concession would have been reasonable if Persia had been conquered during the life-time of the Prophet. Bahrain and ‘Oman were of course under Muslim control and Zoroastrians of Bahrain paid Jizyah to the Prophet. (See *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, Cairo edition, p. 91 and *السنة الكبرى*, طبع دائرة المعارف, Vol. IX, p. 160). But Persia was

not even invaded during the life-time of the Prophet. It was only in the twentieth year of Hijri that Iṣbahān, where Salmān's family is supposed to have lived, was invaded and incorporated in the Islamic state by Khalif 'Umar (See *Akhhār-Iṣbahān*, MS., Vol. I, p. 21). Under these circumstances, it is absurd that Salmān should have secured exemption from Jizyah for the people of a country over which the Muslim state had no control.

It should also be noticed that the Qur'ānic verse dealing with Jizyah (a tax payable by the Dhimmis or non-Muslims living in a Muslim state) was revealed in Dhul-Hijja of the 9th Hijri year. After the revelation of the verse there is no case regarding the exemption of the non-Muslims from the payment of Jizyah. Khalif 'Umar during his Khalifate made peace with Banī-Taghlib and under the terms of the peace they were to pay Jizyah under the name of Ṣadqah (legal arms) but its payment was not totally waived. (See *As-Sunan-al-Kubra* by al-Baihaqiy, ed. by Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif, Vol. 9, *Kitāb al-Jizyah*).

Again, the date of writing the 'Ahd Nāmah as given by Ibn-Hayyān and Abū-Nu'aim is Rajab, 9th Hijri, and the verse ^{حَتَّىٰ يَعْطُوا الْجِزْيَةَ عَن يَدٍ} (Qur'ān, 9, 29) which is the only verse in the whole of Qur'ān dealing with Jizyah, is also unanimously declared to have been revealed in 9th Hijri. The internal evidence of the Qur'ān also supports the view that the *Surat-al-Brā'ah* was revealed in Dhul-Hijja of the ninth year of Hijri when Khalif Abū-Bakr was sent by the Prophet to lead the pilgrimage of the Muslims. In view of the fact that the verse dealing with Jizyah was revealed in the month of Dhul-Hijja of the ninth year Hijri, that is five months later than the date (Rajab, 9th Hijri) of the document in question, it is not understandable how a reference to the Jizyah crept into the 'Ahd Nāmah. Even if we suppose that the latter portions of the *Surat al-Brā'ah* were revealed before the verses at the beginning of the Surah, as stated by As-Suhaily (See *الروض الانف*, Cairo edition, Vol. II, p. 328) and that the verse bearing on Jizyah belongs to the early dates, its date cannot go back further than the battle of Tabuk which was fought in Rajab of 9th Hijri (See *Sīrat*, ibn-Hishām, in the margin of *الروض الانف*, Vol. II, p. 316). If this be true, the 'Ahd Nāmah seems to have been written in the very month and year in which the Jizyah for the non-Muslims was levied.

How was it, it can be pertinently asked, that on one side the Qur'ān levied a capitation tax on the non-Muslims and on the other the Prophet exempted some people from it. Exemption from Jizyah at the time of its first levy and afterwards is obviously improbable in view of the fact that in the same year the Prophet made a treaty with the people of Ailah which stipulated that they should pay the Jizyah¹ (*Sīrat*, ibn-Hishām at the

1. Similar treaties regarding the payment of Jizyah were made with the people of Jarbā, Adhraḥ and Dumatal Jandal (vide *Sīrat*, ibn-Hishām in the margin of *الروض الانف*, Vol. II., p. 319). Jizyah was also

(Continued on p. 103).

margin of *الروض الانف*, Vol. II, p. 319).

In addition to the exemption from Jizyah the 'Ahd Nāmah forbids Muslims from inflicting any harm upon the descendants of Salmān al-Fārsī or to shear their forelocks, and permits the descendants of Salmān al-Fārsī the wearing of waist-belt and costly costumes, riding and building of houses, stables, etc. It also gives them freedom of action in all their religious and social affairs. It further enjoins upon the Muslims that they should give vestments to the Zoroastrians on the occasion of their 'Ids and that the Muslims should give them preference over the followers of all other religions. In a similar manner the people of Syria were also freed by Khalif 'Umar from such Roman atrocities as the shearing of forelocks, debarring them from displaying their swords and riding saddled horses—disabilities which were prevalent in that country before the advent of Islam (See *As-Sunan al-Kubra*, ed. by Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif, *Kitāb al-Jizyah*, Vol. 9, p. 202). But such religious disabilities as to be forbidden to build houses and stables and to carry funeral processions are not said to have existed in Arabia during the life-time of the Prophet. But the most curious thing about this is, that it is probably the first document of its kind in which it is laid down that Zoroastrians were to be exalted over even the people of revealed books (اهل الكتاب).

There is no doubt about it that Salmān al-Fārsī through his sincerity and faith had won the favour of his redeemer—the Prophet, who said of him: "Salmān is one of our family." He achieved an equal if not a higher position among the Companions of the Prophet, but these favours do not appear to have made him so presumptuous as to ask from the Prophet the above-mentioned concessions for his Zoroastrian descendants with whose religion he was dissatisfied and from whom he escaped with great risk and difficulty. Instead, he seems to have felt already indebted to the Prophet and he expressed his feelings of gratitude on many occasions. Once, when the Prophet gave him the required quantity of gold to purchase his freedom from his Jewish master, Salmān said, "Wherefrom shall I be able to pay back this amount?" (See *Ṭabaqāt*, Ibn-Hayyān, MS., p. 22). Similarly on another occasion, when the Prophet told Salmān not to get angry with him for having parted with his ancestor's faith, Salmān said, "How can I get angry with you—you who showed us the way to God?" (*Akhhbār-Iṣbahān*, Vol. I, p. 63). Apart from these traditions Salmān al-Fārsī was too spiritually inclined to wish for such material advantages. This fact is confirmed by certain events of his life which are

(Continued from p. 102).

demanding from Kaiser of Rome (See *Kitāb al-Amwāl* by Abī-'Ubad, 55 and *Ṣubḥ-ul-A'sha*, Vol. VI, p. 377), governor of Ailah (Ibn-Sa'd, Vol. I, part 2, pp. 28-79) and from the envoy of the Ḥimyarite kings (*Sīrat*, Ibn-Hishām). Here it deserves mention that the word Jizyah is not used in the treaties made with the people of Ailah, Jarba', and Adhraḥ although a certain amount as a tribute was imposed upon them. However, the treaty of Maqna (Ibn-Sa'd, Vol. I, part 2, p. 28 and Balādhuri, p. 60) indicates that even in the life-time of the Prophet, Jizyah was exempted but certain tributes under names other than Jizyah were levied. [I am indebted to Dr. M. Ḥamidullah for these references].

handed down to us. It is related that when Abu'd-Dardā' wrote to Salmān al-Fārsī that he had settled in the sacred land (Syria) and had been blessed with wealth and children, Salmān replied that sanctity of land did not make any difference and that one should consider oneself as one of the dead people. (*Usud ul-Ghāba*, by Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. II, pp, 330-331). Similarly, when Hudhaifa once asked Salmān al-Fārsī whether he would like to build a house for himself, Salmān replied in the negative and preferred the digging of his grave to erecting a building (*ibid*). Moreover, it was Salmān who while besieging a palace in Fāris as commander of Muslim army called to the defenders to yield and said, "I am a Persian like you and you see how the Arabs are obedient to me ; if you embrace Islam, you will be one of us and share our fortune ; if you do not accept it, then stick to your religion and pay Jizyah!"¹ These facts further prove that a man of such character and religious zeal for the tenets of Islam could not have degraded himself by securing concessions which were against the Shari'at for his Zoroastrian descendants to the exclusion of all other Dhimmī subjects of the Muslim state.

It is also worth mentioning that Abū-Nu'aim al-Isfahānī in his *Akhhār-Ishbahān*, Vol. I, p. 41. quotes a letter sent by al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf to the governor of Isfahān—Dahzād ibn Yazdād who is said to have been a cousin of Zazān Farrukh—a Zoroastrian scribe of al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf. In this letter al-Ḥajjāj severely rebukes his governor who had requested him to reduce the amount of poll-tax levied on the people of Isfahān. This goes to prove that if the Zoroastrian people retained the Prophet's *document of concession* till that time (*i.e.*, 64-86 A.H.), it would have been certainly referred to in this connection. On the other hand the effort of Zoroastrian governor for a remission in the poll-tax tends to show that an endeavour on the part of Zoroastrian for the reduction in the poll-tax might have been first made in the time of al-Ḥajjāj.

All these historical facts lead us to conclude that the 'Ahd Nāmah in question has no authoritative evidence to prove its genuineness.

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Celebration of 400th Anniversary of the Birth of Akbar, the Great Mughal Emperor.

A noteworthy feature in the cultural activities of Hyderabad during this period was that on the occasion of the quatercentenary of Akbar, the Great Mughal Emperor of India, the Hyderabad Broadcasting Station organised a special programme. Poems suitable to the occasion were recited under the title of 'Darbār-e-Akbarī' (Akbar's Court) and an interesting speech on 'the Womenfolk of the Reign of Akbar' was also broadcast.

1. *Akhhār-Ishbahān*, MS., Vol. I, p. 62.

Celebration in Memory of the Şūfī Poet—Sirāj of Aurangabad.

Lively interest was created in the public when Hyderabad Broadcasting Centre celebrated Sirāj Day in memory of the Şūfī poet—Sirāj of Aurangabad. Sirāj was the predecessor of Mīr, one of the earliest and most renowned poets of Urdu. He was born in 1127 A.H.; he was brought up and educated in Aurangabad where he died in 1173 A.H. A considerable part of his life was devoted to the attainment of Sufism. Although Sirāj belongs to that group of poets who may be considered as the Chaucers of Urdu poetry, his poetic contributions are as good as are of any modern poet of Urdu. Among the works of Sirāj are (1) *Mathnawī Būstān-e-Khayāl* (2) Five hundred verses in the Persian language and (3) Urdu *Dīwān* containing 3,500 verses.

Qur'ānic Teachings.

Hyderabad-Deccan is probably the only part of India where at present the Teaching of Qur'ān has been undertaken with great enthusiasm and is making rapid progress. Besides the *Jāmi'a Qur'ānia*, a report of which has already been published in the *Islamic Culture*, January No. 1, 1941, and January No. 1, 1942. A number of schools have been opened in the mosques of different localities where the Qur'ān in the light of its commentaries is daily studied. It is heartening to find that womenfolk of Hyderabad are also taking their due share in the advancement of Qur'ānic teaching. On the occasion of *Lailat al-Qadr* (ليلة القدر) the Night of Decree lectures on the history of Qur'ānic revelation and its importance were delivered in a number of mosques. Commentaries in simple Urdu language are being compiled and published. To the already existing Urdu literature on the Qur'ān a monthly journal entitled *Dars al-Qur'ān* (درس القرآن) has recently been added. Some well-known scholars like 'Allāma 'Abdul Qadīr Şiddīqī, Maulānā Syed Bādshāh Ḥusainī, Secretary, *Majlis-e-'Ulama-i Deccan* and other scholars have been contributing articles to this monthly Review. It is high time that 'Ulama should come together and co-operate in compiling a standardised commentary so that the holy Qur'ān may not become sport of unskilled critics and unthinking minds.

Osmania University.

With a view to affording opportunities to people of varied outlook and interests Extra-mural Lectures on the following subjects of general interest have as usual been organised by the Osmania University :—

1. The Ethic of Love and Mutual Co-operation, by Dr. Khalifa Abdul Hakim.

2. The Pre-War and Post-War Economic Problems, by Mr. Imtiaz Husain Khan, B. Com. (Hons.), (London).
3. Modern Japan, by Mr. Abdul Majid Siddiqi, M.A., LL.B.
4. Modern China, by Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani.
5. Modern Russia, by Abdul Qader, B.Sc., (Hons.), (London).
6. Review of the Existing World Situation, by Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan.
7. The Vedic Age, by Dr. A. Sharma.
8. A. Ghosh, by Dr. Khalifa Abdul Hakim.
9. Chemistry and Technical Development, by Dr. S. Husain.
10. The Technical Development of India, by Dr. M. Quraishi.
11. Tafsir (Commentary of the Qur'an) by Maulana Manazir Ahsan Gilani.

Hyderabad Academy.

In keeping with its tradition, the Hyderabad Academy celebrated its week of scientific studies, and the following papers were read on the occasion :—

1. Education and Learning during the Muslim Period in India, by Maulana Manazir Ahsan Gilani.
2. The Possibilities of Life in the Planets, by Prof. Mohd. Abdur Rahman Khan.
3. Training of Men and Animals, by D. D. Shandarkar.
4. Firōz Shāh Bahmanī, by Mr. Abdul Majid Siddiqi.
5. The Influence of Pre-Islamic Economics System on the first Muslim State, by Dr. M. Hamidullah.
6. The Qur'ānic Conception of Successful Life, by Dr. Mir Valiuddin.
7. Iqbal's Theory of Time and Space, by Dr. Raḍiuddin.

The Oriental Research in the Osmania University.

Scholars interested in the Islamic studies will be gratified to learn that the Osmania University has engaged its students to conduct research for the degree of Ph. D. on the following subjects the importance of which cannot be denied.

Research in the Faculty of Theology.

1. Tort due to Negligence according to Muslim Law, by Mr. Mohd. Ghouth.

2. Evolution of Islamic Mysticism in India, by Mr. Abdul Qader.
3. Economic Theories of Islam, by Mr. Yusufuddin.
4. Contribution of South India to Ḥadīth, by Mr. Abdur Razzaq Qadri.

Research in the Faculty of Arts.

1. The Composition of Urdu Elegy in South India, by Mr. Saadat Ali.
2. The Element of Hindi in the Urdu Language, by Mr. S. Rashid-ul-Hasan.
3. The Æsthetic Study of Urdu Poetry, by Mr. A. Qayyum Khan Baqi.
4. Economic Condition of Hyderabad at the end of the 19th Century, by Mr. Nasir Ali.
5. The Evolution of Urdu Ghazal, by Mr. Mohd. A. Hafiz.

M. A. M.

DECCAN

THE annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1941 which has recently been published by the Mysore Government contains some valuable material on ancient Indian history and culture and consists of two important items concerning Muslim history. A stone record is reported to have been discovered at Bechirak Devalapura in Kolar taluk belonging to the reign of the Vijayanagar king Sadasivaraya. The stone records that the income from *santhe* or fair at Markandesvarapura belonging to Vakkaleri village was given as grant by Shitāb Khān Malika Wodeyar, an agent of Dilāwar Khān Wodeyar, governor of Yemnad for the food offerings and illuminations in the temple of the God Markandesvara at the village Devalapura. The importance of the grant lies in the fact that it was a grant to a Hindu temple made by an agent of a Muslim officer, Dilāwar Khān. The discovery furnishes further proof of the employment of Muslim officers by the Vijayanagar kings. Among them were Dilāwar Khān and Rustam Khān. The date of the grant is given as S. 1479 Nala sam. Ashādha su. 4 which corresponds to 11th June 1556 A.D.

Letter of Vira Rajendra Wodeyar Raja of Coorg (c. 1799 A.D.).—The document consists of an interesting long paper roll containing a letter written by Vira Rajendra Wodeyar of Coorg in about 1799 to the British and was discovered among the papers transferred from the Bangalore Residency to the custody of the Record Office of the Mysore Secretariat.

This document is a reply from the Coorgs to a letter addressed to them by the British which contained complaints against an officer of Coorg named Isavaraiya who plundered seventeen villages of the Maharajanadurga taluk in the Mysore territories for five days after the capture of Seringapatam by the British and carried away women, children, cattle, grain, silver and gold, bronze and copper vessels, etc., of the villages in the taluk. The manuscript also gives details of the war with Tipū carried on by the Bombay army and the co-operation extended by the Coorg government. The rest of the manuscript contains a resume of the events from the time when Tipū arrived in Siddhesvarana Gaddige to the time when Captain Mahoney ordered cessation of hostilities on Vaisakha su. 10 Monday.

The writer of this long note in the report has discussed all important events of the history of that period.

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In the last week of November 1942 a public meeting was held at the Cowasji Jahangir Hall, Bombay, which was organised to celebrate the Akbar Quatercentenary. The following speakers gave expression to their views about the spirit of religious tolerance which marked Emperor Akbar's reign and the zeal with which he worked to bring about unity in the country.

Mr. B. G. Wadia who occupied the chair gave a few historic facts about Akbar and said that Humāyūn's fortunes were at their lowest ebb when fate intervened to make him the father of the greatest king India had known. Soon after assuming the reins of government, Akbar decided to rule India on altogether new principles. He believed that any Government which was not broad-based on the good-will and love of the governed would never be a lasting government. He followed the ideals of absolute unity and universal toleration. The great lessons of Akbar's reign were forgotten during the centuries that followed him by the rulers as well as by the ruled, by both Hindus and Muslims, and today, more than three hundred years after his death, they in India were still wrangling over small things which were unknown in Akbar's time.

Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jahaveri referred to the enthusiastic manner in which Akbar set himself to the task of uniting India. Mrs. Hansa Mehta said that Akbar was great not because he was an Emperor but because he was considered to be one of the greatest Indians. Dr. John McKenzie described Akbar as one of the greatest figures in the history of India and one of the great figures in the history of the world. Akbar could neither read nor write and from the modern point of view he was alien to all culture; in the modern sense of the word he would, in fact, be classed as 'illiterate,' but he possessed a great intellect, and was a keen student of history, philosophy and theology. Principal A. A. Fyzee pointed out Akbar's military genius, his abilities as an administrator, his influence in

bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity, etc. He added that Akbar considered all men equal so far as the service of the state was concerned. Mr. Francis Low said that Akbar was a great conqueror, not one who merely worked for his personal glory or inflated with a sense of his own importance, embroiled his country in wars which brought nothing except destruction in their trail. He was a conqueror who consolidated his kingdom and devoted himself to the task of making his people contented and prosperous. Mr. S. Abdulla Brelvi, in proposing a vote of thanks to the chair, said that the present generation could congratulate itself on its being able to celebrate the fourth centenary of Akbar, but they should not forget the ideal for which Akbar had worked in his life—the achievement and creation of unity, which was never more in jeopardy than at the present time when communal bitterness holds the country as in a vice.

An exhibition of paintings and crafts representative of the Mughal period was also organised in connection with the Akbar Quatercentenary Celebration in the University Hall, Bombay. This was the first of the series of functions organised by the Celebration Committee.

M. A. C.

DELHI

Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu (Hind).

HAMĀRI ZABĀN, the fortnightly journal of the Anjuman has been publishing some Urdu speeches of Sir William Muir, which are interesting not only as specimens of his command over the language, but also from the points of its possessing a certain amount of historical interest. The issue of 1st November also contains the impressions of a foreigner travelling in the Himalayas regarding the hold of Urdu in that area. Specimens of writings by Europeans in and about Urdu have also appeared in the Journal. The *Urdu* has an article on the claim of Urdu to be the national language of India by Mr. Muḥammad Muʿīn-ud-dīn Dardʿī, M.A., which gives a brief outline of the history of the controversy between Urdu and Hindi, and then gives statistics and tables to support the thesis that Urdu is the premier language of India and deserves to be adopted as the national tongue. There are two other articles—one on the Hindi poet Hari Avadh and the other on the post-Kabir period of Hindi Bhakti movement.

The Jāmiʿah Milliyah Islamiyah.

This institution has been working steadily and has even expanded its activities in certain directions. A notable feature is its interest in adult education ; in this connection it runs a small library and arranges talks on

current affairs and on Islam in addition to providing instruction by the Project method.

The Maktabah has been handicapped by paper scarcity ; nevertheless it has been continuing publication of its Journal. The Jāmi'ah has also published a few books mainly of current interest or for children.

Nadwat-ul-Muṣannifīn.

This quiet organization has been working on sound academic lines. It has an ambitious programme of publication. In the course of the last few months, it has published the following books :—

1. *Islam kā niẓām-i-ḥukūmat* (Islamic System of Government) by Maulāna Ḥamīd al-Anṣārī Ghāzi.
2. *Khilāfat-i-Rāshidah* (the Orthodox Caliphate) by Qaḍī Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn.
3. *Qaṣaṣ-ul-Qur’ān*, Part II, (the Stories of the Qur’ān), by Maulāna Ḥifẓ-ur-Rḥamān Seoharwī.
4. *Musalmānon kā ‘urūj wa zawāl* (the Rise and Fall of the Muslims) by Maulana Sa‘id Ahmad, M.A.

The *Burhān*, the monthly organ of the *Nadwah* has maintained its high standard. Some of the articles which have appeared during the last quarter are the following :—

1. *Qur’ān Majīd aur us kī ḥifāẓat* (The Qur’ān and its Preservation).
2. *Al-madkhal fī uṣūl-il-ḥadīth*, li’l Ḥakīm-al-Nisāburi (Introduction to the Principles of Ḥadīth).
3. *Tārīkh -i-adab-i-Urdū kī kitābēn* (Books on the history of Urdu literature).
4. *Pahlī ṣadī hijrī men Musalmānon ke ‘ilmī ruḥḥānāt* (Literary tendencies of the Muslims in the first century Hijri).
5. *Islami Tamaddun* (Islamic Civilization).
6. *Ḥaḍrat Bilāl kā nām wa nasab* (The name and genealogy of Ḥaḍrat Bilāl).
7. *Urdu men tarājim-i-ḥadīth* (Translation of Ḥadīth in Urdu).

Anglo-Arabic College :

The Bazm-i-Adab of this college celebrated Urdu week from 1st to 7th November and the organizers should be congratulated on its unqualified success. The following is a list of the main activities :

1st November—Lectures on the Urdu language.

- 2nd November—Urdu poetry, lectures and papers.
 3rd November—Urdu novel, stories, drama.
 4th November—The aims of literature.
 5th November—Urdu literature and women.
 6th November—Recitations by authors from their works.
 7th November—Mushā'irah.

Apart from speeches the following papers attracted some attention :—

Some characters from Urdu novels, by Dr. Begam Sha'istah Ikram Ullah.

The Principles of Drama, by Dr. I. H. Qureshi.

Anis, by Mr. Zeba Lakhnawi.

Literature, a mirror of social and moral conditions of an age, by Khwaja Abd-ul-Majid.

Literature and Æsthetics, by Sayyad Muḥammad Ja'fari.

A large number of well-known authors participated in the discussions.

I. H. Q.

FOREIGN

TWO NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE "MEMOIRS" OF THE ZIRIDE KING 'ABD-ALLĀH OF GRANADA.

(Discovered and published by E. Lévy-Provencal).

THE discoverer published in the Spanish Review, *Al-Andalus* (Vols. III-IV, 1935-1936), the Arabic text and the translation of three fairly long fragments of the Memoirs of the last Ziride king of Granada, 'Abd-Allāh b. Buluggīn b. Bādīs, discovered in the Great Mosque of al-Qarawīyīn at Fez (Morocco). With the introduction of this hitherto unpublished and important document to the Islamists and historians of medieval Spain, it was hoped that the discovery of other fragments of the same work would soon follow. This hope has been happily soon fulfilled. While exploring in the last few years the bundles of manuscripts piled at random in a section of the ancient Fez library, two new fragments of the said Memoirs, now published in the above-mentioned Review of the Schools of Arabic Studies of Madrid and Granada (Vol. VI, 1941), were recovered within a few months of one another. The general arrangement of the two series of fragments (the first one containing fragments I, II, III, and the second one fragments A, B) is as follows: Lacuna+fragment A+I+lacuna+fragment II+lacuna+fragment III+Lacuna+fragment B+lacuna. Thus the fragments do not contain portions of either the

beginning or the end of the Memoirs. But nevertheless their importance even in this fragmentary state is great, since they precisionise, complete or modify in several points the information at our disposal concerning the hundred years of the Taifa régime in the Muḥammadan period of Spanish history.

In the volume containing the first series of fragments a brief summary was given of the history of the Ziride kings of Granada extending over the period preceding the second part of the reign of Bādīs b. Habūs; this second part forms the contents of fragment I. The summary gave an account of the settlement of the Sinhaya Zirides of Ifrīqiya, grouped round their chief Zāwī b. Zīrī, in the Iberian Peninsula. They came as mercenaries under the pay of the 'Amirides and for their benefit a military feudal district was formed in the territory of Granada, which not long after became an independent principality. In 407 (1016-17) Zāwī won a decisive victory over the Andalusian Muhammadans led by the pretender al-Murtaḍā, but in 416 (1025) Zāwī went back to Ifrīqiya and the power in Granada passed to his nephew Habūs b. Māksān who reigned till his death in 429 (1038) and was succeeded by his son Bādīs who became the greatest Sinhayan king of Granada.

It is precisely these various circumstances that are explained in the first of the second series of fragments (A). After giving a number of features, though exceedingly brief for our purpose, of the construction of Granada it proceeds with a detailed narrative about the attack upon the Zirides by the contingents of the Umayyad pretender, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Murtaḍā. Though this narrative does not add more than a few details to the account which the chronicler Ibn-'Idarī gives of this very event in his *Bayān* the developments and circumstances explained by 'Abd-Allāh to have led to the causes, which had seemed so mysterious up to now, of the unexpected return of Zāwī b. Zīrī to the court of his forefathers, the dynastic Sinhayan rulers of Qayrawān, are very illuminating. It was his ambition to gain the supreme power in his ancestral home that seems to have urged him to return to the old Ifrīqiyān chief who had never ceased feeling exiled and out of place on the Andalusian soil. But it ended badly for him: instead of the throne he coveted, he got in Qayrawān a cold reception; and it was not long before he was got rid of by poisoning.

The reign of his successor in Granada, Habūs b. Māksān, lasted for thirteen years, that is from 416 to 429 (1025-38). 'Abd-Allāh does not mark out the chief stages by means of dates; but it is evident from the rest of his Memoirs that chronological precision is not his object. He presents to us his great-grandfather as concerned above everything else with the care not to wound the susceptibilities of the Sinhaya chiefs in his entourage and to manage as best as he could their naturally restive and suspicious character. His principality seems to have been no more than a federation of feudal vassals, over whom he exercised a nominal sovereignty. Within his own family his cares centred round his nephew

Yaddayr, the son of his brother Hubāsa ; and this favourite of his would have surely succeeded him had not Bādīs (Habūs's own son), who was endowed with a personality and energy of which he was later on to give multiple proofs, taken measures to safeguard his succession to the principality long before his father's death. In this new fragment of the Memoirs one can also see the first indications, right from the reign of Habūs, of the influence that was later to be wielded in the little Granada court both by the famous Jewish Vizier Samuel (Isma'il) Ibn al-Nagrālla (who does not figure in the narrative except under his "kunya" Abū-Ibrāhīm) and by his son Yūsuf.

The first few years of his reign were devoted by Bādīs to establishing his authority and undermining the influence of his Sinhaya vassals. A good many of the latter were mixed up in the plot which was engineered by his cousin Yaddayr in order to dethrone him ; and, but for the loyalty displayed by the Jewish Vizier towards his master, the plot would have succeeded. Soon success in the field strengthened the prestige of Bādīs, when in 429 (1038), the year of his accession, his troops inflicted upon Zuhayr, the "slave" prince of Almeria, the bloody defeat of Alpuente, at the very gates of Granada. 'Abd-Allāh furnishes a rather brief account of this event in order to pass at once to the narrative of the intrigues which divided the little Granada court and drew Bādīs's own son, Buluggīn Sayf al-dawla, to attempt a revolt against his father who was showing marked disposition to follow exclusively the advice of his Jewish counsellor, Ibn al-Nagrālla. All this agitation led in 456 (1064) to the murder of Sayf al-Dawla (father of the author of these Memoirs) and finally to the infamous pogrom of Granada in 459 (1066).

Fragment B, in spite of its shortness, does not offer less interesting features than A. The king of Granada 'Abd-Allāh, who stood positively compromised and suspected in the eyes of the Amīr Yūsuf b. Tāsufīn on account of his dealings with Alphonse VI of Castile, explains and tries his best to justify the reasons that led him to surrender voluntarily to the Almoravide sovereign. Though he does not even breathe a word about the occupation of his capital by the Lamtūnian troops, he expatiates with a certain complacency on the misfortunes of his neighbours, the princes of Almeria and Seville : in Almeria, from where the Almoravides after a long siege had retired for the time being, there reigned disorder and confusion. The Tuyibide prince emigrated from there to the central Magreb where he sought the protection of the Hammadide ruler of Qal'a ; in Seville, al-Mu'tamid staked everything in a last desperate struggle before yielding his throne to the victor of Sagradas. Information about this tragic period is not wanting in the Arabic chronicles ; but it is not so vivid and precise as that furnished by this short fragment of the Memoirs of 'Abd-Allāh. Thanks to this new source, the circumstances of the fall of Cordoba, Carmona, Ronda and of the capital of al-Mu'tamid's kingdom are presented in a new light and we are better able to understand the rapid

disruption of the Andalusian Muḥammadan principalities, at the end of the eleventh century A.D. under the blows of the African Almoravides.

THE ORIENTALISTIC SCENE IN AMERICA.

The American Oriental Society has just celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its founding. This seems to be an opportune moment to survey the activities in the Orientalistic field in America generally, combined with a report on the centenary meeting which was held in Boston, Massachusetts from April 7 to 10, 1942.

When in 1842 four men, amongst them the first president of the Society, John Pickering, convened in Boston in order to discuss the founding of an Orientalistic Society, they might have hoped, but certainly could not have foretold, that their foundation would become one of the outstanding scholarly groups in the United States and one of the charter affiliated bodies of the American Council of Learned Societies. A short survey of the Society's history given at the Centenary Banquet by Professor LeRoy Carr Barret showed a steady growth in the scope of its activities and in the number of its members which at present is more than 700. The groups of scholarly interests represented in the Society are Egyptology, Assyriology with its various ramifications, Biblical and Hebrew studies, Arabic language and literature and Islamistics, Indian culture and languages, and the cultures of the Far East and Polynesia.

From its beginning the Society has published a Journal which has reflected faithfully the trends that predominated at various periods, including at one time even articles on classical subjects in so far as they touched Orientalistic research. Throughout the hundred years of its existence the Journal of the American Oriental Society has maintained a high standard of scholarship due to the fact that it had as its contributors scholars of world-wide fame. Names such as Paul Haupt, Charles C. Torrey, A. V. W. Jackson, G. F. Moore, are famous in Europe and in America and are equally well-known in the East. In addition, the American Oriental Society publishes a series of studies on Oriental subjects known as the *American Oriental Series* which is designed to contribute to the knowledge of the Ancient East and the cultures of Egypt and Assyria as well as that of India, China, Tibet and Japan, and of the Islamic world. The most recent book in this series is al-Ash'arī's *al-Ibāna 'an Uṣūl ad-Diyānah*, a translation with introduction and notes by Walter C. Klein (1942).

The interest of the Society is, however, not limited to the Ancient East. Many of its members know Oriental, Near and Far Eastern countries from their own experience of having travelled and lived there. Many of them were connected with one or the other of the Society's own archæological expeditions, or with excavations sponsored by other learned societies ; while others were brought to the East by their interest in anthro-

pology, ethnology, or Oriental art. Therefore, problems of the modern East deeply interest the Society—witness the eagerness with which the symposium on modern problems of the Near and Far East and India was received at the recent convention.

In honour of the centennial meeting the Society met for four days instead of the customary three. This extra day made it possible to devote more time than usual to each group of problems and the members of the Society had the opportunity to attend two symposia on (a) Dominant Ideas in the Formation of Asiatic Cultures, (b) Dominant Ideas of Asiatic Cultures To-day. Each symposium was concerned with India, China, Judæo-Christian culture, Islam, and Japan. The speakers were F. Edgerton (Yale University : India), W. E. Clark (Harvard University : Modern India), D. Bodde (University of Pennsylvania : China), G. E. Taylor (University of Washington : Modern China), M. Burrows (Yale University : Judæo-Christian culture), G. Levi Della Vida (University of Pennsylvania : Islam), A. Jeffery (Columbia University : Modern Islam), H. Borton (Columbia University : Japan). All the lectures were of outstanding quality yielding more than the ordinary interest since they were delivered at a moment when the American public has at last become aware of the immense importance of the East to Western civilization. While we were convening, momentous decisions were to be made in India, battles were raging in the Pacific Ocean, and armies were standing poised for battle in the Near East. Who would have dared, at that moment, to say that Orientalists were concerned with ages past and worlds vanished? The discussions following each lecture reflected this feeling of '*hinc et nunc.*'

Although the group of scholars interested mainly in Islamic subjects and Arabic literature was comparatively small in number, the papers read in this section were well received. Levi Della Vida's and Jeffery's papers dealt with the wider problems of Islam—Jeffery's special contribution, being a survey of the movements within modern Islam in Egypt, Syria, Arabia and India, and the attempts of the various religious groups either to adapt Islam to the requirements of modern life and modern thought, or to keep Islam untouched by modern philosophical and religious trends. The discourses of other scholars, mostly younger, were likewise of a high standard. Almost every one of them tried to present problems of a more general nature instead of reading papers on some limited and specialized subject, as is only too frequently done. Thus Gustave von Grunebaum read a paper on 'Greek Form Elements in the *Arabian Nights*, stressing Greek and Hellenistic influence on the rhetorical form of the tales in *Alf Laila*, a paper which was received with great interest and provoked a discussion lasting nearly half an hour. Although it was the last paper to be read, Ilse Lichtenstädter's paper might be mentioned here. Her paper 'On the Conception of *Adab*' stressed the evidence for the fact that Arabic indigenous culture was prevalent and highly influential in shaping Islamic culture. This paper, too, was received with great interest and

discussed at length. R. N. Frye read a paper on 'Aṣ-Ṣughd and the Sogdians: A Comparison of Manuscript Discoveries with Arabic Sources.' D. C. Dennett, Jun., tried to apply modern sociological conceptions for the understanding of Islamic history in his paper on 'The 'Abbāsid Conspiracy in Terms of Recent Revolutionary Theory,' which provided an excellent and clear exposition of a phase of early Islamic history. A. S. Yahuda tried to explain difficult passages in the Qur'ān with the help of Hebrew, Biblical, Talmudic, and Midrashic passages. Last, but not the least, interesting paper was that of Franz Rosenthal who spoke on 'Problems in the Treatment of Muslim Biography.'

In conclusion I should like to give a few facts relating to Arabic studies in America. It is only in very recent times that special facilities for Arabic studies have been provided in a few universities; in former times Arabic studies were a part of 'Semitics' which mainly meant Hebrew and Biblical studies. In his presidential address in 1938 Leroy Waterman spoke on 'Semitic' studies without even mentioning Arabic, just as did Nathaniel Schmidt, the author, amongst many other works, of a book on Ibn-Khaldūn, in 1923. Only in about ten universities (out of the many hundreds of colleges and universities in this vast country) there are facilities for Arabic studies apart from Semitics; to name some of them: at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, University of Pennsylvania, Duke University, University of Michigan, which has an Institute of Islamic Art, Chicago, which has a fine Oriental Institute, and Princeton University.

Beside the American Oriental Society, Oriental Clubs have been formed in some universities, amongst which the Philadelphia Oriental Club is outstanding. It has celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1938. The New York Oriental Club, which meets once a month has also been in existence for about 47 years. Until 1939 it did not admit any women to membership, but in that year two women, Edith von Porada, an expert on Assyrian art, and Ilse Lichtenstädter were elected members of the club. Later, a third woman, E. Adelaide Hahn, an Indologist, was elected.

It may be that the war which has brought the East nearer to the awareness of the American people may bring about a change in the attitude of the universities towards Oriental studies. The necessity for a better understanding of the religious and political problems of the Near East and India seems to be dawning upon the American mind, and this may lead to the establishment of a school or schools of Oriental studies or the creation of a centre for such studies. There are a number of fine young scholars in the United States who under the guidance of those of the older generation, such as Levi Della Vida, Hitti (Princeton), Jeffery, Schloessinger (at present in New York), Obermann (Yale) would be able and willing to promote Oriental studies in the United States.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SULTANATE OF DELHI, by I. H. Qureshi; published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1942, 288 pp.; price Rs. 8.

IT is only very recently that attention has been paid to the institutional history of Mediaeval India. Maratha institutions and culture came first into the field through the work of a number of scholars who have made them a subject of their objective study. Mughal culture has also received a certain amount of attention but not quite as much as it deserves and Dr. P. Saran and the late Dr. Ibne Ḥaṣan have described local and central governments of the Mughals with much diligence and success. But hardly anything has so far been done to make the history of the Sultanate of Delhi, the precursor of the Mughal empire, known to us. Institutional and cultural history is a far cry; even a connected political history based on original research has yet to be written. Dr. Mahdi Ḥusain did a great service by compiling the life of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq a few years back, but since then nothing of importance has been attempted in that direction. We have no doubt Sir Wolseley Haig's volume of Cambridge History of India named "Turks and Afghans" but it has proved to be much below expectations and can hardly be called an objective study as it is written with a considerable amount of bias and besides it is no more than a compendium of little more than names and dates. May be, the learned author could not see anything worth mentioning in the matter of institutions.

Dr. I. H. Qureshi has laid us under a debt of gratitude by the publication of the work under review. It is now an accepted fact that the year 1206 A.C. was a turning point in Indian history, for it was then that Qutbu'd-Din Aibak set up his throne at Delhi and thus finally and definitely made India the home of his co-religionists and successors. Dr. Qureshi lays great emphasis on the political and allied institutions of the Sultanate and says that while one dynasty after another was installed in the capital and while geographical borders of the Sultanate were alternately expanding and receding, "it is only in the evolution of its institutions that the Sultanate is revealed as a political entity" and a continuous organism. This is not all, for as a matter of fact the institutions as developed at Delhi had their reactions in other parts of India, as Bengal, Gujrat, Malwa and the Deccan, when these parts were cut off from the parent trunk, and we find the offices as well as their nomenclature repeated in these kingdoms.

Dr. Qureshi is also right in stressing the importance of *Shar'* or Islamic Law in the Sultanate at least as far as the Muslim population was concerned for "the rulers took care to follow its tenets in public affairs" and as there was no visible being superior to the will of the Sultān the sanction behind the *Shar'* lay in the fact that its "slightest disregard led to unpopularity" and perhaps dethronement. The Sultān's authority was "always limited by Divine Law which he could not supersede" and here lies the great difference between European and Muslim theories of sovereignty.

Dr. Qureshi leaves no administrative detail without his fullest consideration. His chapter headings include such topics as the Legal Sovereign, the Actual Sovereign, the Royal Household, Ministers Finance, Army, Justice, Provincial and Local Governments and other similar matters. He fully documents every assertion he makes and has supplemented his remarks by appendices at the end of the book. Each chapter is divided into sub-headings; thus the chapter on the Royal Household deals, among other matters with court ceremonies, wakil-i dar, amirs, hājibs, naqībs, royal bodyguard, minor officials, the royal family, royal stables, etc.; while the chapter on the Army is divided into paragraphs on huliyat and dāgh, cavalry, elephants, infantry, firearms, siege, engines, forts, provisions, engineers, battle array, scouts, ambulance, organisation, salaries, numbers and other topics of the same.

There is one point about which there may be a difference in opinion. The author brings his work right up to the end of the Sūr dynasty, thus suggesting that the administration of the Sūrs was only a continuation of the Sultanate. One feels, however, that Sher Shāh was really an innovator, and his great reforms were like the foundation-stones of a new structure

which was later to be completed by the Mughals rather than continuation of the institutions associated with the names of the earlier Delhi Sultāns.

Thanks to the efficiency of the publishing House, the printing, the paper used, the binding and the get-up leave little to be desired. The system of transcribing oriental names follows strictly orthodox lines even to the extent of representing ³ by dh, but is at times inconsistent. Thus while the Arabic article is prefixed to *al-Ahkām-us Sultāniyah* as it should be, it is dropped off from the name of Jurgī Zaidan's famous book on Islamic culture on the same page (19). On page 2 *Abu'l Fadl* is written with a long ū which is obviously incorrect, and sometimes there are too many hyphens connecting various independent words forming a name; thus on page 16 Maulana Abdu'l Haq's work is called *Risalah-i-dar-tesnif-i-Khud*. But slips like these are bound to occur in a work where thousands of oriental names have been transliterated. There are a couple of maps attached right in the beginning of the book, but these might have been prepared better in keeping with the high standard of the get-up of the book.

H. K. S.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

1. *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through their Inscriptions*, by Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghatai.
2. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Persian, Urdu and Arabic Manuscripts in the Panjab University Library*, Volume I—Fasciculus I, compiled by S. M. Abdullah, M.A., D.Litt.
3. *Muslim University Journal*, March 1942, edited by Dr. S. Hadi Hasan.
4. *Organization of Public Services in Mughal India (1526-1707)*, by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma.
5. *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī of Abū-Naṣr Muḥammad 'Uṭhībī*, translated by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma.
6. *Ā'in-i-Muṣḥaf*, by A. S. K. Nikhat.
7. *A Treatise on the Art of Calligraphy (Rihān-i-Nasta'liq)* 989 A.H./1581 A.D., edited by Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghatai.



[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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THE ARAB ADMINISTRATION OF SIND

INTRODUCTION

LYING as it does in close geographical proximity to the sea-coast of South-East Arabia, Sind had contacts with Arabs, both economical and social, long before Islam. But the Islamicised Arabs had mentally very little in common with their pre-Islamic selves.

The penetration of Islamicised Arabs in, and their attacks on the sea-coast towns of Sind had begun as early as the year 15 H., in the time of the Caliph 'Umar the Great. Al-Balādhury has given considerable details of the action taken by the Muslim State under 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Aliy, Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd, before the final and complete occupation by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ; but very little has so far been written on the administrative work of these new masters of the country.

Although it is true that there was considerable difference between the precept and the practice of the Arabs, yet it can safely be said that they compare favourably with any other nation of the world within half a century of its civilisation. The Arabic State under the Umayyads was essentially Islamic. Notwithstanding the fact that the uppermost strata of society indulged themselves in a way prohibited by Islam,—though quite normal for other secularised societies—it was Muslim law which reigned supreme throughout their empire. The historian asks curiously, how it was possible that the Arab invaders, never superior in physique or military machines or economic resources to the races which they subjugated, managed to achieve an expansion unrivalled not only for its rapidity but also in its cultural effects. Not only the religion but even the mother-tongue of the conquered countries was changed into that of the Arab rulers.¹

Much has been written in recent times on the principles and practices of Islamic administration in the time of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs. But the Umayyad period has suffered from the fact that for information about it we have to depend on the work of historians of the rival 'Abbāsīd dynasty which followed.

We publish the following article in the hope that it will lead other workers in the field to collect data from the various sources, and to consult and utilise the original Arabic works on the subject most of which are now fortunately available in print. Reference may also be made to the *Mappæ Arabicæ*, which contain about half a dozen maps of Sind also by early Arab geographers. They give physical as well as administrative and topographical details of the country. To these must be added the maps contained in the geographical work of Abū-Zaid al-Balkhī (MSS. of which are in Madīnah and Istanbul, and photographed copies of the latter in Cairo).—Ed., I.C.

ADMINISTRATIVE HANDICAPS

THE men who were sent to accomplish the conquest of Sind were great warriors no doubt, but they possessed little experience in the art of administration. Besides this, they had some other short-

1. Sind is no exception. It is said that not long ago Arabic was the polite language of Sind among non-Muslims also.

comings also : they had no knowledge of local conditions, had no means of assessing the resources of the country which conquest placed at their disposal, and had no men capable of exercising civil functions. They could not fathom the depths of the chaotic accounts kept by the native financiers and had inevitably to depend upon the native genius.¹ With all these shortcomings, however, they brought with them those ennobling ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity which were introduced by Islām long before the French Revolution. They strictly adhered to the supreme law of toleration and dealt even-handed justice, and hence they were successful in governing the country which they had conquered.

TOLERATION

TOLERATION in the true sense of the word was granted by the Arab governors of Sind to their subjects. Some temples were no doubt destroyed during the days of war, but that was a temporary phase, for the destruction of temples was due not to religious bigotry or fanaticism but to the fact that the temples were repositories of India's agelong accumulated wealth, and fortified places on whose fall depended the surrender of the place attacked and the fate of its people.² Once a place was conquered and peace restored or the people submitted and sought peace, the conqueror adopted a kind and conciliatory attitude towards them.³ After the conquest of Brahmanābād, for instance, its inhabitants were allowed to rebuild their temples and to perform their ceremonies in the manner prescribed by their religion.⁴ When 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim forwarded the request of the inhabitants of Brahmanābād regarding the reconstruction of the temple of Budh to Ḥajjāj, he received the following reply :

"It appears that the chief inhabitants of Brahmanābād have petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of Budh and pursue their religion. As they have made submission, and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can be required from them. They have been taken under our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives and property. Permission is given to them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like."⁵

1. *E. & D.*, I, 460-461.

2. See *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān* in *E. & D.*, I, 120.

3. *Ibid.*, 121-24.

4. *Chach Nāmah* in *E. & D.*, I, 182 ff., 190, 192 and 196. Ḥajjāj, the Viceroy of 'Irāq, was a veritable tyrant, whose reign is rendered notorious by his acts of intolerance and cruelty, but curiously enough his policy towards Sind was very conciliatory. It seems to me that the tolerance enjoyed by the Sindians was due more to the character of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim than to anything else.

5. *Chach Nāmah* in *E. & D.*, 185-86.

On receipt of these orders from Ḥajjāj, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim permitted the people of Brahmanābād to rebuild their temples, to traffic with the Muslims, to live without fear, and to try to improve themselves.¹ Under his orders the Brahmans were treated with marked kindness and consideration. They were allowed 3 per cent. of the dirhams to which they were entitled from the laity for whom they officiated. The Hindūs were allowed to retain their position like the Jews, the Christians, and the fire-worshippers, and it was proclaimed "that their temples would be inviolate like the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the altars of the Magians."² This toleration stands in marked contrast to that enjoyed by the natives under their own Rājās.³

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

THE Arabs did not disturb the existing system of administration in Sind. They placed the entire machinery of internal administration in the hands of the natives and warned them to be scrupulously fair and honest in their work.⁴ After the conquest of Brahmanābād, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim admonished every man separately and said :—

" Be happy in every respect, and have no anxiety, for you will not be blamed for anything. I do not take any agreement or bond from you. Whatever sum is fixed and we have settled you must pay. Moreover, care and leniency shall be shown to you. And whatever may be your requests, they should be represented to me so that they may be heard, a proper reply be given, and the wishes of each man be satisfied."⁵

The author of the *Chāch Nāmāh* informs us that after confirming the superiority of the Brahmans and restoring the concessions enjoyed by them under the previous regimes, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ordered all of them to appear before him. When they complied, he reminded them that they had filled great offices in the time of Dāhir and that they must be thoroughly familiar with the city of Brahmanābād and its suburbs. Reposing full confidence in them, he entrusted them with high offices and

1. See *Chāch Nāmāh* in *E. & D.*, I, 86.

2. *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān* in *E. & D.*, I, 122; and *Chāch Nāmāh* in *E. & D.*, I, 151, 186-87.

3. Vide *infra*. Also see *Chāch Nāmāh* in *E. & D.*, I, 187.

4. *Chāch Nāmāh* in *E. & D.*, I, 183. Also see *E. & D.*, I, 460. In his note (vide Appendix in *E. & D.*, I, 469) Dowson argues that the toleration granted by the Arab rulers of Sind emanated not from good-will but from necessity, or in his own words: "It was dictated less by any principle of justice or humanity than the impossibility of suppressing the native religion by the small number of Arab invaders." I have only to observe that his remarks are equally applicable to any government that grants toleration to subjects of different faith. Yet he himself admits that "the toleration which the native Sindians enjoyed in the practice of their religion was greater than what was usually conceded in other countries." (*Ibid.*)

5. *Chāch Nāmā* in *E. & D.*, I, 184-85.

placed all the important affairs of the place in their hands.¹ It was also proclaimed that every capable person should be brought to his notice so that his talent might also be unearthed.² Important officers were assigned seats in public assemblies and some of them were also given saddled horses and ornaments for hands and feet, according to the custom of the country. Overseers and assistants were appointed, and all matters relating to property were entrusted to four of the merchants whose duty it was to inform the governor of all matters and to decide nothing without consulting him. Steps were taken to improve and encourage agriculture and trade. Artisans and merchants were free from molestation and whosoever took pains in his work was encouraged and supported.³

HOME GOVERNMENT

THE Arab governor of Sind, whose appointment and dismissal rested with the Khalifa, was responsible to the authorities at the *Dār-us-Salām*, or the capital. All important matters relating to foreign affairs and administrative policy were therefore referred to them, and the orders and instructions received from them were strictly enforced and carried out. Though the internal administration of Sind was not disturbed and all administrative offices were entrusted to the Brahmans, necessary steps were taken by the governor to guard against a possible reaction or a revolution. Such big cities as Sahwistān, Alor, and Brahmanābād, and such important strongholds as Debal, Nirūn, and Rāwar were therefore placed in charge of Arab officers of tried merit and proved honesty.⁴

SUMPTUARY LAWS

THE Arab governors did not touch the time-honoured indigenous institutions, good or bad. The sumptuary laws introduced by Mannū were strictly enforced by the pre-Arab rulers of Sind, and certain tribes were forbidden to wear fine linen, ride horses, or cover their heads and feet.⁵ Referring to the Chandelas, Mannū says: "That they should be made to live outside the towns, that their sole wealth must be dogs and asses, their clothes must consist of cere-cloths of the dead, their dishes broken pots and their ornaments of rusty iron."⁶ During his stay

1. *Chāch Nāmah* in *E. & D.*, I, 183.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 189.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 190.

4. *Futūh-ul-Buldān* and *Chāch Nāmah* in *E. & D.*, I, 120, 121, 160, 163, 189, 202, 204 and 207.

5. *E. & D.*, I, 476.

6. *Institutes*, X, 12, 29-30.

at Brahmanābād, Chāch treated the Jāts¹ and the Lohanas as Chandelas and imposed the following disabilities on them: "That they should never wear any swords but sham ones: that they should never wear undergarments of shawls, velvet, or silk, but they might wear their outer garments of silk, provided they were of red or black colour:² that they should put no saddles on their horses, and should keep their heads and feet uncovered: that when they went out they should take their dogs with them;³ that they should carry firewood for the kitchen of the chief of Brahmanābād. They were to furnish guides and spies and were to be faithful when employed in such offices."⁴ Following the policy and practice of his predecessors in office, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim also treated the Jāts in the same way and ordered them to furnish guides to Muslims. He also ordered the natives to feed every Muslim traveller who happened to be in their town or village, for three days and nights if he was ill and for one day and one night if he was well.⁵

MILITARY SYSTEM

THE military system of the Arabs, which was introduced into Sind, was at first restricted to Muslims only, but later the restrictions placed on outsiders were relaxed and the Khalifas freely recruited their ranks from extraneous sources as well.⁶ Muḥammad ibn Qāsim took the natives into his army and rewarded their services. Kaksa, the minister of Dāhir, was not only confirmed in his office and taken into confidence, but was allowed 'to take precedence in the army before all the nobles and commanders.'⁷ He assisted Muḥammad ibn Qāsim in all his undertakings

1. The Jāts are stated to be the oldest inhabitants of Sind, who were reduced to the state of serfdom by the Aryans and other conquerors. Burton gives them a very bad character. (*Vide Sind or the Unhappy Valley*, II, 118). Crooke says that not very long ago the Rājputs in the Panjāb meted out exactly the same treatment to the Jāts. He says: "They would not allow the Jāts to put a crown (*Mor*) on the head of their bridegrooms or a jewel (*Nath*) in the women's noses. They also used to levy seigniorial rights from virgin brides. Even to this day Rājputs will not allow inferior people to wear red clothes or ample loin-cloths in their villages" (*Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces*, 1896, III, 23). Referring to the reign of Sidhārāj Jaya Sinha of Gujarāt, Forbes writes: "The Dheds were compelled to wear only untwisted cotton round their heads, and a stag's horn, as a mark, hanging from their waists, so that people might be able to avoid touching them." (*Rās Māla*, 1924, I, 110 & p. 112, ed. 1856—Ed., I. C.

2. This statement is inconsistent with and even contradictory to the general purport of the paragraph reproduced above. The ill-starred people who were prohibited from wearing even undergarments of silk could hardly be permitted to wear outer garments of silk. There is obviously some error or omission in the text. Professor Howdiwala suggests that the error is probably due to a misunderstanding of the word پلاس which really signifies some kind of coarse cloth of hair, or wool, but which has been rendered by the translator as 'silk.' (See *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 85-86).

3. This was perhaps to show that they were outcastes.

4. *Chāch Nāmah* in *E. & D.*, I, 151 and 187. These sumptuary laws were not introduced into Sind by the Arabs, but were simply maintained by them as was the case with many other institutions.

5. This ordinance was first introduced by caliph 'Umar. (See *Chāch Nāmah* in *E. & D.*, I, 187-8; 476).

6. *E. & D.*, I, 466.

7. *Chāch Nāmah* in *E. & D.*, I, 203.

and was given the title of *Mubārak Mushīr*, or "Auspicious Counsellor." Sindian troops were levied and sent to fight the battles of the Arabs in distant lands. Dionysius Talmarensis distinctly mentions in his *Syrian Chronicle* some Sindian cohorts as forming a portion of the motley army of Alans, Khazars, Medes, Persians, Turks, Arabs, etc., which invaded the Byzantine territory in 150 A.H. (=767 A.D.).¹ Four years later (i.e., in 154 H.) a body of Sindians, said to be slaves, attempted to seize the imperial treasury in Harran. They are believed to have formed part of these foreign levies. The policy of recruiting natives in their armies adopted by the Arabs seems to have worked well; for in the first place, the danger of rebellion was counteracted by the despatch of dangerous elements to distant places; and secondly, these recruits played a prominent part in extending far and wide the territorial limits of their masters. Often the more enterprising spirits among them availed themselves of the opportunities afforded them and carved out good positions for themselves.²

THE IQṬĀ' SYSTEM

IN recognition of their services, the original conquerors of Sind received big tracts of land called *Iqṭa'āt* or *Qaṭā'i'* which, as rewards for public services, were not subject to any taxes except *Ṣadqa* or alms, defined by law. These assignments of land were made on the express condition of military service, and as long as this condition was fulfilled they never reverted to the fisc. Since, according to the fiscal legislation introduced by Khalif 'Umar, all soldiers were exclusively devoted to the military profession and were not allowed to take up any other work in addition, the lands forming their *Iqṭā's* continued to be cultivated by their former serfs, who were thus promoted to the status of tenants. Those who were not favoured with such grants received stipends from the public revenue or *Bait-ul-Māl*, to which they contributed nothing in the form of taxes. Four-fifths of the spoils of war formed their share and only one-fifth was reserved for the Khalifa for religious and charitable purposes. "The man who went down to the battle and he who tarried by the stuff received equal shares and the horsemen enjoyed a double portion."³

1. *E. & D.*, I, 465.

2. Dowson's statement (*E. & D.*, I, 166) that "most of them were very unwilling soldiers, raised by an arbitrary conscription and only reconciled to their fate after long experience of their new profession, and when their distant homes had been forgotten" is entirely unfounded; for, in the first place, as he himself admits, "some of the foreign recruits were, no doubt, obtained by the hopes of ready participation in the spoils which were the invariable concomitant of Arab conquests;" secondly, the tyranny of their native rulers and Brahmans compelled them to seek their fortunes elsewhere; and thirdly, the temptation of high rank and speedy promotions also goaded them to the same end.

3. *E. & D.*, I, 461-62.

SOURCES OF REVENUE

THE principal sources of State revenue under the Arabs were land revenue, customs, and transit duties, *Khums*, *Jizya*, and *Bāj* or tribute from dependencies, a brief account of each of which will be appropriate.¹

LAND REVENUE

BRAHMANS were appointed as revenue collectors throughout the country and specific instructions were issued to them : " Deal honestly," it was enjoined on them, " between the people and the Sultān, and if distribution is required, make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay. Be in concord among yourselves and oppose not each other, so that the country may not be distressed."² The land revenue was usually rated at 2/5ths of the produce of wheat and barley if the fields were irrigated by public canals, at 3/10ths if they were watered by wheels or other artificial means of irrigation, and at 1/4th if they were not irrigated at all. It appears that arable land which was left uncultivated had to pay one dirham per jarīb and 1/10th of the probable produce, but the statement on this point is vague. One-third was levied on the produce of dates, grapes, and garden-fruit, and this was realised in cash or kind, as was found convenient.³

KHUMS, CUSTOMS DUTIES, BĀJ AND 'USHRI

KHUMS or 1/5th was levied on the income accruing from mines, fishing, pearls, and other commodities not connected with cultivation. It was collected in cash or in kind. Taxes on trade, manufactures and handicrafts, customs and transit duties were also important sources of revenue. Occasionally such other taxes as *Bāj*' or *Kharāj* (tribute) and *'Ushrī* (1/10th or tithe) were also levied, but being rare they require no special notice.⁴

JIZYA

FROM those who professed Islām and espoused its cause only 1/10th of their wealth and the produce of the land was collected, but those who followed their own faith had to pay from the produce of their manual industry, or from the land, the usual sums according to the established custom of the country and bring it to the government collectors.⁵ The

1. Ameer'Alī's *Short History of the Saracens*, 186-87.

2. *Chāch Nāmah* in *E. & D.*, I, 184.

3. *E. & D.*, I, 474.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 475.

5. *Chāch Nāmah* in *E. & D.*, I, 190-91.

Jizya was collected from the non-Muslims who were under the protection of the Muslim government and exempt from military service, and were hence called Dhimmīs, or protected people. It was assessed on the following graduated scale :

A man in affluent circumstances had to pay 48 dirhams annually.

A man of moderate means (middle class) had to pay 24 dirhams.

A man of ordinary position had to pay 12 dirhams.

Women, children, and persons unable to work or unemployed, as well as those who served in the army, were outside the scope of its operation.¹

ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION

THE Arab governors were, so to say, "farmers-general," who usually bound themselves to remit to the Khalifa the sums of money at which the provinces held by them—after allowing for necessary expenses—were assessed in the public register. The revenue remitted varied according to the degree of control exercised by the Khalifa and the degree of obedience owed by the governors. It also differed according to the distance of a particular place from the capital. Where the revenues were not fixed, where the disbursements were left to the discretion of the governors, and where the latter themselves were the judges of local conditions, authorised to declare war or make peace, etc., very little was remitted to the capital, on such pleas as local services, punitive wars, and internal disturbances.²

ACTUAL AMOUNT COLLECTED

As to the actual amount of revenue received from Sind, no accurate or even approximately accurate statistics are available. The statements of ibn-Khurradādhbeh, ibn-Khaldūn, and ibn-Hauqal,³ however, afford some useful information, from which a rough estimate may be formed. It can be gathered from them that Sind yielded an income of 11,500,000 dirhams and 150 lbs. of aloe wood per year.⁴ This is merely a rough estimate, for the revenue received every year varied according to the abundance or scarcity of crops. What taxes this amount actually consisted of is not

1. Kharāj (*tributum soli*) and Jizya (*tributum capitis*) were not new taxes introduced by Muslims. Both of these taxes were in existence in the Roman empire under the same designations, and it is an established fact that the latter was universally in force under the Sassanids in the Persian empire. In introducing these taxes the Muslims followed old precedents. Both these taxes were fixed on a mild and equitable basis. (Ameer 'Ali's *Short History of the Saracens*, 63). For a discussion on Jizya see my *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*.

2. *E. & D.*, I, 473.

3. Cf. also Qudāma, Kharāj (MS. Istanbul), fol. 60b-69b, في ملكة الاسلام و أعمالها و ارتفاعها, (Ed., I. C.).

4. *Ibid.*, I, 473. Multān must have formed a part of the province of Sind because it does not find a place in the list of other provinces of the Khilāfat.

quite clear. Our authorities are at variance on this point. According to ibn-Khurradādhbeh and ibn-Hauqal, it comprised only land-tax, whereas ibn-Khaldūn uses the wider term "revenue." In this connection it is essential to note that the two accounts refer to different periods and to different limits which constantly fluctuated; that the boundaries of the provinces frequently changed; and that sometimes the dues were paid in cash and sometimes in kind. Moreover, the change in the purchasing power of money and the absence of a standard measurement, rendering assessment of land survey extremely difficult, have also to be taken into consideration. When due allowance is made for all these factors, it will appear that the sums set down against some of the provinces are so large—whether we take the higher or the lower figure or the earlier or the later date—that we are driven to the conclusion that they must have embraced the entire collections of all kinds, and we are constrained to understand Kharāj in its wider sense of tribute rather than in its limited sense of land-tax. The assessment on Sind (Multān included) of 11,500,000 dirhams will be considered moderate if it comprised the land-tax and all the other taxes enumerated above.¹

LAW AND JUSTICE

JUSTICE was rigorously administered without fear or favour. Seats of judgment were filled with Qādīs who were well-versed in Islāmic law and jurisprudence. Cases relating to public and political offences were decided according to the code of Islām, irrespective of the parties committing them, and those relating to debts, inheritance, contracts, adultery, and rights of property among the Hindūs were decided according to Hindū law by the Panchāyats or arbitration committees, which worked with wonderful efficiency. Cases between the Hindūs and the Muslims were decided by the Qādīs assisted by Brahmans well-versed in the Hindū law.²

ENDOWMENTS

Big tracts of the conquered territory were given away to religious institutions and sacred edifices as endowments for their maintenance. The remnants of some of them have survived and are still to be seen in some parts of modern Sind.³ This, to a certain extent, accounts for the existence of numerous tombs and ecclesiastical establishments which, under the Tal-

1. *E. & D.*, I, 472-73.

2. *Ibid.*, 478.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 461-62.

purs, are said to have absorbed one-third of the entire revenue of the State.¹

PRESERVATION OF NATIVE STATES

THE whole of the conquered country was not assigned to the original victors or to the charitable institutions by way of endowments, for if that had been the case no revenue at all would have accrued to the State, since all such grants were exempt from any kind of tax.² Many of the native chiefs were confirmed in their possessions and allowed to enjoy their independence undisturbed amidst all the wars of turmoil, on such conditions as continuous allegiance and regular payment of Bāj or tribute.³

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

COMMERCIAL activity, which followed in the wake of the conqueror, was not so pronounced at first as afterwards, when the zeal for Jihād had cooled down and active service offered no such inducements of honour and advancement as had stirred up the early Arabs. The spirit of commercial enterprise thus received a fresh impetus. Sind and Multān maintained a regular commercial connection with the rest of the Muslim world. Caravans, carrying merchandise, regularly passed and repassed between them and Khurāsān through Kābul and Bāmiān. They also kept up communication with Zābulistān and Sijistān through Ghaznīn and Qandahār. At the time of Mas'ūdī's visit, Zābulistān was a country marked out for its fortresses and Sijistān was a place remarkable for its fruit gardens.⁴ This is so far as commercial communication by land was concerned. As regards traffic of merchandise by sea, we come across recurring references in the contemporary accounts and later works. The products of China, Ceylon, 'Umān, and Malābār were despatched through Sind to Turkistān and Khurāsān, and thence to Constantinople, by the resumption of a route which had been so much frequented at one time. Arab horses were imported into Sind, and arms and munitions were sent up the mouth of the Indus. The entire coast of Kirmān and Makrān was dotted with Arab settlements of the Azdīs, who were the chief mercantile carriers from Ubulla and 'Umān and who had many relatives in Sind and Multān.⁵

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE

THERE is no reference to any woman accompanying the Arabs who came and conquered Sind. The distance, coupled with the difficulty

1. E. & D. I, 462.

2. But cf. *supra* Iqtā' system. The Ṣadaqāt taxes were collected by the State. (Ed., I. C.)

3. E. & D., 462. Also see *Chāch Nāmah* in E. & D., I, 462.

4. E. & D., I, 467.

5. *Ibid.*, I, 467-68.

of communication and the absence of intermediate Arab colonies, prevented the exodus of Arab women into Sind. Sind, moreover, was invaded for military operations alone, and hence the Arab soldiers, who were allowed conveyance at the rate of one baggage camel for four men for the transport of food, tents, and other necessary equipment, had no means of bringing their families with them.¹ Nor were the hopes of speedy return to their homes held out to them. To them, in fact, return was even more arduous than advance. Thus, when Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, after passing the Indus, granted permission to such of his soldiers as wished to return, only three came forward to claim their discharge, and of these three, two did so because they had left their families alone and there was none to look after them.² Naturally, therefore, the soldiers settled down in Sind and sought solace in the arms of native women. They congregated in several military colonies called Junūd and Amṣār, or armies and cities. The principal seats of these cantonments were Maṣūra, Kuzdar, Kanda-bel, Baiḍā, Maḥfūza and Multān. Some of these settlements became, like Baṣra, Kūfa, and Damascus, important centres of Arab learning, law, grammar, and theology.³

S. M. JAFFAR.

1. *E. & D.*, I, 464.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 464.

3. *Ibid.*, 464-65.

THE TOMB OF I'TIMADUDDAULA AT AGRA

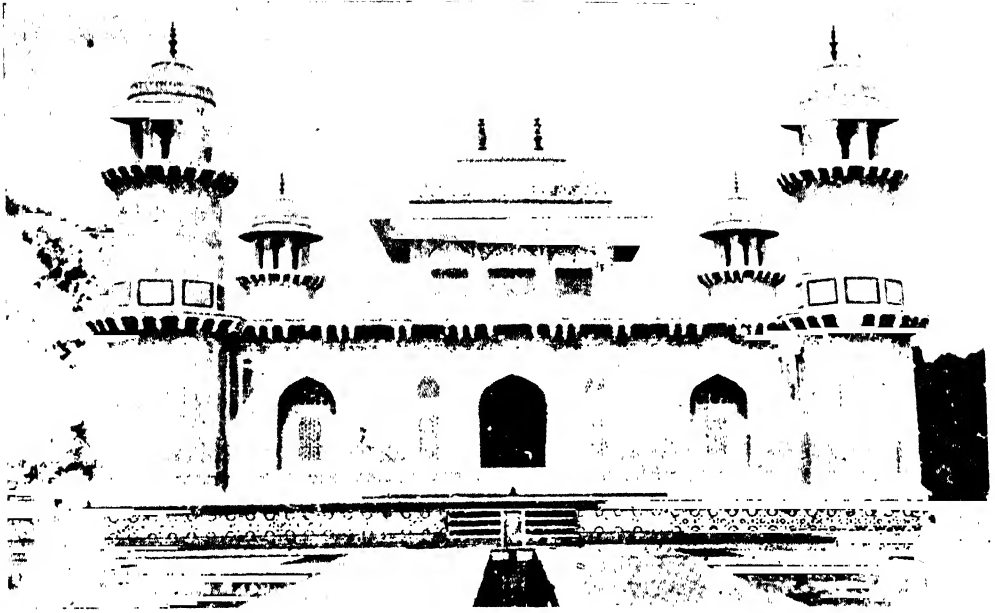
AGRA boasts of many gems of art, the Tāj-Maḥal, the Motī Masjid, Akbar's tomb at Sikandara, and several others, and the tomb under consideration is not the least among them. It has been rightly declared to form a class by itself in delicacy of treatment and the chaste quality of its decoration. But before considering the building, we may give some details of the chief persons buried there.

I'timād'uddaula was originally known as Mīrzā Ghiyāth Muḥammad or Ghiyāth Bēg, and a sketch of his life has been given in the *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā'*.¹ He was an Irani and came from a distinguished family of Teh-rān. Mīrzā Ghiyāth's father, Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf, was a provincial Vazīr in Khurāsān, Yazd, or Iṣfahān under Shāh Tahmāsp. After the death of the Khwāja, his son Ghiyāth had to run away from Iran to India. On the way, near Qandahar, the child Mahrunnisa, the later Nūr-Jahān, was born. When introduced to Akbar in 1577, he was offered a maṣab-dārī of 300, and nineteen years later became the Dīwān of Kabul, and still later a maṣabdār of 1000 and Dīwān of the public works (*buyūtāt*). In Jahāngīr's reign, wealth and honours rained on him from the start, when he was granted the title of I'timād'uddaula and made a Dīwān in conjunction with Jān Bēg. For a time during Khusrau's rebellion when his son, Muḥammad Sharīf, joined the prince, he suffered an eclipse, for not only was his son executed (September, 1607) but he himself was confined until he had paid a fine of two lacs of rupees. Except for this set-back, however, his career was one continuous promotion ending in 1615 with the rank of premier nobleman and the right to beat his drum even in the king's presence.

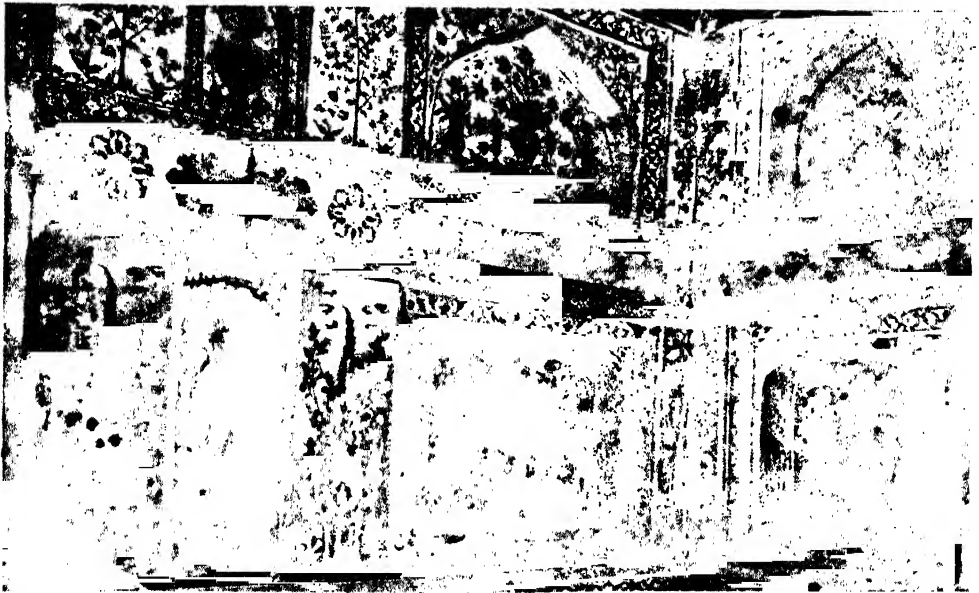
He died in January 1622, his wife, 'Aṣmat Begam, predeceasing him by three months and twenty days. At his death Jahāngīr gave mourning dresses to forty-one of his children and relations and twelve of his dependents.

I'timād has been extolled for his personal qualifications. He was a great scholar, and a few hours before he expired, when asked whether he

1. See Vol. I, p. 127-31.



1. I'timaduddaula's Tomb at Agra.



2. Interior part of I'timaduddaula's Tomb.

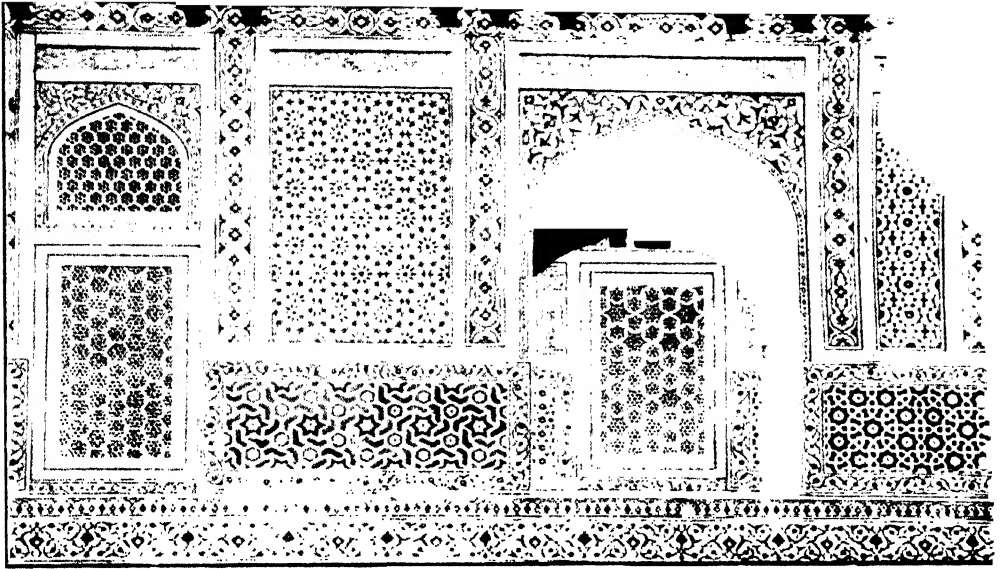
dahs with decorations of a high order (Illus. II). The chief beauty of the building lies in its *pietra dura* work (Illus. III), a development from the inlay work of the earlier years of Jahāngir's reign such as is to be seen on the entrance gateway of Akbar's tomb. Here it is of a superb character, and the floor and the inner walls of the upper hall are two of the best illustrations of the kind. With the prevalence of peace in the Mughal empire, trade had developed and traders and travellers from other lands had flooded the country, and it is possible that some of them were Italian artists who were employed by the builders of the I'timāduddaula mausoleum.

I'timāduddaula's was a family of Tehrān and the building, as is to be expected, shows several Irani characteristics. The whole design and the inlay work on the outside walls remind one of the decorations of an Irani jewellery casket. The turrets—probably an afterthought—are purposely left stunted and the decorations on them (Illus. I) remind one of the ornaments round a woman's neck. The marble stone and the *pietra dura* work are the Indian artist's substitutes for the glazed tilings of Iran. The corner rooms also are an Irani arrangement, first seen in the tomb of Shāh Ṣafi'uddīn of Ardibīl, and so are the representations of the cypress poppy, goblet, and the panelled divisions of the turrets and the outer walls.

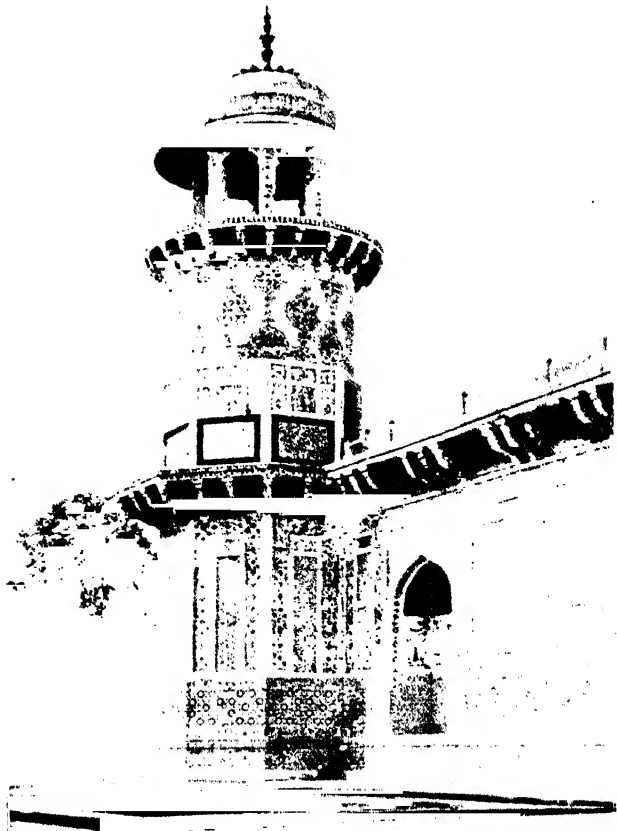
The skill of the designers is seen in the adoption of the plan of the garden-tombs of the Mughals, in the choice of the site, in the fairly imposing gateways in red sandstone and in the innumerable cloisters around the garden. The choice of the costly stones and the *pietra dura* work show the ambition as well as the taste of the founder. A writer has asserted that Nūr-Jahān with her vast income was in favour of erecting an elegant silver tomb at vast expense, but when the insecurity of a silver sarcophagus was pointed out to her, she changed her mind and substituted marble and other semi-precious stones for the costly metal.

Other pleasing features of the building are: (1) The perforated screens all round on both floors (Illus. V and VI). Light is everywhere obtained through perforated screens, or as Brown expresses it "a gossamer of fretted grilles," which gives an exquisite texture to all the openings. And over the whole, delicately modifying the dazzling effect of the white marble, is laid with deft fingers a diaphanous veil of coloured inlay in patterns of bewildering diversity.¹ (2) The Hindu type of the dome on the upper central hall, with its two pinnacles (Illus. I). The basic feature of Muslim architecture, *viz.*, that the highest point should also be the central point of a building, has not been observed here, and the turrets over-top the dome, still, since they are not of the slender type and do not attain a great height, they do not mar the effect of the Hindu dome. (3) Other indigenous features in the building, *viz.*, the marble brackets on which the costly dripstones rest, and the perforated parapets round the terrace of the first floor (Illus. I).

1. C.H.I., IV, 553.



3. Pietra dura work in I'timaduddaula's Tomb.



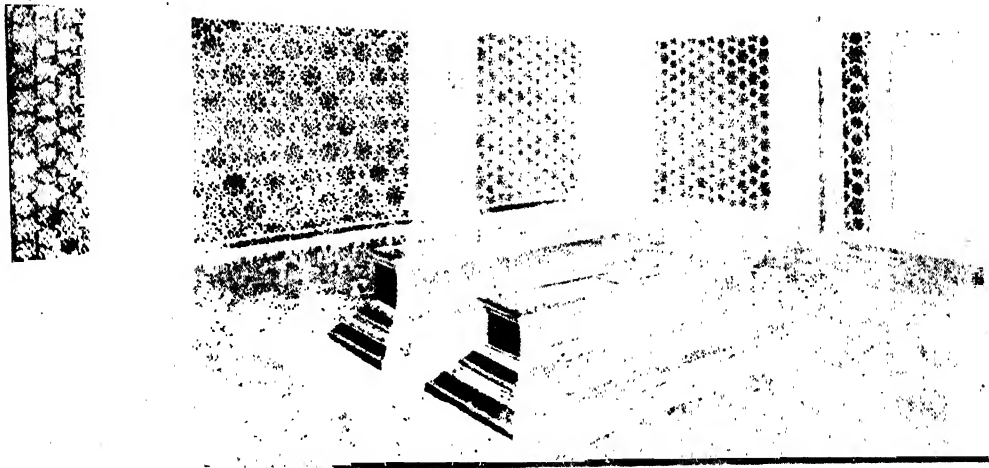
The open screens denote a marked advance on the previous buildings, say at Sikandara or Fathpūr Sikrī. It is surprising that the recessed arches have been confined to the entrance gateways to the enclosure, and are less prominent in the main building; instead, the soffits of the broad arches have been artistically treated and equal attention has been devoted on each facade to the arched openings, the open screens, and the dadoed and panelled inlay work. This arrangement has added charm to the exquisite decorations.

Coming from Nūr-Jahān, a lady originally belonging to Iran, and to India only by adoption, the mausoleum breathes a remarkably cosmopolitan spirit, for (1) no attempt has been made to slavishly adopt the distinguishing features of an Irani building such as the recessed portal, bulbous dome, or tiled walls; instead, marble and other semi-precious stones, a Hindu dome, and pietra dura designs have been called into requisition; (2) at the same time the panels and the dados—the Irani features—have been fully utilized, the panels having been either converted into open screens or treated so as to form admirable patterns of geometrical or flowing character, and the interior walls being decorated with the representations of Irani trees, vessels, or fruits; (3) there is no doubt that the artists of India in Jahāngīr's time showed great skill and daring in dealing with unfamiliar designs and materials, e.g. in order to provide the necessary contrast of light and shade some of the outside panels are slightly depressed and perforated screens are introduced. Similarly, though pietra dura work is seen here for the first time in profusion, the geometrical or flowing patterns either on the walls or the floors and the inlay work on the spandrels of the entrance arches or above the open screens leave nothing to be desired. Fastidious writers have even praised the decorations at the top of the turrets beneath the kiosk (Illus. IV), and consider them to be an appropriate design coming from a woman.

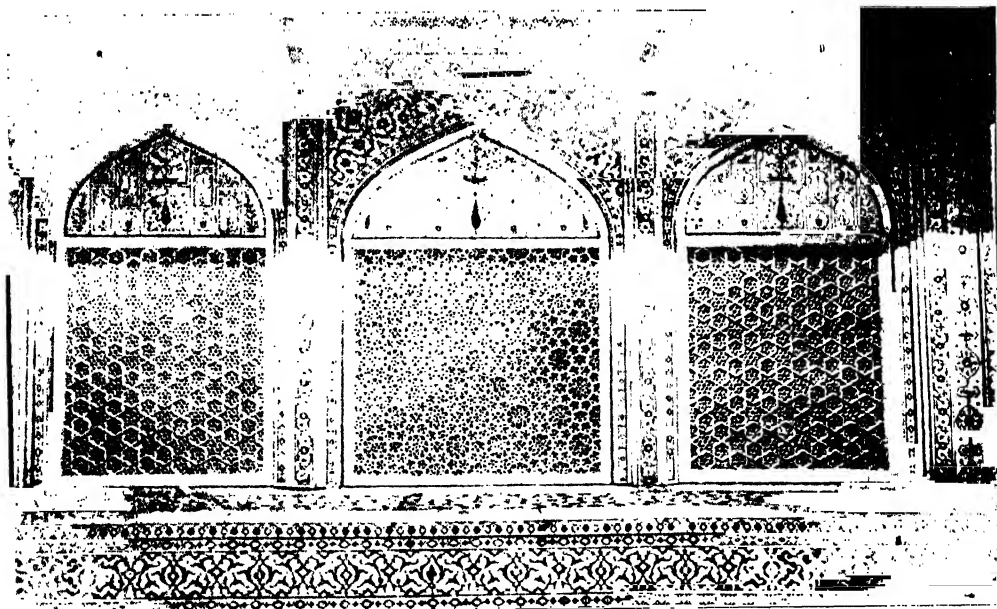
To conclude :

1. The tomb of I'timāduddaula is an exquisite piece of art resounding as much to the fame of its feminine founder as to the artistic sense of the age.
2. It is in harmony with the Mughal conception of a graden-tomb, and in fact is worthy to be placed by the side of the best royal tombs of the Pathān or Mughal period.
3. While Nūr-Jahān did many meritorious deeds and also ventured into several foolhardy or ambitious schemes in her life-time, she is remembered best as the builder of the exquisite tomb of her father.¹ It not only shows her regard for her father but gives an idea of her enormous wealth. While the author of the *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā* may be grossly exaggerating her wealth in crediting her with a *jāgīr* of half the empire, she certainly spent unstintingly on her father's mausoleum, and that at a time

1. She is supposed to have also built her husband's tomb.



Interior view of Itimaduddaula's Tomb and Screen



6. Exterior view of the Marble Tomb and Screen.

RĀBI'Ā OF QUZDĀR, THE FIRST IRANIAN POETESS OF NEO-PERSIAN

IN the history of Persian poetry, the woman poet made her appearance at a very early period. In the days when Rūdakī (d. 329 A.H.) shed ineffaceable lustre on the poetical horizon of Persia, Rābi'a, conspicuous by virtue of her sex, accomplishments, and poetic gifts, occupied a place of honour. Her full name, as given by 'Awfī, is Rābi'a bint-i Ka'b al-Quzdārī.¹ She is said to have been descended from a royal family.² Her father Ka'b³ was one of the Arab immigrants who settled in Persia during the days of Abū-Muslim.⁴ On account of her exceeding beauty she was called Zainu'l-'Arab (the Beauty of Arabia).

Of her life we know very little. Even the exact dates of her birth and death are not known. But it appears from the *Ilāhī-Nāma* of Farīd'ud-Dīn 'Aṭṭār that she was a contemporary of Rūdakī. There is a divergence of opinion even regarding her place of birth. 'Awfī and Riḍā Qulī Khān Hīdāyat are of opinion that she belonged to Quzdār,⁵ while others maintain that she came from Iṣfahān.⁶

Farīd'ud-Dīn 'Aṭṭār in his *Ilāhī-Nāma* gives an entertaining account of Rābi'a in which he dwells at length on her love-story.⁷ In the course of that account he has introduced the legends that grew up around her name,

1. 'Awfī, *Lubābu'l-Albāb* (ed. Browne), II, 61, London-Leyden, 1930.

2. Riḍā Qulī Khān, *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahā*, I, 222; Farīd'ud-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, *Ilāhī-Nāma*, pp. 356-57, Tehran, 1356 A.H.

3. Or Kalb. See Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, II, 116.

4. Abū-Muslim was the governor of Khorasan, of which place he practically made himself the king. His power was so unbounded that he became a source of danger to the 'Abbasids. At last he was treacherously murdered by the order of the Caliph Manṣūr in 137 A.H.

5. Quzdār or Quṣḍār is the name of a district 80 parasangs away from Bust. See *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, Egyptian edition, VII, 78; also, *Kitāb u'l-Ansāb* of Sam'āni, Gibb Memorial Series, p. 451.

6. Vide Muḥammad Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Ṣabā, *Rūz-i Raṣṣhan*, p. 232, Bhopal, 1297 A.H.; Muḥammad Hasan Khān l'timādu's-Saltāna, *Khairātu'l-Hisān*, I, 141, Tehran, 1304-7 A.H.; Mirzā Mahdī Maliku'l-Kuttāb Shīrāzi, *Taḥkīratu'l-Khawātīn*, p. 129.

7. *Op. cit.*, pp. 356 et seqq.

so that it is no easy task to disentangle the portion which rests on historical facts from that based on legends. A synopsis of 'Aṭṭār's account will not be out of place here.

In Balkh there was an Amīr named Ka'b, who immigrated into Persia during the days of Abū-Muslim. He had a son named Ḥārith and a daughter named Rābi'a, also called Zainu'l-'Arab on account of her beauty and accomplishments. On his death-bed Ka'b left Rābi'a in charge of Ḥārith. Now Ḥārith had a handsome slave named Biktāsh. One day Rābi'a perchance saw the slave and fell in love with him. Through a maid-servant Rābi'a sent a love-letter to the slave. The slave also responded passionately. Thenceforward there was a free exchange of love-letters. It is said by Abū-Sa'id¹ of Mihna that he once passed through her locality and enquired if her love was material or spiritual. A voice from heaven said: "Her poems can have no reference to material love. They all breathe a divine love. She is a true mystic and the slave is only a medium." Once Rūdakī was passing along the road on which Rābi'a was standing. He recited some poems to which she responded. From the poems recited by Rābi'a, Rūdakī came to know of her love. One day when a banquet was being held in the court of Naṣr II b. Aḥmad, Rūdakī was asked by the king to recite some poems. He remembered the lines of Rābi'a and reproduced them. The king asked whose lines they were. Rūdakī said they were composed by the daughter of Ka'b who was in love with a slave to whom she always sent such love-poems. Ḥārith was then present at the banquet and he heard everything about the love of Rābi'a. Now Biktāsh carefully treasured the love-letters of Rābi'a in a box. A companion of his took away the box, thinking that it contained jewellery. When, on opening it, he found the love-letters, he handed them to Ḥārith who now understood everything about the love of Rābi'a and Biktāsh. He became terribly enraged and threw him into a pit. He then ordered a hot bath to be made ready and requisitioned a phlebotomist to cut open a vein of Rābi'a so that she might bleed to death. She was then pushed into the hot bath, the door of which was closed by a masonry wall. As the blood came out of her body, she collected it in a pot, and with it wrote love-poems on the wall till her last breath. Biktāsh heard of the tragic end of Rābi'a, beheaded Ḥārith as soon as he found an opportunity, and plunged the dagger into his own breast on the grave of the girl.

Jāmī, the well-known mystic poet of the 9th century of the Hijra, has given Rābi'a a place in his hagiological work *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns*. His account corroborates the statement of 'Aṭṭār so far as her love-affair goes. He relates, on the authority of Abū-Sa'id Abu'l-Khayr, that one day the slave suddenly came across the girl and caught hold of her sleeve end, when she exclaimed, "Don't you know that I am with my Lord and am afflicted there? I gave to you only my outer self which you covet." All saints

1. b. 1st Muḥarram, 357 A.H./7th December, 967 and d. 4th Sha'bān, 440 A.H./12th January 1049 A.D.

have declared that whatever she said had no reference to any created being.¹

This love-story has supplied the theme for a *mathnavī* entitled *Gulistān-i-Iram*, composed by Riḍā Qulī Khān.²

She was a highly accomplished lady and composed verses both in Arabic and Persian.

'Awfī cites the following two couplets :—

خبر دهند که بارید بر سر ایوب ز آسمان ملخان و سر همه زرین
اگر بیارد زرین ملخ برو از صبر سزد که بارد بر من یکی مگس روئین³

They say that over the head of Job there rained from heaven locusts, all having golden heads ;⁴

If for his patience golden locusts rained on him, it is fitting that at least one brazen-fly should drop on me.

She was nick-named " the Brazen-Fly " from the phrase occurring in this last verse.

Both 'Awfī and Riḍā Qulī Khān cite a number of verses composed by her. *Al-Mu'jam* cites only one couplet by her.⁵

We give below some verses as specimens of her composition, with translations into English. We have made the translations as literal as possible with a view to retaining the spirit of the original ; only in places have we made them a little free, where it has been necessary in order to bring out the meaning.

دعوت من بر توان شد کایزدت عاشق کناد بر یکی سنگین دلی نامهربان چون خویشتن
تابدانی درد عشق و داغ هجر و غمکشی چون به هجر اندر بیبچی پس بدانی قدر من⁶

1. Jāmi, *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns*, pp. 564-65, Lucknow, 1915.

2. Vide *Majma'*, I, 222.

3. See *Lubāb*, II, 61.

4. After Job had encountered the trials and tribulations with patience and fortitude he was restored to health and prosperity. Under God's providence, clouds appeared and showered locusts of gold about his house for three nights and days.

(See 'Ajā'ibu'l-Qiṣaṣ, I, 238, Newal-Kishore, 1314 A.H.) Vide also Bukhārī, I, 42, in the Chapter (من اغتسل عرباناً) عن أبي هريرة عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال ايوب يغتسل عرباناً فخر عليه الجراد من ذهب فجعل ايوب يحسني في ثوبه .

5. Shams'ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn-i Qays ar-Rāzī, *al-Mu'jam fī Ma'ā'ir-i-Ash'ārī'l-'Ajam*. (Gibb Memorial Series), p. 121, Leyden, 1909.

6. Prof. Daudpota thinks it probable that Rābī'a imitates the following verses of ibn-Ja'far :

لما بدا لي أنها لا تودني وان هراها ليس عني بمنجلى
تمنيت ان تهوى سراي لعلها تذوق صباحات الهوى فتر لي

When it became evident that she did not love me, and that love for her would not quit me, I wished that she might love some one other than me, so that perchance she might taste the pangs of love and become soft towards me. (See *the Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry*, p. 160, Bombay, 1934).

This is my curse on thee. God send thee love
 One like thyself, unkind and obdurate,
 That knowing Love's deep cautery thou mayst writhe
 In loneliness, and know my worth too late !¹

The following verses show her fidelity in love :

چه حاجت آری پیش خدای عز و جل	مرا بعشق همی محتمل کنی بچیل
بدینم اندر طاغی همی شوم بمثل	بعشقت اندر عاصی همی نیارم شد
که بی توشکر زهرست و باتو زهر غسل	نعیم بی تو نخواهم جحیم با تو رواست
بسنبل اندر پنهان کنند نجم زحل	بروی نیکو تکیه مکن که تا یک چند
فمن تکبر یوماً فبعد عز ذل ²	هر آینه نه دروغست آنچه گفت حکیم

Thou fraudulently accusest me of love ; what evidence wilt thou produce before God ? May He be glorified !

I cannot go against thy love, even if I may violently transgress my religion ;

I do not desire a Paradise of delight without thee, Hell with thee is pleasant, as without thee sugar is poison and with thee poison is honey ;

Do not rely on thy pretty face, as, under God's decree, (even) Saturn is for a time hid in Virgo ;

Verily what the sage hath said is not untrue : Pride must have its fall.

The following poem of the type of *Mulamma'*³ is also by her :

هاج سقمی و هاج لی تذکاری	شاقنی نائح من الاطیار
نوحه میگرد و میگریست بزاری	دوش برشاخک درخت آن مرغ
فی دجی اللیل و النجوم دراری	قلت للطیر لم تنوح و تبکی
تو چه نالی که با مساعد یاری	من جدایم زیار از آن می نالم
توجه گونی چو خون دیده نباری ⁴	من نکویم چو خون دیده بیارم

The wailings of a bird kindled my love, increased my sufferings, and stirred up my recollections ;

Last night that bird from a bough in deep lamentation mourned ;

I asked the bird, "Why dost thou lament and bemoan in the darkness of night, while the stars are bright ?"

1. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, p. 24, Cambridge, 1921.

2. See *Lubāb*, II, 62.

3. In this class of poems the hemistichs or distichs are composed in Persian and Arabic alternately. Ten distichs in each language are allowable in such poems.

4. *Lubāb*, II, 62 ; *Majma'*, I, 222.

I am weeping because I am separate from (my) love ; but why shouldst thou weep when thou hast the favours of a friend ?

When I shed tears of blood I complain not ; why shouldst thou complain when thou sheddest not blood from (thine) eyes ?¹

In the following lines she says that the path of love is thorny and that one has to undergo various hardships in it :

عشق او باز اندر آوردم به بند	کوشش بسیار نامد سود مند
توسنی کردم ندانستم همی	کز کشیدن سخت تر گردد کمند
عشق دریائی کرانه ناپدید	کی توان کردن شنا ای هوشمند
عاشتی خواهی که تا پایان بری	پس بیايد ساخت با هر ناپسند
زشت باید دید و انگارید خوب	زهر باید خورد و پندارید قند ²

His love put me in chains again, excessive endeavour (to free myself) was in vain ;

I acted like an unbroken horse and knew not that a pull tightens a lasso ;

Love is a sea with an invisible shore ; how is it possible to swim across, O sensible man ?

If thou wishest to be accomplished in love, thou shouldst love things unpleasant ;

Ugly things should be seen and considered charming, poison should be taken and reckoned sugar-candy.³

In the following lines she has given a beautiful description of the flowers blooming in the garden on a cloudy morning :

نشاند از سوسن و گل سیم و زر باد	زهی بادی که رحمت باد بر باد
بداد از نقش آرز صد نشان آب	نمود از سحر مانی صد اثر باد
مثال چشم آدم شد مگر ابر	دلیل لطف عیسی شد مگر باد
که در بارید هر دم در چمن ابر	که جان افزود خوش خوش در شجر باد
اگر دیوانه ابر آمد چرا پس	کند عرضه صبوحی جام زر باد
گل خوشبوی ترسم آورد رنگ	ازین غماز صبح پرده در باد
برای چشم هر نا اهل گوئی	عروس باغ را شد جلوه گر باد
عجب چون صبح خوشتر میبرد خواب	چرا افکند گل را در سحر باد ⁴

1. *Majma'*, I, 222 ; Jāmi, *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns*, pp. 564-65.

2. The authorship of this verse has been ascribed to Aghāchī in the Asadi's *Lughat-i-Furs* (ed. by 'Abbās Iqbāl), p. 374, Tehran, 1319 A.H. (Solar).

3. *Majma'*, I, 222 ; also with some variants in the *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns*, pp. 564-65, Lucknow, 1915.

4. Only the first two distichs of this poem have been cited in the *Majma'* and the rest is taken from the reading of the poem as given by Sa'id-i-Nafisī, quoting from the *Tājū'l-Ma'āthir*. (See his article on Rābi'a published in the first issue of the *Irān-i Imrūz*, p. 44, Isfand., 1317 A.H. (Solar).

The breeze scattered lilies and roses resembling silver and gold ;
an excellent breeze indeed ! Blessings be upon it.

The water displayed hundreds of designs like those of Āzar's sculpture,¹ the breeze exhibited hundreds of patterns of Mane's charm² (i.e. paintings) ;

Haply the clouds became like Adam's eyes,³ haply the breeze showed the efficacy of Jesus' breath;⁴

Hence the clouds incessantly showered pearls in the garden and the breeze gave cheerfully a new life to trees ;

If the cloud came in a frantic manner, why should the breeze then offer a morning draught in cups of gold ?

Sweet-smelling flowers, I fear, will grow shy of this tell-tale morning breeze ;

As though, for the eyes of the unworthy, the breeze had unveiled the bride of the garden ;

'Tis strange that when the fine morning takes away sleep, the breeze should lay the roses low at dawn.

The following piece, like the previous one, shows her appreciation of the beauties of Nature :

چمن رنگ ارتنگ مانی گرفت	زبس گل که در باغ ماوی گرفت
جهان بوی مشک از چه معنی گرفت	صبا ناهه مشک تبت نداشت
که گل رنگ رخسار لیلی گرفت	مگر چشم بجنون بابر اندرست
سرشکی که در لاله ماوی گرفت	بمی ماند اندر عقیق قح
که بد بخت شد آنکه دنیا گرفت	قدح گیریک چند و دنیا مگیر
نشان سر تاج کسری گرفت	سر نرگس تازه از زر و سیم
بنفشه مگر دین ترسا گرفت ⁵	چو رهبان شد اندر لباس کبود

As countless roses bloomed in the garden, the garden looked like Manes' picture-gallery ;

1. Āzar, the father of Abraham, is famous for his skill in sculpture.

2. Mānī, Manes or Manichæus (215-276 A.D.) is the well-known Persian painter and founder of Manichæism. He and his book of drawings, Artang or Arzhang, are frequently referred to in Persian literature.

3. It is a popular belief of the Muslims that after his expulsion from the garden of Eden, Adam wept for two or three centuries and the flood of tears he shed gave rise to rivers. (See *Qisāsu'l-Anbiyā* (in Persian), p. 14, Lahore, 1915. 'Ajā'ibu'l-Qisāṣ, I, 52.

4. This alludes to the miracle of raising the dead by Jesus. (See Qur'an (ed. Flügel) 3 : 43 ; also Mark 5 : 35-43, Luke 8 : 49-56, and John 11 : 1-44.

5. Perhaps from the close resemblance of its style to that of Rūdakī, the authorship of the poem has been attributed to him. According to Nafīsī this poem is also found in the *Dīvān* of Adīb-i Šābir of Tirmiz, a poet of the sixth century A.H.

The second and fifth verses, which are not in the *Majma'*, have been taken from the reading given by Nafīsī, following the *Tāju'l-Ma'āthir* in the article mentioned above.

The Zephyr had no Tibetan musk-bag, how then was the atmosphere charged with the fragrance of musk ?

Majnūn's eyes, as it were, are shedding tears from the cloud, because the colour of the rose reminds him of Laylā's cheeks ;¹

The dews collected in tulips resemble the wine in ruby cups ;

Drink the cup a while and cling not to the world, for wretched is he who clings to it ;

The tip of the newly opened narcissus shows the likeness of the gold and silver in the crown of Chosroes ;

Robed in blue like a Christian monk, perhaps the violets have embraced the Christian faith.

These are the extant poems of Rābī'a. Of them, five are erotic and two are nature poems. From these scanty materials it is difficult to form a critical estimate of her poetic powers. But this much can be said of her love poems, that the depth and sincerity of their feelings appeal direct to the heart. In the nature poems, we have faithful pictures of varied and beautiful scenery with its breezes, clouds, flowers, gardens, etc. They are rich in metaphors and similes and show her close study of nature. All her poems are characterized by a charming diction and spontaneous flow. She has also the rare gift of using apt allusions. Though according to the unanimous testimony of the saints Rābī'a was a mystic, her poetry betrays no elements from which we can pronounce her to be a mystic poet.

MOHAMMAD ISHAQUE.

1. Majnūn and Laylā are the Romeo and Juliet or Cupid and Psyche of Muslim romance.

AN EPISTLE ON MANUAL CRAFTS

THE eighth epistle of the 1st series of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā* is devoted to the consideration of the practical crafts. This is the earliest record we possess containing a classified survey of the trades and crafts of mediæval Islam, and is, despite its somewhat abstract and philosophic treatment, a most valuable document for the economic history of the Islamic lands. Classical Arabic literature is in the main the product of a leisured class, the so-called *Khawāṣṣ*, which considered such matters beneath their attention, and only by the laborious collection of odd references in various works it is possible to reconstruct a picture of the life and development of the unprivileged classes in Islamic society. Only in the *Ḥisba* literature, intended to aid market-inspectors in controlling the wayward tendencies of the market folk, is any consideration of artisans and tradesmen to be found. It is thus of some significance that the Pure Brethren should have seen fit to devote one of their epistles to this subject, and to include it in the same series as geometry, astrology, music, psychology and other subjects more within the rangé of contemporary learning.¹ This interest in artisans and craftsmen tallies well with the popular tendency attributed to the *Ismā'īlī* movement, of which the *Rasā'il* are a product, and with the strong *Ismā'īlī* strain discernible in the ideology and structure of the Islamic guilds.²

After this epistle, we must wait until the development of the *Ḥisba* literature, the earliest extant specimen of which dates from the 12th century, before we find any detailed account of the organisation and distribution of the people of the markets.³ Among other sources we may note a brief classification of crafts by the 13th century geographer *Qazwīnī*,⁴ and a second abstract consideration by the historian *ibn-Khaldūn*,⁵ in the

1. See also Vol. IV, p. 214.

2. Cf. B. Lewis, *the Islamic Guilds*, Economic History Review, VIII, London, 1937.

3. The most readily accessible *Ḥisba* texts are: *ibn al-Ukhwwa, Ma'ālim al-Qurba fī Ahkām al-Ḥisba*, ed. R. Levy, London, 1938, and *As-Saqāṭī; Manuel Hispanique de Ḥisba*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Levi-Provencal, Paris, 1931. A survey of *Ḥisba* literature will be found in the introductions to both editions.

4. J. Ruska. *Kazwinistudien*, *Der Islam*, IV, p. 244.

5. The *Muqaddima*, ed. de Slane, II, pp. 306-328. There are also other late sources, e.g., the *Irshād al-Qāṣid* of al-Akfānī and later encyclopædias. A detailed survey of the guilds of 17th century Istanbul.

14th century. The treatment of *ibn-Khaldūn* clearly owes much to that of the *Rasā'il* but, as may be expected, it is sociological in its conception, dealing with the place of the artisan in civilised society.

The *Risāla* opens with a series of general philosophic statements and abstract definitions of a type well-known from the remainder of the work. Crafts, we are told, are of two kinds, intellectual and practical. The latter form the subject of the *Risāla*, which will deal with "their matter, their essences, their quantities and their qualities, and the quality of the manifestation of their craftsmanship on the materials allotted to them." Manual labour consists of the impression by the craftsman on his material of the form which he has in his mind, and the product is thus a sum of form and matter. Products are of four kinds—human, natural, spiritual, and divine. "Human products are those which craftsmen make by shaping, painting, and dyeing natural bodies in the city market-places. " Natural products are the phenomena of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms ; spiritual products are the four elements—earth, fire, air, and water—and the astral bodies. Divine products are the abstract forms of created matter, emanating from God.

The next passage contains a discussion of form, matter, and implement. The same body can sometimes be matter (*Hayūla*), sometimes material, (*mawḍū'*), sometimes form (*ṣūra*), sometimes product (*maṣnū'*), sometimes instrument (*āla*), and sometimes implement (*adāt*). Thus iron as such is matter. When used by a blacksmith it is material. When made into a knife it is a product. When used as a knife by a butcher it is an implement.

The materials used by craftsmen fall into two categories, simple and complex. The former consists of the four elements, the latter of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. The craftsman needs both instruments, which are defined as being parts of the body, and implements, which are external aids "such as the axe of the carpenter, the hammer of the smith, the needle of the tailor, the pen of the scribe, and the awl of the cobbler." A classification of seven movements, one circular and six straight, follows—e.g., the axe goes from above downwards, the saw goes backwards and forwards, the gimlet moves in a circle. The next passage, dealing with material gives us our first classification of crafts according to the material used. These may most conveniently be set out in tabular form.

1. Simple material.

(a) WATER.

sailor:¹ ملّاح

water-carrier:² سقاء

Continued from page 142].

will be found in *Evliaha Celebi, Siyahat-Name*, Istanbul, 1314, I, p. 687 ff. Partial English translation by J. von Hammer, London, 1846, I, ii, p. 90 ff. On the guilds of modern Morocco see *Enquete sur les Corporations Musulmanes du Maroc*, R.M.M., Vol. 58.

1. *Ma'ālim*, p. 222, where rules against overloading vessels are given.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 239 ff.

those who sell water from skins:¹ رواه maker or seller of syrup:² شراب
swimmers: سبح

(b) EARTH.

diggers of wells miners
diggers of rivers³ grave-diggers⁴
diggers of canals

(c) FIRE.

Naphtha-extractor:⁵ نفاط torch-bearer:⁶ مشعل
stoker: وقاد

(d) AIR.

piper: زمار trumpeter: بواق

(e) WATER AND EARTH.

potter: فخارى earthenware-pot seller:⁷ قدورى
porcelain-maker:⁸ غضار milk-beater: ضراب اللبن

2. Complex Materials.

1. *Ma'ālim* where they are referred to as اصحاب الروا يا or ارباب الروا يا .

2. *Ibid.*, p. 115 where a list of the kinds of syrup made is given. Their inclusion in this category seems to cast a serious light on the profession, which is perhaps explained by the remarks in the *Ma'ālim*; "The frauds in this class are numerous. . . it is the duty of a Muhtasib to frighten them and warn them of divine retribution and earthly penalties."

3. The Arab geographers give detailed accounts of the digging and opening of canals in Iraq, Egypt, and elsewhere. Large canals are often described as *Nahr*, river. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, p. 349, and references there quoted.

4. Saqāṭī, p. 68 gives some rules of the practice of this profession.

5. See E. Wiedemann, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, (S. N. Phys. Med. Soz., Erlangen), VI, p. 39, on the extraction of naphtha and the processes used.

6. Cf. Evliya, p. 544, Tr. 127, on the *Mes'aleci*.

7. *Ma'ālim*, p. 222, as sellers of قدور .

8. *Ibid.*, p. 223-4 on potters (فخارنى) and porcelain-makers.

(a) MINERAL.

smith: ¹ حداد	glazier: ³ زجاج
coppersmith: ² صفار	goldsmith: ⁴ صواغ
lead-worker: رصاص	

(b) VEGETABLE.

(i) *Basic Vegetable Material.*

carpenter: نجار	reed-mat seller: ⁵ حصري
palm-leaf seller: خواص	basket-maker: اقفاصي
rush-mat seller: بوار	

(ii) *Bark, etc.*

flax-spinner: ⁶ كتان	paper-worker: ⁷ من يعمل الكاغد
hemp-worker: من يعمل القنب	

(iii) *Secondary vegetable material (leaves, flowers, fruit, seed, etc.).*

flour-dealer: ⁸ دقاق	seed-dealer: بزار
pressers: ⁹ عصار	sesame-dealer ¹¹ شيرجي
rice-dealer: ¹⁰ رزاز	

1. *Ma'ālim*, p. 148 ; Saqaṭī p. 65.

2. *Ma'ālim*, p. 147, on the نحاس.

3. Saqaṭī, p. 67.

4. *Ma'ālim*, 144, where elaborate rules are given, containing the sad reflection ; " In sum, the frauds and deceptions of the goldsmiths are secret, and can hardly be recognised. Nothing can keep them from this but their honesty and their religion."

5. *Ma'ālim*, p. 232, discusses the choice of reeds, the processes of manufacture, and the trade regulations. Cf. Evliya, p. 554, Tr. 201, on the hasīrcī, or mat-maker.

6. *Ma'ālim*, p. 143, with the note ; " No one may be allowed to trade in flax until his loyalty, chastity, and virtue have been established in the Muḥtasib's court, for their dealing is with women."

7. On the introduction of paper to the Arab world, see Hitti, p. 414. The first paper-mill in Baghdad was established by the Barmecide Faḍl b. Yahya.

8. Saqaṭī, p. 20 ff, where the making and marketing of flour is discussed at some length.

9. *Ma'ālim*, p. 238 ; " The rice-dealers are greatly addicted to fraud. A reliable man should be appointed over them to prevent their mixing salt with the rice and selling it to the Muslims as good rice, for this is forbidden."

10. *i.e.*, those who press fruit, olives, etc. See Saqaṭī, p. 68 ; *Ma'ālim*, p. 227-8.

11. *Ma'ālim*, p. 227-8.

(c) ANIMAL.

(i) Animals.

hunter: صياد	grooms: ¹ ساسة الدواب
shepherds: دعاة الغنم والبقر	farrier: بيطار
cowherds	bird-keepers: ² اصحاب الطيور

(ii) Animal Bodies.

butcher: ³ قصاب	cobbler: خراز
roaster: ⁴ شواء	leather-worker: سيورى ⁸
cook: ⁵ طباخ	(?) leather-bottle maker: دنان
tanner: ⁶ دباغ	(?) sandal-maker: حذاء
shoemaker: ⁷ اسكاف	

(iii) Quantities of Bodies.

weigher: ⁹ وزان	money-changer: ¹⁰ صيرفي
measurer: كيال	market-crier: ¹¹ دلال
cubit-measurer: ذراع	evaluator: مقوم

1. *Ma'ālim*, p. 150, for a detailed statement.

2. *Evliya*, p. 583. Tr. 197 enumerates the bird-catchers, fowlers, bird-dealers, poulterers, sparrow-merchants and nightingale-merchants.

3. *Ma'ālim*, 99.

4. i.e., sellers of cooked meats. See *Ma'ālim*, p. 92; *Saqāṭi*, p. 40.

5. *Saqāṭi*, p. 35; *Ma'ālim*, p. 106, where they are accused of giving much fat and little meat, and deluding people into thinking that there is much meat.

6. *Ma'ālim*, p. 239; *Saqāṭi*, p. 63.

7. *Ma'ālim*, p. 149. The difference in meaning between the *اسكاف*, the *خراز* and the *حذاء* is not quite clear. On the word *Iskāf* see Lammens, *His Mats Francais dérivés de l'Arabe*, Bairut 1890, p. 107.

8. The *دن* is a vessel for water or wine. The *Vocabulista* (Schiapazell; Florence 1871) has "indria" (?) (*Idpia*?). The context indicates a leather or skin vessel instead of the more usual meaning of wood or earthen ware. Cf. Aramaic *Udnā*, a leathern bottle.

9. The *wazzān* and the *kayyāl*, are considered at some length in *Saqāṭi*, chapters 2 and 3, pp. 11-20. The former dealt with weights, the latter with measures of capacity, more particularly of grain. The *kayl* is often mentioned as a specific measure, e.g., *Saqāṭi*, p. 31, "half a *kayl* of flour." The *ذراع* is not mentioned as such, but *Saqāṭi* (p. 69) speaks of *ذراع* as a cloth measurer. The *Ma'ālim* deals with weights (p. 83), capacity measures (p. 85) and measures of length (p. 87) in chapter 10.

10. *Ma'ālim*, p. 143.

11. A kind of commission agent or broker. See *Ma'ālim*, p. 135, where some sound economic principles are given. It is forbidden to act both as agent and as principal in a transaction. The *dallāl* is mentioned both by the *Enquête* and by *Evliya*.

(iv) *Human Bodies.*

physician: طبيب

barber: مزین

This concludes the first classification, according to material, and brings us to the second, according to tools and implements.

1. Those who use only their own limbs, and no implements.

(a) THE TONGUE.

preacher¹

judge

poet

reader

(b) THE EYES.

sentinel:² ناطورwatchman:³ دیدبان

(c) HAND AND TONGUE.

weaver: حاکي

wailing-woman: نائحہ

(d) WHOLE BODY.

dancer:⁴ رقص

swimmer: ساج

2. Those who use tools.

(a) ONE TOOL.

trumpeter

drummer: دفاف

piper

(b) TWO TOOLS.

tailor: خياط (using needle and scissors)

scribe: كاتب (using pen and ink)

Incorporated in this section we find a secondary classification according to movement and posture.

1. Evliya, p. 522, Tr. 111, includes these along with other learned professions.

2. Two imported words—*Nāṭūr* from Aramaic *Nāṭōrā*, etymologically equivalent to Arabic *Nāṣir*. *Dīdbān* is of course Persian. In later times the word was used to describe a customs-inspector. See Dozy, *Supplement*, I, 481 and II, 683.

3. According to *Ma'ālim*, 51, and other juristic works, this profession is illegal. The legal regulations of Sa'ūdī Arabia at the present day expressly forbid it.

4. This may refer to the class of building workers mentioned in *Ma'ālim*, 234-5.

(a) PERMANENT MOVEMENT.

messenger:¹ ساعى

surveyor: ماسح

(b) PERMANENTLY SEATED.

garment-mender: دفاة

carder: نداف

(c) PERMANENTLY STANDING.

carder:² حلاج

rice-grinder: دقاق الرز

"he who works the water-wheel with his feet."³

After a digression on the usefulness of fire in the practice of crafts and trades, the *Risāla* goes on to its third classification, according to "ranks." This is the only one that is based on economic principles, and is by far the most practical and realistic. It is followed in its main lines by *ibn-Khaldūn*.⁴

Crafts are divided into three main groups: (a) primary, *i.e.*, those called forth by necessity, (b) ancillary, *i.e.*, accessory and finishing trades to the foregoing,⁵ (c) luxury, "those which beautify and adorn." The three main sub-divisions of the first class are weaving, agriculture, and building, which satisfy the three basic needs for clothing, food, and shelter. Each of them has a group of secondary trades belonging to the second class.

(a) WEAVING.

spinning:⁶ غزل

the craft of fuller: قصارة

carding⁷

mending: رفو

1. Cf. *Evliya*, p. 521, Tr. 110.

2. See Lane and Dozy for the two different processes described by *ندف* and *حلاج*. The *Vocabulista* translates both as "*carminare*."

3. On the water-wheel see Wiedemann, VI, p. 30.

4. *Muq.* II, p. 316 ff. *ibn-Kh.* divides crafts into two classes, useful and noble. The first is sub-divided into agriculture, building, and weaving, with an argumentation similar to that of the *Risāla*. The noble include writers, physicians, librarians, etc.

5. It is interesting to note that according to *Evliya* this principle was generally adopted in the classification of the guilds of Istanbul. Thus, the salt-makers (p. 537, Tr. 121) and water-carriers (p. 539, Tr. 123) were ancillary (*yamak*) to the bakers, as water and salt are necessary in the making of bread. "*Ekmeğ tuzsuz olmaz*." The hemp-merchants are likewise ancillary to the boatmen (Tr. 130, missing in printed text).

6. *Ma'ālim*. 136.

7. The thread-market (*Sūq al-Ghazl*) was a focal point in the mediæval Muslim city. V. Massignon, *Le corps de Métier et la Cité Musulmane, Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, v., 28, 1920, p. 473 ff., and Lewis, *Guilds*, p. 20.

tailoring¹

embroidering : طرز

(b) AGRICULTURE.

irrigation

milling :³ طحن

canal-digging

pressing :⁴ عصرcarpentry²baking :⁵ خبز

smiths

cooking

mining

(c) BUILDING.⁶

carpentry

smiths

The luxury trades, in conclusion deal with commodities such as brocade, silk, and perfume.

After another digression on the philosophic principles of the Pure Brethren, we come to the last main classification, according to "nobility," that is, according to the titles of the crafts to merit and distinction.

Crafts may derive their nobility from their indispensability, such as the three primary crafts mentioned above ; or from the precious nature of their material, as is the case with jewellers, perfumers, and mint-workers ; or from their skilled workmanship, as astronomical instrument-makers. "For a piece of copper, worth 5 dirhams, when wrought into an astrolabe is worth 100 dirhams, and this price is not for the matter but for the form that has been impressed upon it ;" or from the fact that the exercise of their crafts benefits the community as a whole, without distinction, as bath-attendants, scavengers and barbers—"For the use of the bath is for small and great, noble and humble citizen and foreigner, near and far, all of them equal and without privilege in its use. In most crafts there is inequality among their users, and they differ as to their food, drink, dwellings, and other products of the craftsman. The state of the rich differs from that of the poor, except in the case of the bath-attendant, the barber, and their like. As for the trade scavenger, the harm resulting from their

1. See *Ma'ālim*, p. 137, on tailors, menders, and fullers. Also Saqaṭī, p. 62-3, where a rather more detailed enumeration of clothing trades is given.

2. The carpenter, blacksmith, and miner are included here as producers of agricultural implements and their raw materials.

3. *Ma'ālim*, p. 89 ; Saqaṭī, p. 21. "Their deception is that they mix the bad with the good, . . . and their work is hidden."

4. V. *Supra*.

5. Saqaṭī, p. 20 ; *Ma'ālim*, p. 81. For kneading, bakers may not use their feet, knees, or elbows, as this involves disrespect for the bread, and also the danger that drops of sweat may fall into it.

6. On the building trades in general see *Ma'ālim*, pp. 234 ff.

abandoning it is grievous and universal to the people of the city. Thus, if the perfumers, the material of whose craft is the opposite of that of the scavengers, were to close their shops and markets for one month, the harm which would befall the people of the city would be less than that which would result if the scavengers were to cease their work for one week, for the city would be filled with refuse and ordure and filth and carrion, and with that which would plague the life of its people."

I have quoted this passage at some length, as the conception of social functions contained in it is of no small interest. The equalitarian ideas implicit in it go beyond the routine expressions of the poetists, and illustrate once again the social tendencies of the Ismā'īlī movement.¹

The classification by title to merit concludes with those whose nobility lies in the craft itself, as jugglers, painters, and musicians. The discussion of the last two is of some interest, but falls beyond the scope of this analysis.

Having completed their classification of the crafts, the Pure Brethren turn to the factors determining the choice of a craft. As one might expect, astrology plays a large part, and the practices of the ancient Greeks are quoted in support. A passage of some interest gives the astrological causes of the existence of four classes who do not take to crafts at all—those who do not learn a craft "because of pride, as the sons of kings . . . because of asceticism and piety and contentment with little of the things of this world and preoccupation with the seeking of the next, as prophets and those who emulate them . . . because of laziness and clumsiness, and contentment with humiliation and contempt in the seeking of a livelihood, as labourers and beggars . . . because of their contemptibility, weakness of nature and littleness of understanding, as women and those who resemble them among men."

The transmission of a craft from father to son is also commended, and the Sāsānid king Ardashīr, son of Bābakān² is quoted with approval as having made this compulsory . . . "And know, O, brother, that all this is a protection for kingship, so that those who are not of it should not seek for it . . ."

The remainder of the epistle consists of pious and philosophic generalisations, and only the following passage is of any interest: "And know, O, brother, that every human craftsman requires a teacher (*Ustādh*) from whom he learns his craft or his science, and that his teacher in turn requires a teacher before him, and so on until one is reached whose knowledge does not derive from any human being. And this can be in one of

1. Among the Sunni polemicists, both Ghazālī (*Streitschrift gegen die Batiniijasekte*, ed. Goldziher, Leyden, 1916, Extracts 2, 14, 15, 16) and ibn al-Jauzi (*Talbis Iblis*, Cairo, 1926, pp. 111, 113, 116) mentions the special concern of the Isma'īlīs for the 'awāmm, the common people, and are quite frank in considering it a social as much as a theological danger to the established order. On this subject, and on the alleged communism of the Isma'īlīs see further Lewis, *the Origin of Ismā'ilism*, Cambridge, 1940, p. 90 ff.

2. The founder of the dynasty, in the 3rd century A.D.

two ways—we can say, as do the philosophers, that he invented it himself by the powers of his own soul, thought, vision, and effort, or we can say, as do the prophets, that he inherited it from one who was not human.”

Despite the general terms in which it is couched, this passage may conceivably be connected with the hierarchy and legends of the Islamic guilds, which are known to us from the documents of later centuries. The guild-tracts,¹ surviving specimens of which date from the 14th century onwards, are almost all constructed on the same plan, in three parts. The first part consists of legends concerning the origins of the craft, the adventures of the traditional founder, etc. It usually gives a chain of initiations—e.g., God initiated Gabriel, Gabriel initiated Muḥammad, Muḥammad initiated ‘Alī, ‘Alī initiated Salmān Fārsī, Salmān initiated the *Pīrs*,² the traditional patrons of the guilds, the *Pīrs* initiated the *Furū’*, the secondary patrons of the sub-guilds, and these initiated the ordinary guild chiefs. These legends usually show strong Ismā‘īlī and Ṣūfī influence. The second part contains the list of *Pīrs* and *Furū’* of the different crafts. These are usually figures drawn from the Old Testament, the Qur’ān, or from Muslim history and hagiology. Thus, Adam is the patron of peasants and bakers, Seth of weavers and stitchers, Noah of carpenters, Idrīs (Enoch) of tailors, David of smiths, Abraham of cooks, and Ismael of armourers. The third section consists of a catechism for the initiation of apprentice (*Mubtadi* or *Muta’allim*). The master-craftsmen were known as *Mu’allim*, or more frequently as *Ustādh* or *Usta*. This use of the word in this context by the Pure Brethren is to be noted.

Such then is the contribution of the Pure Brethren to the history of the Islamic crafts. Its defects are great and obvious. It is throughout abstract and theoretical in its approach. Except for one brief and problematic reference, it tells us nothing of the organisation and ideology of the guilds, though these were undoubtedly in existence at the time. Nor does it offer any information about the conditions and methods of work of the type found in the *Ḥisba* writings. Its value is none the less great, and lies in three things: in its enumeration and classification, to some extent on economic lines, of the chief crafts practised at the time; in the evidence it offers of Ismā‘īlī contacts with the artisan community; and, finally, in its pioneer statement of the nobility of labour, anticipating and perhaps influencing the documents later produced by the guildsmen themselves for the glorification and honour of their own callings.

BERNARD LEWIS.

1. Called *Kitāb al-Futuwwa* or *Futuwwat-Nāmā* in Arabic and Turkish respectively. With two or three exceptions scattered all over Europe and Asia in public and private collections. For a survey and classification see Thorning, *Bietrage zur Kenntniss des Islamischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 15-54, and Taeschner, *Futuwwa Studien*, *Islamica*, V, 1932. Goldziher has analysed an Egyptian tract in his *Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie*, II, Leyden, 1899, p. lxxvi. The full text of a Turkish guild tract will be found in Evliya Celebi, p. 489, Tr., p. 90 ff. On the *Futuwwa* in general see Taeschner, *Die Islamisch Futuwwabünde*, Z.D.M.G., 1933, p. 6 ff.

2. In the Arab lands *Bir*, plural *Abyār*.

THE RELATION OF GOD TO TIME AND SPACE, AS SEEN BY THE MU'TAZILITES

IN the opinion of Abu'l Ḥusain al-Khayyāt (died towards the end of the 3rd century A.H.), a leading light of the Baghdād school of the Mu'tazilites,¹ belief in the five fundamental doctrines, namely (1) (التوحيد) unity of God, (2) (العدل) Divine justice, (3) (الوعد و الوعيد) Divine promise and warning, (4) (المنزلة بين المنزلتين) the state intermediate between two states i.e., belief and unbelief), and (5) (الامر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر "to order [the doing of] Right and to prohibit [the doing of] Wrong,"² constitutes³ the indispensable minimum in an individual who aspires to be termed a Mu'tazilite.

Of the half-dozen appellations by which the Mu'tazilites are known, that of Ahl-at-Tauḥīd wal-'Adl (the Partisans of Unity and Justice)⁴ by common consent occupies the place of pride. Although the Muslims as a whole are distinguished for their belief in the Unity of God, the Mu'tazilites can be called the Unitarians *par excellence*, inasmuch as they have idealized the conception of the Divine Unity to the highest flight of the human imagination—a point which their co-religionists of other schools of thought have failed to reach.

A consideration of the Mu'tazilite conception of the doctrine of the Divine Unity is here called for, and it is as follows :

Verily⁵ God is one. Nothing is like Him. He is neither a body, a phantom, a person, a form, a piece of flesh, a quantity of blood, an individual, a substance, nor an accident. He possesses neither colour, taste, smell, pulse, heat, coldness, moisture, dryness, length, breadth, depth, union, nor separation. He neither moves nor rests, nor is He

1. Ash-Shahrestāni, *Milal wan Niḥal*, I, 53, ed. Cureton.

2. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 227.

3. (a) Al-Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, p. 126.

(b) Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, II, 136 (Egypt, 1303 A.H.).

4. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 60.

5. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, I, pp. 155 and 156.

divisible into parts. Nor has He members or limbs. Nor can the directions : right, left, front, behind, above, and below, be applied to Him. Nor does space encompass Him or time pass by Him. Neither does He admit of contact with, of retirement from, nor of penetration into places. Neither can He be characterized with the attributes of created beings indicative of their transitoriness, nor can He be qualified as Finite. And neither moving nor going in different directions can be ascribed to Him. And He is Unlimited and Infinite. And neither can measures fathom Him nor veils screen Him nor can the senses comprehend Him. Nor can He be compared to men nor can He resemble His creatures in any way. And neither do vicissitudes ever befall Him nor diseases ever attack Him. And nothing that occurs to our mind or is otherwise thought of by the imagination can be likened to Him. He is ever the First, Preceding and Prior to His created beings, and ever Existent before His creatures. Neither shall the eyes see Him nor the sight perceive Him nor shall the thoughts ever have a thorough knowledge of Him nor shall He be heard with ears. He is a thing, but is not like other things. He is ever Knowing, Decreeing, and Living, but is not like others—learned, powerful, and living. He is ever Hearing and Seeing but not as others see and hear. And verily He alone is Eternal and there is no other eternal being save Him, nor is there any god other than Him. And He has neither a partner in His kingdom nor a minister for His administration nor an assistant in the invention of what He has invented and in the creation of what He has created. He has not created His creatures on an existing pattern, nor is the creation of one thing easier for Him than that of another, nor is it more difficult either. He neither draws a profit nor sustains a loss. Neither joy nor pleasure finds its way to Him, nor does pain or sorrow either. Nor has He a limit set for Him which He is to reach and not farther. Nor is He liable to annihilation, weakness or want. He is above having any contact with women or taking any female associate and children for Himself. He is neither begetter nor begotten.

From the foregoing lines, it is clear that according to the view-point of the Mu'tazilites God is above time and space. But of this thesis, the first part, i.e. that God is above time, has ready and direct support from the explicit text of the Qur'ān, as (هو الاول والاخر) "He is the First and the Last"¹ meaning² that only He is Eternal Who existed before everything else, and that only He again shall survive all other things, i.e. that He is above time. It is not, in this connection, out of place to note that the word *qadīm*, meaning eternal, does not exist in the Qur'ān. With regard to the 2nd part, viz. that God is above space, it has not—at least apparently—had the support of the Qur'ān behind it to the same extent.

Be that as it may, once the Mu'tazilites accepted the proposition as

1. Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, II, 3, 3, L.VII.

2. Zamakhshari, *Kashshāf*, II, 434, (ed. Egypt).

such, the next thing they did was to explain away such verses of the Qur'an as were apparently at variance with it.

The verse (الرحمن على العرش استوى) ("The Beneficent One Who is established on the Throne")¹ may be quoted as a case in point. As the Mu'tazilites have it, *Istawa 'ala'l-Arsh* (استوى على العرش) here means² *Istawla 'ala'l-Arsh* (استولى على العرش), "He has got mastery over the Throne," which metaphorically stands for His Kingdom,³ and not He has seated Himself on the spatial Throne as such—an alternative perfectly warranted by the literal rendering of the text itself. For, were they to take the verse in its primary sense so as to mean that He has seated Himself on the Throne, it would merely reduce the Deity to a corporeal being or for the matter of that to an originated thing (*hādith*). Far be that from Him! Hence, He is above space.

This necessarily involved the Mu'tazilites in a discussion about the whereabouts of the Ultimate Reality. Their views on this subject are set forth below.

Abu'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf (131/748 and 235/849), al-Ja'farān i.e. Ja'far b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850), Ja'far b. Mubashshar (d. 234/848), al-Iskāfī (d. 240/854 or 241/855), Muḥammad b. 'Abdul-Wahhāb al-Jubbāi (235/849 and 303/915) and the majority of the Mu'tazilites hold⁴ that God exists at every place, meaning that either verily He is the Ruler of every place or that His rule prevails at every place.

Hishām al-Fuāṭi (a contemporary⁵ of Abu'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf), 'Abbād b. Sulaimān (a contemporary⁶ of 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāhiz), Abū Zufar (a contemporary⁷ of Moharnmod b. 'Abdul-Wahhāb al-Jubbāi) and others maintain⁸ that He does not exist in space but rather He is ever where He is.

The point which the Mu'tazilites have attempted to make by these assertions is that the whereabouts of God, Infinite as He is, cannot be ascertained and localised by us, the finite, and that all that can be asserted of Him is that He is above space.

For a proper appreciation of the problem under discussion a consideration of the counter-arguments put forward by al-Ash'arī as a spokesman of the people of the Sunnah, seems to be necessary.

1. M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'an*, II, 5.

2. (a) Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 34.

(b) Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, I, 157.

3. Zamakhsharī, *Kashshaf*, II, 20.

4. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, I, 157.

5. T. W. Arnold, *al-Mu'tazila*, p. 35, being an extract from *al-Milal wan-Niḥal* by al-Murtaḍa al-Zaidī.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

8. Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, I, 157.

What al-Ash'arī means by *Istawā 'alal-'Arshi* (استوى على العرش) is that He has seated Himself on¹ the Throne which he has localized above the seventh, and for the matter of that above the highest, heaven.¹

In support of his contention, he has advanced numerous proofs of which only a few are given here.

(a) *Proofs from the Qur'ān.*²

1. يدبر الامر من السماء الى الارض : “ He directeth the ordinance from the heaven unto the earth.”

وقال فرعون يا هامان ابن لى صرحان لعلى ابلغ الاسباب، اسباب السموات فاطلع الى اله موسى . 4 : “ And Pharaoh said : O Hāmān ! Build for me a tower that haply I may reach the roads, the roads of the heavens, and may look upon the God of Moses though verily I think Him a liar.” Here Pharaoh has falsified the statement of Moses that verily God is above the heavens.⁵

3. : “ Have ye taken security from Him who is in the Heaven that He will not cause the earth to swallow you ? ” Here by the word *as-Samā* (heaven) al-Ash'arī means⁷ al-'Arsh (the throne of God), which is above the seventh heaven.

4. : “ If thou couldst see when they are set before their Lord.” This verse shows⁹ that God is not in His creatures nor are they in Him. And hence, He must be sitting on His Throne.

5. : “ Unto Him good words ascend.”

6. : “ (And remember) when Allāh said : O Jesus ! Lo ! I am gathering thee and causing thee to ascend unto me.”

1. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 33.
2. Ibid., pp. 33 and 35.
3. M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, II, 5, XXXII.
4. Ibid., II, 36 & 37, XL.
5. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 33.
6. M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, II, 16, LXVII.
7. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 33.
8. M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 27, VI.
9. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 36.
10. M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, II, 10, XXXV.
11. Ibid., I, 55, III.

7. (وماقتلوه يقيناً بل رفعه الله إليه)¹: They slew him not for certain. But Allāh took him up unto Himself.”

(b) *Proofs from the Tradition.*²

1. ‘Affān³ has narrated on the authority of Ḥammād b. Salama, on the authority of ‘Amr b. Dīnār, on the authority of Nāfi’ b. Jubair, on the authority of his father, that the prophet of God, may His peace and blessings be upon him, has said : ينزل الله عزوجل كل ليلة الى السماء الدنيا فيقول هل من سائل فاعطيه هل من مستغفر فاغفر له حتى يطلع الفجر (“ God, may He be Exalted and High, descends every night to the lowest heaven, and then says : ‘ Is there any body to seek favour from me that I may give it and is there any body to beg pardon of me that I may pardon him ” and so on until the day dawns ?

2. ‘Abdullāh b. Bakr has narrated on the authority of Hishām b. Abī-‘Abdullāh, on the authority of Yaḥya b. Abī-Kuthair, on the authority of Abū-Ja‘far, on the authority of Abū-Huraira, that the apostle of God has said : اذا بتي ثلث الليل ينزل الله تبارك و تعالى فيقول من ذا الذي يدعوني فاستجيب له من ذا الذي يستكشف الضر فاكشفه عنه من ذا الذي يسترزقني فارزقه حتى ينفجر الفجر . (When one third of the night remains, God, may He be Blessed and Exalted, descends (to the lowest heaven) and then says : ‘Who is there to pray to me that I may accept it ? Who is there to ask for the redressing of his wrongs that I may do so for him ? Who is there to seek sustenance from me that I may provide for him?’ and so forth until the day breaks).

3. It has been narrated on the authority of ‘Abdullāh b. Bakr as-Sahmī,⁴ on the authority of Hishām b. Abī-‘Abdullāh, on the authority of Yaḥya b. Abī-Kuthair, on the authority of Hilāl b. Abī-Maymūna, on the authority of ‘Aṭā’ b. Yasār, on the authority of Rifā‘at-al Juhanī, who has said, “ When we were returning (from our journey) with the apostle of God, may His peace and blessings be upon him, he praised God and eulogized Him until we arrived at the place called al-Kadid⁵ or Qadid, and then said : اذا مضى ثلث الليل او قال ثلثا الليل نزل الله عز و جل الى السماء فيقول :

1. M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur’ān*, I, 157 and 158, III.

2. Al-Ash‘ari, *al-Ibāna*, pp. 34, 35, 36 and 37.

3. *Muslim* with the commentary of al-Nawawī, I, 258, with a slight variation in the *matan* (reading) and with different *asnād* (narrators).

4. *Ibid.*

5. Name of a valley near an-Nakhil where the road from Faid to al-Madīnah crosses. It is also a name of a spring after *Khālis* at a distance of eight miles from Mecca to the right of the road. As-Ṣayyid al-Sharīf Nūr’uddin ‘Alī ash-Shāfi’i aṣ-Ṣamhūdī, *Wafa’ul Wafa bi-Akḥbārī’l Dārī’l Muṣṭafa*, II, 365, Egypt, 1326 A.H.

من ذا الذى يدعونى استجب له من ذا الذى يستغفره اغفرله من ذا الذى يسئلى اعطه حتى ينفجر الفجر
“ When one third or two thirds of a night passes away, God, may He be Exalted and High, descends to the heaven and says, ‘Whoever prays to me, I shall accept his prayer, whoever asks for my pardon, I shall pardon him and whoever solicits my favour, I shall give it and the like until it is morning.’”

4. The learned have narrated¹ on the authority of ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Abbās who has said : تفكر وا فى خلق الله عز وجل فان بين كرسية الى السماء الف عام والله :
“ Reflect on the creation of God and not on Him. For, there is between his Throne and the heaven a distance of one thousand years’ journey and God, may He be Exalted and High, is above that.”

5. The learned have further narrated² that a man came to the prophet of God with a slave negress and said: يا رسول الله انى اريد ان اعتقها فى كفارة:
فهل يجوز عتقها فقال لها النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم اين الله قالت فى السماء قال فمن انا قالت انت رسول الله فقال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم اعتقها فانها سومة.
“ O, apostle of God ! verily I desire to liberate her by way of an atonement. Is it permissible for me to do so ?”
The prophet of God said to her, “ Where is God ?” “ In the heaven,” said she. “ Who am I ?” asked the prophet. “ Thou art the apostle of God”, answered she. Then the prophet of God said, “ Set her free, for she is a believer.” This, *pari passu* with other Traditions above enumerated, indicates that verily God is on the Throne which is above the heaven.

(c) *Proofs from the Ijmā’*.³

1. Verily God, may He be Exalted and High, has raised Jesus to the heaven.⁴

2. When they pray to God, all Muslims raise their hands towards⁵ the heaven because of the fact that God, the Exalted and High, has seated Himself on the Throne which is above the seven heavens. Were it not for the fact that He is on the Throne above, they would not have stretched their hands towards it any more than they would have lowered them towards the earth.

3. When they pray to God against an impending calamity, all Muslims say⁶ : يا ساكن العرش O ! Dweller on the Throne.

1. Al-Ash’arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 36.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 36 and 37.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 34, 35 and 36.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 35 and 36.

4. When they swear, they all say: ¹لا والله حجب بسبع سموات, "By Him who screens Himself with the seven heavens.

(d) *Philological Proof.*²

From the Mu'tazilite assumption that *istawa* 'ala'l 'arsh (استوى على العرش) means (استولى على العرش) "He has got mastery over the Throne," it follows that God has got mastery over the privies also, inasmuch as He has got mastery over every thing, Almighty as He is. But, as the matter stands, no Muslim considers it valid to state that He has got mastery over the latrines. Hence, *istawa* here cannot mean *istawla*, which is of universal application. But what it can mean and must mean is 'sitting,' which relates to the particular application to the divine Throne only.

(e) *Logical Proof.*³

God is in every place, as the Mu'tazilites would have us believe.

The womb of the Virgin Mary and the latrines are places.

God is in the womb of the Virgin Mary and the latrines—a conclusion than which nothing can be more repugnant and reprehensible to Islam.

(f) *Philosophical Proofs.*

1. Should⁴ God exist every where, as the Mu'tazilites contend, it follows that He is beneath the earth above which is the heaven, and again He is above the heaven beneath which is the earth. Therefore, He is under *the under* while the things are above Him, and again He is above *the above* while the things are under Him. This will come to this, that He is under and above the things at one and the same time—a contradiction in terms which is absurd.

2. By⁵ maintaining the transcendental character (*tanzih*) of the Divinity at the cost of His immanence (*tashbih*), the Mu'tazilites have merely reduced Him to a cipher or an abstraction (divesting Him of His Real-Self), to say the least of it. Far be it from us to hold such a notion.

1. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 36.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

REFUTATIONS OF AL-ASH'ARĪ'S ARGUMENT BY THE MU'TAZILITES

As for God's descending to the lowest heaven every night, as maintained in the traditions quoted above by al-Ash'arī in support of his contention, the Mu'tazilites have explained it away as the act¹ of the angels themselves and not of God Almighty.

In respect of the proof from the Ijmā' to the effect that Jesus has been taken away to God inasmuch as he has been raised to the heaven, it does not come into conflict with the Mu'tazilite thesis according to which the heaven is as much near Him as the earth itself, or for that matter any other place wherever it may be.

With regard to the remaining proofs from the Ijmā' they are merely the outcome of the popular beliefs based on the idea which permits us to speak of a person greater in rank as one higher in station (تنزيل الرتبة منزلة العلو), although physically he is not on a higher place. Consequently, the Almighty, Who is the sublimest of all, has been figuratively conceived by Muslims of all walks of life as being in the highest place; nevertheless the fact remains that, He being above space, the zenith is as much near Him as the nadir itself.

Further, what al-Ash'arī has so far said on the subject under discussion is not all.

Al-Qādī Abul-Ma'ālī 'Abdu'l-Malik al-Juwainī (419/1028 and 478/1085) popularly known as Imām al-Ḥaramain (the leader of the two sacred cities, viz., Mecca and Madīna), one of the leading luminaries of the later Ash'arites, maintains that al-Imām al-Ash'arī has stated:² "God was while there was no space. He then created the Throne and the Chair. And He was not in need of space. After the creation of space He remained exactly as He was before. And *al-Istawa* is an attribute of God like His other attributes, and is also an action of His which He has done in relation to His Throne."

Although al-Ash'arī has now veered round to an attribute from his original conception of *istawa'*, the idea of God's sitting on the Throne is quite apparent even to a casual observer who reads between the lines. So naturally enough, it has failed to carry conviction with Imām al-Ḥaramain, who has accordingly interpreted (*istawa' ala* as *qahara wa ghalaba 'ala*) (استوى على وغلب على)³ to mean that He has got the upper hand or mastery over, and not as *istaqarra 'ala* (استقر على), (He has settled Himself), a contingency that merely reduces the Deity to a corporal being or for that matter to an originated thing. And he has advanced the following proofs in support of his argument.

1. Ibn-'Asākir, *Tabyīn*, p. 150.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Imām al-Ḥaramain, *Irshād*, p. 24.

(a) *Proofs from the Qur'ān.*¹

1. وهو معكم اينما كنتم²: "And He is with you wheresoever ye may be."
2. 3 أفمن هو قائم على كل نفس بما كسبت : "Is He Who is aware of the deserts of every soul? (as he who is aware of nothing)."
3. 4 ما يكون من نجوى ثلاثة الا وهو رابعهم ولا خمسة الا وهو سادسهم ولا ادنى من ذلك ولا اكثر الا هو معهم اينما كانوا

"There is no secret conference of three but He is their fourth, nor of five but He is their sixth, nor of less than that or more but He is with them wheresoever they may be."

In the above verses, God's presence can only mean⁵ His knowledge and comprehension, inasmuch as, not being a corporeal being, His physical presence everywhere is out of the question. Hence, the interpretation of *al-istiwā'* (الاستواء) here as *al-qahru-wal ghalabat* (القهر والغلبة) is perfectly legitimate and justifiable.

(b) *Philological proof.*⁶

اذ العرب تقول استوى فلان على المالك اذا احتوى على مقاليد الملك واستعلى على الرقاب .

"Since the Arabs say that such a one has got mastery over the kingdoms when he has become the master of the keys of the kingdom and has got the upper hand over the necks (persons)."

(c) *Proof from the Ijmā'.*⁷

All the Muslims, the Karramites⁸, and a section of the Hashwites,⁹ the extreme anthropomorphists from amongst the people of the Sunnah excepted, are unanimous on this that God is above direction.

Further, the Imām says that as, in the opinion of the people, the

1. Imām al-Haramain, *Irshād*, pp. 24 and 91.

2. M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, II, 4, LVII.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 33, III.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 7, LVIII.

5. Imām al-Haramain, *Irshād*, pp. 24 and 91.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

7. *Ibid.*, *Irshād*, p. 23.

8. A sect called after Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Karram (or Karam or Kiram) E.I., II, p. 773, (Extract).

9. Also Hashwiya or Hashawiya or Ahl al-Hashw, a contemptuous term for those among the men of Tradition (Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth) who recognised the coarsely anthropomorphic traditions as genuine, without criticism and even with a kind of preference, and interpreted them literally. E.I., II, 2887. (Extract).

Throne is the biggest thing in the realm of God, He has merely emphasised¹ His control over the smaller things by stating that He has got mastery over the biggest one.

Now with regard to the descent of God to the heaven every night, as recorded in the traditions of *Ṣiḥāḥ* (the books containing the sound Traditions), he explains² it away as that of the favourite angels. But as for the rest of the Traditions that exist in this connection, they are all, according to the Imām, 'Aḥād (الاحاد),³ yielding no certain knowledge, and as such deserve⁴ no consideration.

Al-Imām Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī (544/1149 and 606/1209), yet another brilliant figure among the later Ash'arites, maintains that the assertion of the anthropomorphists (al-Mushabbihā⁵) that God is sitting on the Throne is false⁶ according to both reason ('aql) and authority (naql), and that for the following reasons.⁷

(a) *Philosophical reasons.*

1. Verily God, may He be glorified and exalted, existed while there was neither the Throne nor a space. Further, even after having created creation, He remained as independent of space as ever before.

2. Verily the right-hand side of the sitter on the Throne must needs be other than His left-hand side. And this means that He is a compound substance. Again any thing compound requires some body to compound it, which is absurd with regard to the Deity.

3. Verily the sitter on the Throne is either able to move about or He is not. If the former, He becomes subject to movement and rest, and for that matter He must of necessity be an originated being (*ḥādith*). But if the latter, He becomes like a person bound hand and foot, nay, like a person paralytic, nay, worse than he. For a palsied person may move his head and eyes if he likes. But their Lord is not capable even of that much.

4. Their Lord either exists at every place or at some places and

1. Imām al-Ḥaramain, *Irshād*, p. 24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

3. In the science of tradition 'aḥād is used as an abridged plural of *Ḳhabar al-wāḥid*, which, as contrasted with *Mutawātir Ḥadīth* communications, come not from a larger number of trustworthy Companions (aṣḥāb) but from a single person (extract), E.I., I, 182.

4. Imām al-Ḥaramain, *Irshād*, p. 91.

5. *Tashbīh*, assimilating, comparing (God to man), anthropomorphism, and *Ta'tīl*, emptying and divesting (God of all attributes) are the names of two opposite views of the doctrine of the nature of God in Islām; both are regarded as heresies and grave sins in dogma (Extract), E.I., IV, 685.

6. Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*, VI, 4.

7. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 4 and 5.

not at others. If the former, it follows that He is also in the places of dirt and filth—a postulate which no rational being is likely to accept. But if the latter, He must have His reason for preferring one place to another—a state of things which cannot but signify a want on the part of the Almighty, which is simply out of the question.

5. If it were possible for a settler in a place to become God, then the sun and the moon could have as well become gods. But as it is, they cannot be gods because they are liable to movement and rest. For, any being that is subject to movement and rest cannot but be an originated thing. But should you once relax the rule in favour of the Deity, there is nothing to preclude you from ascribing divinity to the sun and the moon also.

(b) *Qur'ānic Reasons.*

1. ليس كمثلہ شیء¹: “Naught is as His likeness.” If this statement about God were to subsume all manner of negations, with due allowance for His sitting and for that matter for His magnitude and colour (for he who sits must have magnitude and colour), it would be not absolute but relative. If God were to sit, there would be some body to resemble Him in sitting at least—a predicament in which the absolute character of the verse would be seriously jeopardized.

2. ويجعل عرش ربك فوقهم يومئذ ثمانية²: “And eight will uphold the throne of their Lord that day above them.” If this verse were to be taken literally, it would mean that the angels carry their Lord (*i.e.* look after His comforts)—a preposterous idea that does not stand to reason. For it is the creator who protects His creatures, and not the creatures who protect their creator. Hence, the literal character of the verse cannot be upheld.

3. قال لا احب الاقليين³: “He said: I love not things that set.” Had the Lord been a body, He would have permanently remained set inasmuch as He is always invisible to us—a circumstance under which Abraham's expression would have been equally applicable to Him also.

(c) *Astronomical Reason.*

The world is globular and therefore the direction which is above in respect of ourselves will be below with regard to those who live in the

1. M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, II, 11, LXII.

2. *Ibid.*, II, 17, LXIX.

3. *Ibid.*, II, 11, CXII.

antipodes, and *vice versa*. If the Lord were to have a direction of His own, it would be above in relation to some people and below in relation to others. But the wise (the philosophers) are unanimous on this, that it is not permissible to say that the Lord is beneath something.

(d) *The Reason from the Ijmā'* (اجماع).

The community is of one opinion in this, that the verse قل هو الله احد : " Say : He is Allāh, the One,¹" is one of the sound ones (*muḥkama*) and not one of the ambiguous or equivocal ones (*mutashābiha*). In the circumstances, if God were to have a space of His own, His right-hand side would be different from the side that is on His left—a contingency that would merely reduce Him to a being at once compound and divisible, and that to the great detriment of both the spirit of the verse and the divine unity.

Hence *istiqrār* (to rest at a place) on the part of God is an impossibility pure and simple—an assertion in regard to which people have held two divergent views.²

1. We shall not attempt to explain away the verse, but rather we have been convinced of the fact that God is above direction and space, as al-Ghazzālī (450/1058 and 505/1111) has narrated, on the authority of a Companion of al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855), that al-Imām Aḥmad has interpreted away only the following three Traditions of the Prophet (" Peace be upon him !") and nothing besides.

(a) الحجر الا سود يمين الله في الارض : " The black stone of the Ka'ba is the right-hand of God on the earth. "

(b) قلوب المؤمنين بين اصبعين من اصابع الرحمن : " The heart of a believer lies between the two fingers from amongst the fingers of the Merciful. "

(c) انا لاجد نفس الرحمن من قبل اليمن : " Verily I perceive the breath of the Merciful from the direction of Yaman. "

But the argument thus put forward is weak for the following reasons:

(a) If we are convinced that God is above direction and space, we have to be convinced that by *al-istawā* God does not mean *al-julūs* (to sit). And this is nothing but *at-tā'wīl* (arguing away of the verse).

(b) If on the other hand, we are not convinced that God is above direction and space but rather are in doubt about it, we betray our ignorance of Him excepting that we say that verily God does seem to mean something other than what the explicit text of the Qur'ān signifies. But we, for ourselves, do not venture to express it in so many words,

1. M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur'ān*, I, 76, VI.

2. Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Māfatih*, VI, 5.

lest we might fall into error. But this view-point also is a defective one. For when God has addressed us in the language of the Arabs, it is incumbent on Him not to mean by His word anything but what is conveyed by the language itself. But since of the two meanings of *al-istiwā*, viz., *al-istiqrār* (to rest) and *al-isti'lā*' (to get mastery), which obtain in the Arabic language, the former is untenable here, the latter must hold the field, and if not, the word of the Qur'ān becomes obsolete and redundant, which is inadmissible.

2. We must needs fall back upon *at-tā'wīl* (explaining away the verse), since according to reason to give *al-istiqrār* (to rest) the meaning of *al-istiwā*', which the explicit text of the Qur'ān indicates, is out of the question.

Now the argument that has centred round the above two almost diametrically opposite views gives rise to the following four alternative issues.¹

Either (a) we shall act up to both views severally and individually or (b) we shall not.

Either (c) we shall prefer authority (*naql*) to reason ('*aql*), or (d) we shall prefer reason to authority and shall explain away the latter.

Of these, the first alternative is false, and if not, it will follow that a thing is at once in and above space, which is absurd.

The second too is untenable, inasmuch as it dispenses with the two contradictory terms at one and the same time.

The third too is inadmissible. For, of reason and authority considered as the ultimate sources of human knowledge, the former is more vital and fundamental. As long as reason does not establish the existence of the Creator, the attributes thereof, and (last but not least) the mission of the apostles, mere authority cannot. As a matter of fact, the integrity of authority pre-supposes that of human reason, and so we have to accept the fourth alternative, namely, the verdict of reason, and explain away the authority. Hence *al-istiwā*' here means *al-isti'lā*' (to get mastery over). And this conclusion is further strengthened by the following verse of *al-Akhṭal*.²

قد استوى بشر على العراق من غير سيف و دم محرّاق

"Verily a man has got the mastery over Iraq without sword and shedding of blood."

Thus, the long and short of the discourse of al-Imām ar-Rāzī is that God is above space.

To crown all, the creed of al-Imām Abū-Manṣūr al-Maturīdī (d. 333/944), as given by Najm ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142),

1. Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Māfatih*, VI, 5.

2. Father Anton al-Ṣālihani, *Sh'ir al-Akhṭal*, p. 390.

which is still taught in shools, colleges and universities all over the East, contains,¹ *inter alia*, “ He, *i.e.* God, does not exist in place or time.”

Having thus placed all the relevant view-points before the reader, I now leave it to him to decide whether the Mu‘tazilite proposition that God is above time and space holds good or not.

‘ABDUS- SUBHĀN.

1. (a) At-Taftazānī, *Sharḥ ul-‘Aqā’id an-Nasafi*, ed. Cawnpur, 1347 A.H., p. 32.
(b) D. B. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, Appendix, p. 309.

THE JALĀLĪ CALENDAR (TĀRIKH-I-JALĀLĪ OR MALIKĪ)

THE reform in the calendar carried out by 'Umar Khaiyyām (d. 526 A.H.) with some other astronomers of Sultān Jalāluddīn Malik-Shāh Saljūqī has been the subject of many learned dissertations. H. Suter's article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (pp. 1006-1007), summarizing the researches on the subject by the orientalists, and M. Sulaimān Nadavī's account of the same in his *Biography* of 'Umar Khaiyyām, where some available sources have also been quoted, show the state of confusion in which the whole subject stands up to this time.

In the course of my own studies on chronology and the calendar in connection with a series of historical articles which I had planned and some of which have also been published, I was led to investigate the whole subject anew; and I found that there are some new materials extant which have not so far been exploited, and which help us in finally and definitely clearing up doubtful and disputed points and establishing the exact and true nature of this reform. The former confusion is entirely due to the vague and inexplicit and often incorrect nature of the sources hitherto utilized by previous writers.

The holy Prophet does not appear to have prescribed or approved any particular calendar for the use of his own people, nor did he leave any definite suggestions about it. The subject was obviously of too purely a secular nature to need intervention on his part.

The so-called Islamic lunar calendar, commencing with the Prophet's migration (Hijrah) to Madīnah, was for the first time instituted in the year 17 A.H. by the second caliph 'Umar, and seems to have appealed to those early legislators by its obvious simplicity and naturalness.

This calendar, now an old and respected institution among Muslims, had thus a purely secular origin, and was never invested with the sanctity of a religious institution. This fact was recognized by the Muslims themselves from time to time, when several attempts were made to promulgate some sort of reformed solar calendar for the practical purposes of their administration.

Of all such reforms that of Jalāl'uddīn Malik Shāh Saljūqī is of the greatest scientific and historical interest. H. Suter is not certain if the

Jalālī calendar ever attained any vogue or survived in practice for any length of time. But references are available to show beyond any shadow of doubt that not only was it current far and wide in actual use in the vast Saljūqī empire, but it also remained for many subsequent centuries in Islamic countries.¹ The mere fact that Ulugh Bēg has devoted a separate section of his *Zīch* to it, and has also drawn up tables to show correspondence with some other calendars in vogue, is sufficient to show that the subject had a practical value and was not of purely academic importance. Abu'l-Faḍl discusses it in his *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, and reckons the dates of the births of his own brothers in the Jalālī years. Akbar's Ilāhī calendar, beginning with his accession to the throne, was designed to take the place of the Jalālī calendar as a better substitute on the basis of Ulūgh Bēg's calculations, but, as we now know, it is not free from defects, and is of much less scientific value in respect of accuracy in the long run.

The lunar calendar of the Muslims, as we know, does not correspond with the length of the solar year. It may or may not be sufficient for religious purposes, but for business and administrative purposes it has always needed to be supplemented by a solar calendar which covers all seasons of the year.

As soon as the Muslims came into contact with the old Greek and Persian civilizations they readily adopted a number of their useful secular institutions, and it appears that for administrative purposes some varieties of the solar calendar of the Roman and Persian types always remained in use in their official registers of revenues, etc., in the times of the Umayyids as well as under their successors, the 'Abbāsids.

The Persian year known after Yizdgird, son of Sābūr (Shāpūr), (and not Yizdgird son of Shahryar, as is generally thought), solar as it was, consisted of 365 days, of which all except the last month consisted of thirty days. The twelfth had 35. To redress the balance of $\frac{1}{4}$ day an intercalation of a whole month was made after 120 years, making that particular year to consist of 13 months.

In the times of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, al-Mutawakkil and al-Mu'taḍid, attempts were made to correct the Persian year, since this had become altogether disordered on account of negligence in the matter of intercalations, which in former times the Persian priests had always taken care to make at the proper periods. As that great astronomer and scientist al-Bērūnī has shown at length in his book *al-Āthār-ul-Bāqīya* (pp. 31-33 of the Arabic text), the correction then made by the Muslim scholars was not of strict accuracy, on account of the mistakes which they had made in basing their calculations on the length of the period that had elapsed since the death of Yizdgird, the last of the Sassanid emperors of Persia.

1. Cf. Birjandi: تقویم درین زمان بر تاریخ جلالی موضوع است, "The calendar in our times rests on the Jalālī era." p. 12/2 of my own manuscript of *Sharh Zīch Ulugh Khānī*.

The subject, however, continued for long under discussion among Muslim scholars, who always pointed out the necessity and the way ; but we do not know if any serious and organized attempt was ever made actually to set up a thoroughly regulated scientific calendar for civil and administrative purposes until we come to the reign of Malik Shāh.

All the old systems, including even that of the ancient Persians, were defective, and the subsequent reforms had made matters no whit better. The result was that in the days of Malik Shāh the Persian solar calendar in actual vogue did not correspond with the seasons, and the administration found difficulty in the settlement of their accounts with the agriculturists, with whom the beginning with the New Year's Day (Naurōz) was a recognised and well-established custom.

Meanwhile the astronomical studies so zealously and extensively cultivated for centuries from Spain to Afghanistan had gone far ahead.

A number of well-controlled and sustained observations carried out by Muslim astronomers from the days of al-Manṣūr to those of al-Bērūnī had established the length of the solar year to be 365 days 5 hours 46 minutes (and some seconds that had varied from 20 to about 55 in the various observatories).¹ The true length of the real solar (*i.e.* the tropical) year, according to the most modern and exact researches, is actually 365.242216 mean solar days=365 days 5 hours 48 minutes and 47.4624 seconds.

Thus there was yet a shortage of more than two minutes in these various calculations. They were, however, by far the best results that science had so far obtained, and, of course, came much nearer to the correct calculations. The Greeks of Alexandria had found the length of the solar year to be 365 days 5 hours and about 56 minutes, which was an increase of between 7 and 8 minutes. All the other nations, including Babylonians, Hindus, and Persians, had found the solar year to consist of 365 days 6 hours and more than 12 minutes, thus making their solar year about 23 minutes longer.

This will easily show the great advance made by the Muslim astronomers in the correct calculations. For these differences, which look so trivial to the layman, mean much in reality from the scientific point of view. After the lapse of time, these minutes would accumulate into days and the days into months.

1. Al-Mā'mūn : A.H. 214 (829-830 A.D.).
54.640870 seconds.
A.H. 217 (832-833 A.D.).
45.682388 seconds.

Al-Battānī : (19th September 882).....24 seconds.

Al-Bērūnī : 440 A.H.....20 seconds.

(See al-Battānī sive Al-Baten, *Opus Astronomicum*, Latin. Versumū, ad. a Carlo Alphonso Nallino (Pars Prima), 1903, pp. 211 & 212 ; and al-Bērūnī's *Chronologie* (Arabic Text), p. 144.

The problem, therefore, before the astronomers of Malik Shāh was twofold :—

(1) To fix by accurate observation the correct length of the solar year, since divergence existed in the results of the various observations of the Muslim astronomers.

(2) To regulate and reform their calendar in accordance with their own results, so as to make the civil year exactly correspond with the actual solar year.

Unfortunately all the original and contemporary records of these achievements are apparently lost, or remain so far untraced. Most probably, like so many other scientific, historical, and literary treasures of the highest value, they were destroyed in the course of the devastating Mongol inroads upon the Islamic countries of Central Asia in the beginning of the seventh century A.H. For our information we have therefore to depend on the accounts of the subsequent writers, who are mainly very brief and vague in their statements, and are partly responsible for so many misunderstandings about the Jalālī calendar.

All of them agree that it was in the year 467 A.H. that Jalāluddīn invited a group of some eight leading astronomers of his time, including 'Umar Khayyām,¹ to carry out the observations which were eventually to form the basis of his reformed calendar. As a result of their direct observations they found the length of the solar year to be 365 days 5 hours and 49 minutes. Thus they succeeded marvellously indeed in approximating to the true value. And in accordance with their own findings they boldly started to work out their scheme for the new Jalālī or Malikī solar calendar.

The basic problem for all the solar calendars has always been that of intercalation. The solar year does not cover a period of complete days, nor is it therefore divisible into even months of complete days. The question is how to make the adjustment.

Various methods have been adopted since the time when the approximate length of the solar year was known.

The Romans in the time of Julius Cæsar had adopted the system of intercalating a day every fourth year making it to consist of 366 days. This was also the method which the Chinese had known and adopted for several thousands of years. As compared with this the Persian system of intercalations after 120 years was rather a clumsy one.

But even the Roman system was not free from defects. It rested on the wrong assumption that the solar year consists of exactly $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, while the true fraction is a little less than $\frac{1}{4}$.

1. Some other names of those distinguished astronomers are Abu'l-Muzaffar 'Isfazarī, Khawājah Abdu'r-Rahmān Khāzini, Maimūn ibn-i Najīb Wāsiṭī, Muḥammed ibn-i Aḥmad Mamūrī Baihaqī, and Ḥakim Abu'l-'Abbās Lokarī.

ابو المظفر اسفزاری ، خواجه عبدالرحمن خازنی ، میمون ابن نجیب واسطی ، محمد بن احمد معموری یهقی
و حکیم ابو العباس لوکری

The astronomers of Malik Shāh knew this, and could not adopt either the Persian or the Roman method.

For a correct reference to their original formula I depend entirely on the account of it as given by Ulugh Bēg in his *Zīch* (which has already been unsuccessfully used for this purpose by some scholars), and the most illuminating commentary on it by 'Abdul-'Alī Birjandī (c. 930 A.H.), which does not seem to have been utilized for this purpose. A manuscript of the same is known to me to exist in Persia,¹ and some others are available in Europe and India too.² I have used the one in my own library. Unlike the ill-reputed commentaries of later times, which are so much given to irrelevant digressions, Birjandī's is of a strictly scientific order, the author being perfectly well-versed in the subject with which he deals. He had in his hand some good sources of information that have not reached us. But, alas! judging from what I have seen, even the learned Birjandī does not seem to have had before him the original records about the Jalālī calendar. Yet he had the works of former astronomers, including Ṭūsī and others who had carried out researches at Marāghah a century after those of Malik Shāh. Thus his sources, though secondary, were better than the ones we have in our hands.

It is almost certain that Ṭūsī and his colleagues had more dependable materials on this subject, since they claimed that their results verified those of Malik Shāh's astronomers. It appears that the original records or reliable copies of them were available to those scholars serving under the Mongols, who in the course of half a century of their contact with Islamic civilization had learnt to honour and value its culture, its sciences, and its scholars.

For convenience of reference we have quoted all the relevant portions of Ulugh Bēg's text with Birjandī's commentary in the appendix at the end of this article. We give here only a summary, mainly gathered from this valuable source.

The Persian calendar then in vogue being in disorder on account of negligence in the matter of intercalations, and the beginning of the year varying from time to time, the king asked the philosophers and savants of his day, including 'Umar Khaiyyām, to draw up a calendar in which the beginning of the year should always fall in the same season, and not vary in the ages to come.

The new calendar began on Friday, the 10th of Ramaḍān 471³ A.H. (=16th March 1079 A.D.) and not on Sunday, the 5th of Sha'bān 468 A.H., some three years before, as some writers have wrongly imagined.

1. See Introduction to *Kitāb-at-Tafhīm* of Albērūnī, edited by Jalāl Humvī, Tehran, p. 126.

2. I possess notes taken by me from a manuscript of this commentary in the Lytton Library, Muslim University, Aligarh.

3. According to the author of *Comparative Tables of Muḥammadan and Christian Dates*, the Hijra year 471, corresponds with 14th July, 1078 A.D.—Ed., I. C.

The first year of this calendar commenced shortly before sunrise at the time when the sun had just entered the sign of Ḥamal (the Zodiacal sign Aries, the Ram).

The names of the Persian months in vogue were retained. It was the 18th of Farvardin of the old Persian calendar, but the astronomers dropped these 18 days, and for their purposes called it the first date of the first month (Naurōz).

But as a rule the New Year's day in the Jalālī calendar was to begin with midday of their calendar. Also, in the old manner the first eleven months were to consist of 30 days, and the last one, *i.e.*, Isfandarmodh Māh, was to consist of 35 days.

So far they were travelling on the beaten track. The real problem arose when they had to find out an adequate scheme for the adjustment of their extra 49 minutes, which is less than $\frac{1}{4}$ day by 11 minutes.

According to Ulugh Bēg they solved this problem in the following manner.—

They added one day more at the end of every fourth year, making it consist of 366 days. After continuing this process six or seven times every fourth year they intercalated the day, not after four years as formerly, but this time after five years.

It is here that Birjandī's commentary comes to our rescue. He says :

“Whether the cycle of intercalating every fourth year is to be repeated successively and continuously six times or seven times is a matter of actual calculation only.”

In other words the course adopted by Malik Shāh's astronomers was to make use of seven intercalations within twenty-nine years and of eight intercalations within thirty-three years. We propose to express this scheme by the following symbols :

$$\frac{71}{29Y} , \frac{81}{33Y}$$

It is certain from Birjandī's statements that the formula of $\frac{71}{29Y}$ was adopted to arrest the advance in the year caused by the applications of $\frac{81}{33Y}$, and was not meant to be repeated alternately before or after every single cycle of 33 years with the eight intercalations, as has wrongly been imagined by some writers. Both methods were to be used in such a manner as to be checks one on the other, and to serve to balance the time in due course. They were self-adjusting and only needed proper combination. Let us now see for ourselves how this elastic scheme would actually work with the two cycles. With $\frac{71}{29Y}$ the mean length of the year would be 365 days 5 hours 47 minutes and 35 seconds, *i.e.*, every year would be losing 1 minute and 25 seconds according to their length of the year, which had 49 minutes. Within 29 years there would be a total shortage of 41 minutes and 5 seconds.

To make up this loss they would supplement the first cycle of $71/29Y$ by the second cycle of $81/33Y$, which would make the mean length of their solar year 365 days 5 hours 49 minutes and 5.45 seconds, i.e., just 5.45 seconds more every year, which in 33 years would mean a total of 179.85 seconds, i.e., about three minutes only.

In the light of these differences in the operation of the 2 cycles the best formula for the Jalālī calendar would be as follows :—

$$\frac{3 \times 71}{3 \times 29Y} + \frac{41 \times 81}{41 \times 33Y}.$$

Beginning with the 3 cycles of $71 \times 29Y$, and there by losing 123 minutes, you could gain them, and thereby adjust your calendar by successively repeating the cycles of $81/33Y$ 41 times, which would also give you 123 minutes in the result.

Now it is admitted by all that a combination of the $71/29Y$ and $81/33Y$ formulæ is the best conceivable contrivance for bringing the civil year into accord with the real solar year. The learned writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Vol. IV., pp. 990-991, 11th edition) goes to the length of suggesting that it is the best conceivable scheme which would really work even now. He suggests that

$$\frac{311}{128Y} \left[\frac{3 \times 81}{3 \times 33Y} + \frac{71}{29Y} \right]$$

i.e., a combination of 3 cycles of 33 with 1 of 29, would be the most convenient one, as it would make the year consist of 365 days 5 hours 48 minutes and 45 seconds, making it so exact that the error would not amount to a day in 35,000 years.

As compared with the Jalālī calendar the Gregorian calendar is rather defective, as it exceeds the true solar year by 26 seconds, nearly double the difference in Malik Shāh's calculations, and leads to an excess of one full day in 3,330 years.

It appears from Birjandī that Ulugh Bēg had suggested a further reform on the basis of his own observations, by which he had found the length of the year to be 365 days 5 hours 49 minutes 55 seconds 41 thirds and 48 fourths, or roughly speaking about 50 minutes.

This result is not as good as the Jalālī. In view of this discovery the following formula was suggested :—

$$8 \text{ } 1/33Y \text{ generally } + 9 \text{ } 1/37Y \text{ to check the balance.}$$

This scheme of Ulugh Bēg led to much confusion in the real understanding of Malik Shāh's scheme. It was also responsible for Akbar's Ilāhī year. But a careful study of sources leaves no doubt that it has nothing to do with the original scheme suggested by the illustrious astronomers of Malik Shāh.

Theirs thus remains quite the best practical scheme so far, and its formulæ are still sound and applicable. It is also the best that has ever been put into actual practice in the course of history up to our own time, and deserves to be considered as one of the best achievements in the theoretical and practical fields of astronomy and chronology.

APPENDIX

Extracts from *Sharḥ Zīch Ulugh Bēg* by 'Abdul 'Alī ibn Moḥammad ibn Ḥusain Birjandī.

(N.B.—The portions underlined indicate the text of the *Zīch*.)

۱ تقویم درین زمان بر تاریخ جلالی موضوعست و اول سال جلالی و اول سال فرس نادر است که متحد باشند.

۲ باب پنجم در معرفت تاریخ ملکی و آن منسوب است بسطان جلال الدین ملک شاه سلجوقی .

و سبب وضع این تاریخ آن بوده است که در آن زمان تاریخ فرس مستعمل بوده و بسبب عدم کیسه اوایل سالها مختلف می شده پس از حکماء و فضلاء روزگار که در مجلس اومی بودند از جمله عمر الخیام بر آن اتفاق نمودند که تاریخ وضع کنند که اول سال همیشه در یک موسم باشد، و بهر روز زمان متغیر نشود . و باین سبب اسم بادشاه روزگارا ماند. پس این تاریخ برایین وجه که مذکور خواهد شد وضع کردند.

۳ و میداش نزد بعضی یک شبه پنجم شعبان سنه ثمان و ستین و اربعایه هجری است و نزد بعضی دیگر جمعه دهم رمضان سنه احدی و سبعین و اربعایه هجری . چنانچه تفاوت هزار و نود و هفت روز باشد و سبب اختلاف مارا معلوم نیست. و چون رأی دوم مشهور تر بود ما بر آن رفتیم .

۴ و آنکه تفاوت میان دو قول مقدار مذکور است مطابق واقع نیست چه تفاوت سه سال شمسی حقیقی است و مدت این سه سال هزار و نود و پنج روز است و اگر کیسه اتفاق افتاده شد یک روز زیادت شود .

۵ پس اول سال روزی را گیرند که در نصف نهار آن روز آفتاب بجمل آمده باشد .

و شرط آنست که در نصف نهار در درجه اول حمل باشد، و در نصف نهار مقدم در حوت بود چه حرکت آفتاب درین زمان در نیم وضع در شبانروزی از یک درجه کمتر است پس ممکن است که در دو نصف نهار متوالی درجه اول حمل بود .

۶ همچنین ماههارا از نزول آفتاب بهر برجی گیرند .

و قیاس بر نزول آفتاب اول حمل باید کرد که در نصف نهار اول آن ماه در درجه اول بروج باشد، و در نصف نهار بیشتر و در درجه آخر بروج مقدم و بعضی گفته اند که در هر روزی که آفتاب به برج انتقال کند آن روز را اول آن ماه گیرند . خواه پیش از نصف النهار بود خواه بعد از آن .

پس سالها و ماههاله این تاریخ شمسی حقیقی باشد .

و سبب حذف کسور در بعضی سنوات و بعضی شهر اعتبار آن در بعضی دیگر یک روز سال و ماه اصطلاحی نشود چنانچه سابقه مذکور شده و بعضی ماهها را سی سی روز گیرند و این هنگام پنج روز در آخر سال زاید آید یا شش روز .

تا عدد ایام در اوراق تقویم مختلف نشود برین تقدیر شمسی اصطلاحی باشد.

و مراد آنست که خواسته اند که اول هر ورق از اوراق تقویم اول ماه باشد و آخر همان ماه . اگر ماه هارا شمسی حقیقی گیرند و التزام آن کنند که اول هر ورق اول ماه باشد هم اختلاف در اوراق تقویم واقع نمی شود .

و اسامی ماههاے این تاریخ بعینه اسامی ماههاے فرس باشد الا آنکه این ماه هارا بجلالی مقید کنند . و آنها را تقدیم و سبب اتحاد اسامی آنست که در وقت وضع این تاریخ نزول آفتاب باول حمل در هیچد هم فروردین ماه قدیم واقع شده بود پس آن هیچده روز را بطریق کیبسه از سال مقدم اعتبار کردند و تغییر اسم فروردین نکردند و باقی شهر را به تبعیت فروردین از حال ایشان تغییر ندادند .

و خمسہ مستسرقه در آخر اسفندار مذ ماه افزایند . بانفاق بخلاف تاریخ فرس قدیم که بعضی در آخر اسفندار مذ ماه (؟)¹ و بهر چهار یک روز کیبسه باشد چه سالها شمسی حقیقی است و آن سی صد و شصت و پنجروز است و کسرے کمتر از ربع . پس در هر چهار سال یکروز حاصل شود ازان ربع کسر بانده کمتر ازین جهت در هر چهار سال یک روز کیبسه شود .

و چون شش بار باهفت بار به چهار سال کیبسه افتد ، یکبار کیبسه پنج سال افتد .

و باستقرا معلوم توان کرد که کبائس رباعی متتالیه در کدام زمان شش خواهد بود یا هفت و ما بجهت توضیح این مدعی میگوئیم که مدت کسر بحسب رصد ایل خانیه مط دقیقه است ، و بحسب رصد سمرقند که سنی این تاریخ بر آن است ه مط نه مامح . و این کسر زاید در مدت سی و سه سال شمسی حقیقی بحسب رصد ایل خانی هفت شبانروز شود سه دقیقه کمتر چنانچه بر محاسب مخفی نماند و بحسب رصد سمرقند هشت شبانروز زیادتی اینقدره مهلولد رابعه و تفاوت میان آنها در این مدت هشت دقیقه و ربعی بود تقریبا پس در هر سی و سه سال هشت کیبسه واقع شود . چنانکه هفت کیبسه رباعی بود ، و یکے خاسی بحسب رصد ایل خانی سه دقیقه کم از هشت روز کمتر است بسنین متصدا در آن سه دقیقه مساوی کسر سال شود یعنی ربع روزے تقریبا بالضرورت آن کسر زاید در یکسال آن نقصانات که قریب بر ربع شده منجر شود و شش کیبسه رباعی متتابع واقع شود بعد ازان کیبسه خاسی شود . و آنکه شارح بر مصنف زیج ایل خانی تخطیه کرده که ازان قبیل نیست که هشت کیبسه رباعی متتابع افتد بحسب رصد ایل خانی مندرج است یا آنکه مراد آنست که در هشت نوبت که کیبسه واقع شود پنج دقیقه و کسرے از هشت روز زیادت می آید ، چون این زیادتی بر مرور ایام قریب بر ربع رسد هشت کیبسه متتابع رباعی و بعد ازان کیبسه خاسی بود . و آنچه در متن واقع شده که شش بار یا هفت بار نظر بانست که کسر زاید ه مط گرفته ، و کسور زاید بران اعتبار نکرد بجهت مساهله و ازین تقریر ظاهر شود که در تاریخ جلالی بعضی اوقات اختلاف واقع شود بیکروز و بحسب این دور رصد ، و اینهم بر تقدیر است که سالها شمسی وسطی گیرند و اگر شمسی

I. جائے دیگر می فرماید که خمسہ مستسرقه (اهل فارس در قدیم) در آخر "آبان ماه" می افزوده اند بعضی از اهل فرس و مجوس همچنان او را در آخر بان ماه می افزایند و تغییر آن جایز نمی دانند ، و می گویند که از سنتهاے فرس است هر چند کیبسه درین تاریخ حالا متروک شده و منجان آن را در آخر اسفندار مذ ماه که آخر سال است زیادت می کنند .

حقیقی گیرند براین نسخ خواهد بود مقدار یکسال حقیقی بر صد معلوم می کنند بآن طریق که بالآت رصدی زمان تحویل مرکز آفتاب بنقطه اعتدال ربیعی در دو سال متعاقب معلوم می کنند و باین دو زمان را یکسال شمسی حقیقی می گیرند.

بدان که در ابتدا تاریخ جلالی تحویل آفتاب بمحل شب آدینه بود قبل از طلوع آفتاب باندک، روز آدینه را مبداء تاریخ گرفته اند، و درین زمان منجبان را نصف النهار اعتبار می کنند، پس در نصف نهاره که آفتاب دران نصف النهار در درجه اول حمل باشد آن روز نوروز است.

درارصاد مشهوره آن کسر زاید کمتر از ربع است و مقدار کمی بر راء بطلموس چهار دقیقه و چهل ثانیه است و برصد ایل خانی یازده دقیقه و برصد حکیم محی الدین مغربی دوازده دقیقه و چهل و پنج ثانیه و برصد بتانی سیزده دقیقه و سی و شش ثانیه و بارصاد اهل خطا نه دقیقه و برصد این زیج ده دقیقه و چهل و پنج ثانیه، و حکیم محی الدین غربی گفته است که بعضی ارصاد اهل روم دلالت بران کرده است که کسر زیادت از ربع است و بعضی دلالت بران کرده است که کمتر است پس بنا بر امر اوسط آن را ربع گرفته اند و بعضی گفته اند که اهل روم کسر را بر صد ربع تمام یافته اند پس برین تقدیر سال ایشان شمسی حقیقی باشد. 1

SYED HASAN BARANI.

1. Two more MSS. of Birjandi's commentary on Ulugh Beg's *Zich* are known to exist in Europe, one in the British Museum (P. Add. 23567) and the other in Cambridge (Per. 233). Ref. *Die Mathematiker und Astronomer der Araber und Ihre Werke*, Dr. H. Suter, Leipzig, 1900, p. 188.

AS-ŞAHİB IBN ‘ABBĀD AS A WRITER AND POET

THE Arabic literature of the 4th century and subsequent periods abounds with references to the Vizier as-Şāhib ibn-‘Abbād, and his patronage of learning.¹ A galaxy of great scholars and poets such as Abu’al-Husain as-Salāmī, and Abū-Bakr al-Khawārizmī, Abū-Ishāq as-Şābī and Abū-Ṭalīb al-Māmūnī Abī-Şa‘id ar-Rustamī and Abī al-‘Abbās aḍ-Ḍabbī, Ibn-Bābak and Ibn-Nabāta, etc., used to adorn the court of as-Şāhib. He is said to have been eulogised by one hundred thousand Qaṣīdās composed both in Arabic and Persian. The authors of *Yatīma* and *Irshād al-Arīb* very often quote the critical remarks of as-Şāhib whenever they seek support for their statements regarding writers and their works. *Yatīma* by ath-Tha‘alībī and ‘*Uyūn al-Akhhbār* by ibn-Bābawayhi are said to have been chiefly written for the purpose of recording the life of as-Şāhib and his court poets.² In spite of all these facts, the existing information about as-Şāhib is scanty and even those scattered pieces of information contradict one another. At every stage of as-Şāhib’s life we come across two opposite schools of opinion. While a group of his biographers hold that he was a unique man of letters, an eminent poet, a scholar-statesman of matchless character, etc., Abū-Ḥayyān at-Tauhīdī rejects all such characterizations of as-Şāhib.³ On the other hand some *Shī‘a* ‘Ulama raise him to the status of a saint and give him a rank in piety next to as-Şidōq,⁴ while a number of as-Şāhib’s contemporaries present him in a different light altogether.⁵ In view of such contradictory statements, one naturally longs to see as-Şāhib in his true colours. It becomes all the more necessary when we find that in 1259 A.H. a *Shī‘a* scholar, al-Qubā‘iy al-Iṣfahānī, collected details of as-Şāhib’s life (largely

1. He is one of those three stylists on account of whom Aḍad ad-Dowla envied his brother and about whom this line of al-Buhturī is often quoted ادلوا وسلطوا عدلوا. *Muḥāsın as-Safḥān al-Lamā‘urūḫī*, p. 14, Tehrān edition.

2. See *Risālat al-Irshād fī Aḥwāl al-Ṣāḥib as-Sāhib* by Abī al-Qāsim Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qūbāi, Tehrān edition, pp. 7 and 13.

3. See *Mu‘jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II., p. 280, Gibb Memorial edition.

4. See *Risālat al-Irshād*, pp. 5, 14, 44. وان شیعنا البائی قدس سره فی رساله مسح الرجلین جمله بعد الصدوق فی الطبقة النخ

and also *Irshād*, p. 14; لا یقصر عن محمد بن مسلم وهشام بن الحکم النخ.

5. For instance as-Salāmī says:—

تکر الجبر واخر ج ت الی دنیاک کرها

س بن عبد الله حرها

یا ابن عباد بن عبا

(Continued on p. 177).

from *Shī'a* sources) in his رسالة الارشاد which is not only inaccurate in several places but is highly unsatisfactory altogether. We will therefore try to give below a fairly correct sketch of aṣ-Ṣāhib's career together with a strict analysis of his poetic talent, as far as it can be made from a MS. collection of his poems preserved in the Āṣafiya Library—a collection that has not yet received the appreciation it deserves.

According to Ibn-*Khallikān* the genealogy of aṣ-Ṣāhib ibn-'Abbād is Abu'al-Qāsim Ismā'il, ibn Abī al-Ḥasan 'Abbād, ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Abbād, ibn Aḥmad, ibn Idrīs aṭ-Ṭāliqāni.¹ His popular titles were Kāfi al-Kufāt and aṣ-Ṣāhib. He is said to have been the first to hold the title of aṣ-Ṣāhib (the Companion) among the Viziers.² There are two statements regarding the origin of this title. The first is that the title was given to him for the obvious reason that he always accompanied the famous Vizier Abu'l Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd; and the second explanation is that Mu'ayyad-ad-Dowla called Ismā'il ibn-'Abbād by the sobriquet of aṣ-Ṣāhib because he had been his constant companion from his childhood.³ The first explanation seems to be the more correct, since aṣ-Ṣāhib had been serving Ibn-al-'Amīd long before he came in contact with Mu'ayyad-ad-Dowla, who conferred upon him the title of "aṣ-Ṣāhib Kāfi-al-Kufāt" when he became the ruler's Vizier in 360 A.H.⁴ In any case, from his very early life, ibn-'Abbād seems to have been known rather by his familiar title than by his real name.

As to the origin of aṣ-Ṣāhib's family, the usual sources are silent. But it is mentioned that when aṣ-Ṣāhib was asked not to abuse Mu'āwiyah, who happened to be one of his ancestral uncles, the poet composed the following verse in reply:—

"Many an announcer told me :
Your uncle Mu'āwiyah was the best
of all maternal and paternal uncles,
for he was uncle to all Mu'minīn
(Muslims), I answered he was cer-
tainly my uncle (خال), but he was

ناصر قال لى معاوية خا
لك خير الاعام و الاخوال
فهو خال للمؤمنين جميعا
قلت خالى لكن من الخير خال⁵

(as certainly) devoid (خال) of all good qualities."

(Continued from p. 176).

and Abū-Bakr al-*Khwarizmī* says:—

لا تمدن ابن عاد وان هطلت
كفاه يوما ولا تذمه ان حرما
فانها خطرات من وساوسه
يعطى ويمتنع لا بخلا ولا كرمًا

Another poet, condemning his rhymed prose, his handwriting and his intelligence, says:—

منقلب كافي الكفاة وانما
هو في الحقيقة كافر الكفار
السج سجع مهوس والخط خ
ط منقرس والعقل عقل حمار
See *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, pp. 297 and 314.

1. See *Ibn-Khallikān*, Iran edition, Vol. I, p. 78.

2. See *Risālat al-Irshād*, p. 8, Iran edition.

3. See *Ibn-Khallikān*, Iran edition, Vol. I, p. 79.

4. *Mu'jam-al-Udabā*, Gibb memorial edition, Vol. II, p. 275, and *ibn-al-Aṭhīr*, Vol. VIII, p. 454, Brill edition, 1874.

5. *Yatima*, Vol. III, p. 106.

This implies that aṣ-Ṣāhib was conscious of his Arab descent, but we do not find any reference to his being a scion of the clan of Banī-Hāshim. Of course, aṣ-Ṣāhib gave his daughter in marriage to an 'Alawī Sayyid, Abū al-Ḥusain 'Alīy ibn al-Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī al-Ḥamdānī, and was so very proud of his alliance with the Prophet's family that when his daughter gave birth to Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Abbād, he congratulated himself by reciting the following verse.¹

I thank God that good news came forth in the night; when God blessed me with a grandson who was a descendant of the Prophet also. Let him be welcomed over and over again, and hailed as a (noble) scion of the clan of Banī-Hāshim, a member of the family of the Prophet, 'Alī and Ḥasan, and lastly of the house of aṣ-Ṣāhib.

احمد الله لبشرى
اذ حبانى الله سبطا
مر حبا ثم أهلا
نبوى علوى
اقبلت عند العشى
هو سبط للبنى
بغلام هاشمى
حسنى صاحبى

And when the child was weaned from his mother, aṣ-Ṣāhib wrote as follows :—²

You are weaned (فطمت), O, 'Abbād, son of the fostermothers until the weaning age (ابن الفواطم) : So the Sayyids of the clan of Āl-e-Hāshim say to you. Even if they have separated (فطموه) him from his nursing women (رضاع) they will never disengage (فطموه) him from his inherent habits (رضاع) of righteousness.

فطمت أيا عباد يا ابن الفواطم
فقال لك السادات من آل هاشم
لئن فطموه عن رضاع نسائه
لما فطموه عن رضاع المكارم

All these facts go to prove that he was related to the tribe of Banī-Hāshim through his daughter and son-in-law. This relation was so dear to him that he defended the Arab race with fanatic zeal whenever it was attacked by the 'Ajamīs. On one occasion aṣ-Ṣāhib heard 'Ajamīs speak of the Arabs with contempt for the reason that they ate snakes, he therefore replied :—³

Some one out of sheer ignorance accuses the Arabs for eating snakes at their meals; but (what about) the 'Ajamīs whose mothers and sisters (have bodies that) are inhabited all night long by (worse than) snakes?

يا عائب الاعراب من جهله
لاكلها الحيات فى الطعم
فالعجم طول الليل حياتهم
تسابق فى الاخت وفى الام

But this does not mean that aṣ-Ṣāhib as against the fanatics of the Shu'ūbiys⁴ championed the cause of Arab intellectual superiority. He

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba*, Vol. II, p. 328, *Yatima*, Vol. III, Dimashq edition, p. 74, and *'Umdat-at-Ṭālib* (published in Lucknow), p. 59.

2. *Yatima*, Vol. III, Dimashq edition, p. 76.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

4. The fanatics among the Shu'ūbiys (non-Arabs who opposed the Arabs) derided the Arab pretensions to intellectual superiority. See Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 280, and Hitti's *Arab* p. 402.

may have believed in the Arabs as a great race, but that he also had an admiration for certain intellectual characteristics of the 'Ajamī races may be inferred from the following couplets which he wrote in praise of Banī al-Munajjim, who were 'Ajamīs being of the Persian race.¹

Among the descendants of al-Munajjim there was brilliant intellect associated with all the good qualities of both Arabs and 'Ajamīs. I did not cease praising them and disseminating their excellence, till I was considered to be an immensely partial man.

لبنى المنجم فطنة لهيبة
و محاسن عجمية عربية
مازلت امدحهم و أنشر فضلهم
حتى عرفت بشدة العصبية

Aş-Şāḥib's father, Abu'l Ḥasan 'Abbād, was a native of Ṭālīqān. He was a scholar of Mu'tazilite tendencies, and a collector and expounder of the Prophet's Traditions. He was a Vizier of Rukn'-ud-Dowla ibn-Buwayh.² He is said to have also served as Vizier of Fakhr'-ud-Dowla as well as of 'Aḍad'-ud-Dowla, (See *Risālat-al-Irshād*, p. 8). That his forefathers were also Viziers is probable though not quite certain. When aş-Şāḥib became Vizier Abū-Sa'id ar-Rustamī in one of his panegyrics said:—

He inherited the Vizierate from father to son as successively as traditions are received from one reporting authority by another. (As a tradition) 'Abbād relates (the succession of) his Vizierates from al-'Abbās, and Ismā'il relates it from 'Abbād.³

ورث الوزارة كابرا عن كابر
موصولة الاسناد بالا سناد
يروى عن العباس عباد وزا
رته و اسمعيل عن عباد

Succession to a high office like that of Vizier as if it was hereditary is corroborated by Abū-Bakr al-Khawārizmī, who says that aş-Şāḥib inherited the Vizierate from his forefathers (ورثها عن آباءه).³ This shows that administrative ability and statesmanship were hereditary qualities of aş-Şāḥib's family.

As to the birth-place of aş-Şāḥib, ibn-Khallikān quotes two different opinions. Ištakh̄r and Ṭālīqān of Qazwīn⁴ are mentioned among his possible birth-places. It is probably from the names of these two unidentified places that aş-Şāḥib is sometimes called "Rāziy" and sometimes, "Işfahānī." But a number of scholars such as Yāqūt⁵ (d. 626 H.) Mufaḍḍal ibn Sa'd al-Māfarrūkhī (in the 5th century)⁶ and Abu'l-Qāsim al-Qūbāi

1. *Yatima*, Vol. III, p. 207; Vol. II, p. 283.

2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba*, Vol II, p. 274; *ibn-Khallikān*, Vol. I, p. 80.

3. *Ibn-Khallikān*, Vol. I, p. 79.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 80.

5. *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 237.

6. *Maḥāsīn-Işfahān*, by Mufaḍḍal ibn Sa'd al-Māfarrūkhī, MS. Aşafiya, p. 18.

(in the 13th century)¹ held that aṣ-Ṣāhib was a native of Iṣfahān. This opinion receives confirmation from aṣ-Ṣāhib himself, who, writing in praise of Iṣfahān says :—²

<p>(٣) سقيا لايماننا و الشمل مجتمع والد هر ماخانی فی قرب اخوانی</p>	<p>(١) يا اصفهان سقيت الغيث من كذب فانت تجمع اوظارى و اوطانى</p>
<p>(٣) ذكرت ديمرت اذ طال الغناء بها يا بعد ديمرت من ابواب جر جان</p>	<p>(٢) والله والله لا أنسيت برك بي ولو تمكنت من اقصى خراسان</p>

The first hemistich of this verse means :—“ O ! Iṣfahān, may you be fertilized by abundant rain, since you possess my much desired objects and my native countries.” (i.e., his own native place and that of his ancestors).

This clearly implies that aṣ-Ṣāhib hailed from Iṣfahān. He was born in Ṭāliqān in 326 A.H. and was brought up under the care and supervision of his learned father and pious mother,³ both of whom were Shi'as. Thus aṣ-Ṣāhib's upbringing had a learned as well as a religious character. He had the good fortune to be a contemporary of such savants of arts and letters as Mas'ūdī (d. 346), the historian, Abū-Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339), the philosopher, al-Mutanabbī (d. 354), the poet, and Abu'l-Faraj (d. 356), the author of the *Kitāb-al-Aghānī*, and a host of others.

Aṣ-Ṣāhib ibn-'Abbād received his primary education in one or two mosque schools in Iṣfahān.⁴ His higher education was completed at the feet of the famous philologists Ahmad ibn al-Fāris and Abu'l Fadl ibn al-'Amīd.⁵ Although aṣ-Ṣāhib attained proficiency in almost all branches of literature, yet like his two great teachers he owed his principal fame to his extensive knowledge of philology and epistolary composition. If, on the one hand, aṣ-Ṣāhib's study of *Adab* (Literature) with ibn al-Fāris led to that savant's compiling a lexicography which he proudly named *aṣ-Ṣāhibiy*⁶ after his beloved disciple's name ; yet on the other hand, his constant companionship with his master ibn al-'Amīd became as proverbial as that of David and Jonathan. He is known even to this day as Ṣāhib ibn al-'Amīd. Aṣ-Ṣāhib himself acknowledges his indebtedness to Ibn al-'Amīd in the following words :

”وها أنا منذ عشرين سنة اجالس الشعراء وأكثر الا دباء وأباحث الفضلاء وعشرين اخرى آخذ
عن رواة محمد بن يزيد المررد و اكتب عن اصحاب احمد بن يحيى ثعلب فأرايت من يعرف الشعر
حق معرفته و يتقده نقد جهابذته غير الاستاذ الرئيس ابى الفضل بن العميد ادام الله أيامه وحسن لديه

1. *Risālat-al-Irshād*, p. 5.

2. *Maḥāsīn Iṣfahān*, by Mufaḍḍal ibn-Sa'd ibn al-Ḥusain al-Māfarrūkhī, p. 13 and also MS. in the Aṣafiya Library, no. 248, p. 18.

3. *Bughyat al-Wū'āt*, by Suyūṭī, Cairo edition, p. 196 and *Yāqūt*, Vol. II, p. 274.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 196, and see *Maḥāsīn Iṣfahān*, p. 98.

5. *Ibn-Khallikān*, Vol. I, p. 79 ; *Bughyat*, p. 196.

6. *Kashf az-Zunūn*, Vol. IV, p. 87 ; Flügel edition (Leipzig).

انعامه و يتجاوز نقد الايات الى نقد الحروف والكلمات ولا يرضى بهذيب المعنى حتى يطالب بتخثير القافية والوزن وعن مجلسه اعزه الله تعالى أخذت ما أتعاطى من هذا الفن .،،

Literary training of a high order was not the only benefit which aṣ-Ṣāḥib derived from ibn al-'Amīd. His master's friendship proved highly fruitful for aṣ-Ṣāḥib's future, and brought many material successes in its train.

As a matter of fact, aṣ-Ṣāḥib's real career began from the time when he entered the service of ibn al-'Amīd as his amanuensis (كاتب). Thenceforward the able clerk's literary reputation gradually spread far and wide. He accompanied al-Qāshānī to Baghdād as secretary to a minister of State (see *Tajārib al-Umām* by ibn Miskawayih, Vol II, p. 168). He was thereafter employed by Mu'ayyad ad-Dowla-ibn-Rukn-ad-Dowla as his personal secretary. He served Mu'ayyad-ad-Dowla with consummate ability and received many a favour and some titles from him. Finally in 360 A.H., when Abul-Faṭḥ ibn al-'Amīd (son of Abul-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd) was killed, aṣ-Ṣāḥib was appointed in his place as Vizier of Mu'ayyad-ad-Dowla who at that time ruled over ar-Rayy and Iṣfahān. After the death of Mu'ayyad-ad-Dowla, aṣ-Ṣāḥib served Fakhr-ad-Dowla as his Vizier for over 18 years.² During this Vizierate aṣ-Ṣāḥib is said to have taken no less than fifty citadels, "the like of which were not conquered in the reign of either Fakhr ad-Dowla's brother, Mu'ayyad-ad-Dowla, or his father Rukn-ad-Dowla."³ He seems to have put the state finances in order,⁴ and to have built at the same time several palaces and mosques in Iṣfahān.⁵

He certainly made his term of high office quite conspicuous not only for the stability of the government but also for the prosperity of the country as a whole. These facts were too patent to escape the envy of his opponents. His deadly enemy, Abū-Ḥayyān at-Tauḥīdī,⁶ was once asked: "If aṣ-Ṣāḥib's conduct was bad and his administration defective, how was it possible that he maintained peace and tranquillity?" Abū-Ḥayyān replied:

"قلت والله لو أن عجوزا بلهاء أو أمة ورهاء
أقيمت مقامه لكانت الأمور على هذا السبيل لانه
"By God! if an idiotic old woman or a stupid slave-girl had
been in his place, affairs would

1. *Al-Kaṣḥf 'an Masāwī-Ṣḥī'r al-Mutanabbi*, by aṣ-Ṣāḥib ibn 'Abbād, p. 4, Cairo edition.

2. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udaba*, Vol. II., p. 274 to 275 where it is mentioned:—

"وكان صاحب في بدء امره من صفار الكتاب يخدم ابا الفضل بن العميد على خاصته فترقت به الحال الى ان كتب لمؤيد الدولة ابن ركن الدولة بن بونه اخي عضد الدولة بن ركن الدولة الديلمي . ومؤيد الدولة حينئذ امير واحسن في خدمته وحصل له عنده بقدم الخدمة قدم وانس منه مؤيد الدولة كفاية وشهامة فلقبه بالصاحب كافي الكفاة فلما مات ابوه ركن الدولة وولى مؤيد الدولة بلاده بالرئى واصفهان وتلك النواحي خلع على ابي الفتح ابن العميد وزيرا به خلع الوزارة واجراه على ما كان في ايام ابيه الى ان قتل . . . واستوزر صاحب"

3. Yāqūt, Vol. II., p. 311.

4. See *Mahāsīn Iṣfahān*, p. 99.

5. See *Yatīma*, Vol. III, p. 44, and see the description of Jām'i aṣ-Ṣāḥib known as Jurjir which aṣ-Ṣāḥib built in Iṣfahān, *Mahāsīn Iṣfahān*, MS., p. 103 and Irān edition, pp. 85, 86.

6. Yāqūt, Vol. II, p. 280.

have taken just the same course, ، ، قد أمن أن يقال له لما فعلت ولما لم تفعل ، ،
since there was none to ask him why he did this and why he did not do that."

But that remark of Abū-Hayyān's has no justification. As we know that Fakhr-ad-Dowla had considerable rancour against aṣ-Ṣāhib, we can infer that he would have been quite alert and watchful of his adversary's actions.¹ Again, it was aṣ-Ṣāhib who went to Mu'ayyad-ad-Dowla's brother 'Adad-ad-Dowla, and reconciled the two brothers once again.² He captured the fort of Ahwāz, defeating Fakhr-ad-Dowla³ and subsequently, in 337 A.H., he sent for Fakhr-ad-Dowla from Nishāpur, seated him on his paternal throne after the decease of Mu'ayyad-ad-Dowla,⁴ and made peace between Fakhr-ad-Dowla and Ṣamsām-ad-Dowla.⁵ Moreover, it was aṣ-Ṣāhib himself who went to Tabaristān when there was a revolt, expelled the rioters, and restored the country to its former condition.⁶ It is obvious that aṣ-Ṣāhib could not have achieved such successes if he had not possessed sound judgement and high statesmanship.

However mistaken Abū-Hayyān may have been in his estimate of the statesmanship of aṣ-Ṣāhib ibn-'Abbād, it cannot be gainsaid that he was quite accurate in depicting the latter's character. Abū-Hayyān says:—⁷

“And all people fear him for his boldness, foul language and his unscrupulous use of power. He is severe in punishment, deficient in requital, and persistent in reproof. He has a bad tongue and gives little to many. He is hot-tempered (peevish), superstitious, envious and malevolent. He is particularly envious of able and meritorious people. His scribes, servants, and other

”والناس كلهم يحجمون عنه لجرأته وسلطته و
اقتداره و بسطته ، شديد العقاب ، طفيف الثواب ،
طويل العتاب بذى اللسان ، يعطى كثيرا قليلا ،
مقلوب بحرارة الراس ، سريع الغضب ، بعيد الفته ،
قريب الطيره ، حسود ، حقوقود ، وحسده وقف على اهل
الفضل و حقه سار الى اهل الكفاية اما الكتاب و
المتصرفون فيخافون سطوته و اما المنتجعون
فيخافون جفوته و قد قتل خلقا و اهلك ناسا و نبي

1. In *Tajārib al-Umam*, edited by Amedroz and Margoliouth, Vol. III, p. 262 is mentioned:—

وكان ابو محمد خازن الكتب ملازما داره على سبيل الخدمة له و هو عين لفخر الدولة عليه

and Yāqūt in *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, Vol. II., p. 309 says:—

واما هيئته (الصاحب) في الصدور ومحافته في القلوب وحشمته عند الصغير والكبير والعيد والقريب فقد
بلغت الى ان كان صاحبه فخر الدولة يتقبض عن كثير مما يريد به بسبه و يمسك عما تشره اليه نفسه لمكانه وقد ظهر
ذلك للناس بعد موته .“

and Yāqūt in Vol. II, p. 275 further mentions:—

فاراد الصاحب اختباره (فخر الدولة) هل في نفسه عليه شئ مما كان في ايام مرثد الدولة الذي اوجب هرب
فخر الدولة فاستغناه الخ

2. *Ibn al-Athīr*, Vol. IX, p. 4, Tornberg edition, 1863.

3. *Ibid.* p. 18, and *Tajārib-al-Umam*, Vol. III, p. 93.

4. *Tajārib-al-Umam*, Vol. III, p. 129.

5. *Ibn al-Athīr*, Vol. I, p. 39.

6. The author of *Kitāb al-'Imtā'*, which is being published by لجنة النشر والتأليف in Cairo.

7. Yāqūt, Vol. II, p. 276.

seekers after his favour are afraid of his severity and harshness. He kills people and expels others just to satisfy his tyrannous nature. Besides this, he is liable to be led astray (by a few words of flattery) coming from a child or even an idiot.”

In support of these condemning statements Abū-Ḥayyān adduces a good deal of evidence; for example, the conversation of aṣ-Ṣāḥib with those people who came to receive him at Sāwa,¹ where he had returned from Hamadān after meeting 'Aḍad-ad-Dowla.² We may add that Abū-Ḥayyān's remarks regarding the envious nature of aṣ-Ṣāḥib are corroborated by other scholars also. Ath-Tha'ālibī, for instance, says that aṣ-Ṣāḥib turned against his teacher ibn al-Fāris soon after he had entered into the service of ibn al-'Amīd, and attached himself zealously to his new master. As an instance of his feigned or real contempt for his old master, we may mention that when ibn al-Fāris sent his *Kitāb al-Hajar* (Book of Stone) to aṣ-Ṣāḥib from Hamadān, he just looked at the title-page and said to the man who brought it, "Return the stone to the place whence it came."³ His scorn for his contemporaries is shown by al-Māfarrukhī (5th century) when he says that aṣ-Ṣāḥib hated Aba-Muslim Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad because of certain religious discussions that occurred between that favourite of 'Aḍad-ad-Dowla and himself; when 'Aḍad-ad-Dowla died, aṣ-Ṣāḥib managed to send orders to the governor of Hamadān to kill the hapless Abū-Muslim ibn Muḥammad who had dared to differ from him in matters of theory only.⁴ It is almost certain that aṣ-Ṣāḥib was not endowed with good nature. He held several estimable scholars in great contempt, so that when the news of al-Khawārizmī's death reached him he composed these lines:—

I asked the riders who were going from *Khurāsān*, Did your *Khawārizmī* die? Yes, they answered. I then said: Write down with gypsum on the surface of his grave—Indeed even the Most Merciful (God) anathematized him who became ungrateful (to Him) for His favours.⁵

اقول لركب من خراسان راخ
أما ت خوارزميكم قيل لي نعم
فقلت اكتبوا بالحصن من فوق قبره
ألا لعن الرحمن من كفر انعم

And at the death of Abu-'al-Ḥasan, the physician, he recited:—

They (people) say: Abu'l-Ḥasan at-Ṭabīb (the physician) has died, so the tears of heterodoxy have been shed upon him. Nay! (not the tears) but heterodoxy itself has died

قالوا ابو الحسن الطيب قد انقضى
فبكت عليه مدامع الالحاد
كلا بل الالحاد مات بموته
فكأنما كانا على ميعاد

1. A place in Rayy.

2. *Yāqūt*, Vol. II, p. 282.

3. *Yatīma*, Vol. II, p. 41.

4. *Mahāsīn Isfahān*, p. 26.

5. *Yāqūt*, Vol. I¹, p. 314.

with his death, as if both had agreed to die at one and the same time).¹

His epitaph on *ibn-Dahshūdhān* was:—²

They announced lately that *ibn-Dahshūdhān* had died. Thereupon I said: If this (news) be correct (then indeed) a devil is dead.

نعوا الى ابن دهشوذان عن كذب
قللت ان صح هذا مات ابليس

There is no doubt that *aṣ-Ṣāhib's* self-conceit and haughty bearing did not fail to make his own environment hostile to himself. Even a great scholar like the famous savant *Abū-Bakr al-Khawārizmī* held the following opinion about his patron *aṣ-Ṣāhib*.³

Our *Ṣāhib's* (companion's) abilities are great (indeed), but (strangely enough) his chamber is (always) vacant. And if you only know the secret of his ailment, (ill-nature) you would ask God for nothing but security (against ill-treatment by him).

صاحبنا احواله عاليه
لكننا غرفته خاليه
وان عرفت السر من دائه
لم تسال الله سوى العا فيه

Aṣ-Ṣāhib himself seems to have been aware of the presence of many an opponent in his circle of sychophants as he says:—⁴

(٢) ولو علم المسكين ماذا ايناه
من الذل بعدى مات قبل ماتي

(١) وكم شامت بي عند موتي جهالة
بظلم يسل السيف بعد وفاتي

The wonder is that no one among open flatterers and secret enemies who were in his circle, ever ventured to deny his consummate scholarship. *Al-Khawārizmī* disliked *aṣ-Ṣāhib* but could not help giving him due credit when he said (صاحبنا احواله عاليه): "Our *Ṣāhib*, whose abilities are great indeed."⁵ Even the critical *Abū-Ḥayyān* could not desist from expressing his admiration thus:—

Aṣ-Ṣāhib's memory was tremendous. He had a ready wit and an eloquent tongue. He had learnt something from every branch of literature and had derived benefit from every phase of art. The influence of the scholastic *Mu'tazilites* upon his mind was very great. His writings were interpolated by their wit and his arguments betrayed the tendencies of the clerical style.⁶

كان صاحب كثير المحفوظ حاضر الجواب
فصيح اللسان قد نتف من كل ادب شيئا اخذ من كل فن طرفا
والغالب عليه كلام المتكلمين المعتزله كتابته
سهجته بطرائفهم ومناظرته مشوبة بعبارة الكتاب
وهو شديد التعصب على اهل الحكمة والناظرين
في اجزائها كما لهندسه والطب والتنجيم والموسيقى
والمنطق والعدد وليس له من الجزء الالهى
خبر ولا له فيه عين ولا أثر وهو حسن القيام

1. *Muḥāḍarāt Udabā*, by Raghīb al-Iṣfahānī, Cairo edition, Vol. II, p. 239.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

3. *Yatīma*, Vol. III.

4. *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. III, p. 339 and *Yatīma*, Vol. IV, p. 111.

5. *Yatīma*, Vol. III, p. 110.

6. *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 275-276.

He was fanatically opposed to students of natural philosophy and specialists in its branches, such as mathematics, medicine¹ astrology, music, logic and statistics. He had no knowledge of divinity.² He did not leave anything written or spoken in this branch of learning. He was a fine master of metre and prosody, and he composed verses which are not bad. He was a prolific composer of extempore verse but his reflective or didactic poetry was slender and weak.

This represents the view of the Şāḥib's adversaries. Even one of his admirers Ath-Tha'ālibī, comparing aṣ-Şāḥib's literary style with that of aṣ-Şābī writes : —

Indeed aṣ-Şāḥib wrote as he was inclined to write but Abū-Ishāq (aṣ-Şābī) wrote as he was ordered to write, and there is a wide gulf of difference between the two types of writing. Whatever was the case between the two, both are undoubtedly great, each in his own sphere. It is certain that the art of rhetoric ceased to progress after their death.

ان صاحب كان يكتب كما يريد و ابو اسحاق
الصابي كان يكتب كما يامر و بين الحالين بون
بعيد و كيف جرى الامر فيها هما وقد وقف ذلك
البلاغة بعدهما .³

This opinion of Ath-Tha'ālibī was interpreted by al-Qubāiy,⁴ who said that while aṣ-Şāḥib's style of writing was unaffected and natural, aṣ-Şābī's style was affected and unnatural. To the critic the former appeared to write without effort but the latter seemed to exert himself a good deal in order to write well. But this interpretation is too partial to be anything more than hair-splitting. The obvious meaning of Ath-Tha'ālibī's explanation is that aṣ-Şāḥib being in the position of Vizier was independent and therefore wrote as he pleased, whereas aṣ-Şābī, who was only a subordinate scribe, wrote in accordance with the wishes of his master. Under the circumstances, aṣ-Şābī's position gave him naturally less freedom of thought and action than aṣ-Şāḥib's position. Despite several difficulties under which aṣ-Şābī laboured, he produced literary gems which aṣ-Şāḥib himself greatly appreciated.⁵ Nevertheless, aṣ-Şāḥib's epistolary compositions had the better vogue. Both authors wrote beautifully, but the phrases coined by aṣ-Şāḥib became more popular and were more used as proverbs and dicta than those of aṣ-Şābī.⁶

A poet al-Khāzin al-Iṣfahānī, praising the style of both aṣ-Şāḥib and ibn al-'Amīd, — who was called the second Jāḥiẓ, and of whom it was said

1. Aṣ-Şāḥib wrote a treatise on medicine, see *Yatīma*, Vol., III, p. 42.

2. This remark of Abū-Hayyān is obviously baseless since Aṣ-Şāḥib did not compile works on the subjects of divinity; see the works of aṣ-Şāḥib on page 191.

3. See *Yatīma*, Vol. II, p. 28.

See Vol. III, p. 80-88, Vol. II, p. 28-35.

4. *Risālāt-al-Irshād*, pp. 9-10.

5. See *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 337.

6. See the Şāḥib's phrases in *Yatīma*, Vol. III, p. 77.

that the art of letter-writing began with 'Abdul-Hamid and ended with ibn al-'Amīd,—gives the Ṣāhib a place next only to ibn-al-'Amīd.¹ That was no small compliment to the literary genius of ibn 'Abbād, because a perusal of the specimens of both masters of letter-writing quoted in *Yatīma*² shows that the way in which they describe their experiences and perceptions is highly artistic.

It must be recognised that aṣ-Ṣāhib was not only a patron of men of letters, but was himself a great scholar. It is true that his liberal patronage tended to eclipse his own scholarship.³ But his intellectual activity was not confined to the art of mere letter-writing, as is commonly supposed. He had a real aptitude for theological studies and he related holy traditions received from his father. We find al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū-Nu'aim al-Iṣfahānī quoting the following Ḥadīth (holy tradition) of which ibn-'Abbād (aṣ-Ṣāhib) himself is an accredited Rāwī (narrator).

حدثنا اسعيل بن عباد نا احمد بن محمد بن الحسين بن معاوية الرازي نا احمد بن منصور زاج نا على بن الحسن بن شقيق نا الحسين بن واقد نا قيس بن وهب عن انس بن مالك قال نهانا كبراؤنا من اصحاب رسول الله صلعم ان لاتسبوا امراءكم ولا تعيبوهم واتقوا الله واصبروا فان الامر قريب.

In the days when printing was not generally known and practised, authors had to dictate their books to a large number of amanuenses assembled and seated in some sort of a hall. Ibn-'Abbād's method of dictating his books was peculiarly religious. He called the house in which his numerous copyists assembled "the House of Repentance and Atonement."⁵ Before entering that house he would invariably put on "the costume of scholars" of his day, corresponding to the graduate's gown and hood in our days. He would devoutly utter a short prayer and invoke the help and blessing of God before commencing his dictation to his scribes. So great was the crowd of people who gathered to hear his dictation or lec-

1. See *Yatīma*, Vol. III, p. 3 in which is quoted ;

دعوا الاقاصيص والانباء ناجية	عما على ظهرها غير ابن عباد
والى يان متى يطلق اعنته	يدع لسان اباد رهن اقياد
ومورد كلمات عطلت زهرا	على رياض ودر فوق اجياد
وتارك اولاء عبد الحميد بها	وابن العميد اخيرا في ابى جياذ (?)

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 80-88, and Vol. II, pp. 28-35.

3. See Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 267, edition 1930.

4. *Akhbār-u-Iṣfahān*, MS. Aṣāfiya (Biography No. 235 and 236, Vol. I, p. 226).

5. There is no denying the fact that he endeavoured to be pious and longed for the forgiveness of God, as he says :-

المبى لا تعذبى فانى	مقر بالذى قد كان منى
فكم من زلة بي في الخطايا	وانت على ذو فضل ومن
يظن الناس بي خيرا وانى	اثر الناس ان لم تعف عنى
فما لي حيلة الا رجائى	بعفوك ان عفوت وحسن ظنى

See *Tuhfat al-Majālis* by Suyūfī, Cairo edition, 1908, p. 369 ; and a similar couplet is found in *Yatīma* Vol. III, p. 44.

tures that he had to employ no less than half a dozen speakers to convey his words to the different parts of his huge audience.¹

The extent of aṣ-Ṣāḥib's erudition can be gauged from the fact that he once went to see a famous scholar Shaikh Abū-Sa'īd aṣ-Ṣirāfī, who was at that time delivering lectures on *al-Jamhara*. In the course of his reading one of the pupils pronounced a word (المَقْتُ) which aṣ-Ṣāḥib corrected to (لَمَقْتُ). The Shaikh discussed the point with him for an hour and at last admitted that aṣ-Ṣāḥib was right. Again, when another pupil of the Shaikh read the following line:—

رسم دار وقتت في طله كدت أفضى الغداة من جلله²

Aṣ-Ṣāḥib remarked that the metre was wrong because the first hemistich was in the metre of al-Khafīf and the second was in that of al-Mun-sariḥ. The Shaikh had to admit the fault and corrected the line thus (كدت أفضى الغداة من جلله - بالتخفيف) according to the direction of his guest. These are but a few of the proofs of the extraordinary command which aṣ-Ṣāḥib had acquired over the Arabic language. His proficiency in Arabic literature generally and in Arabic poetry particularly had developed to such an extent that he always used rhymed prose in his daily conversation, composed verses *extempore*, and easily detected errors in the works of even scholars and poets of established reputation. So great a poet as al-Mutanabbī himself did not escape severe criticism by aṣ-Ṣāḥib. His criticism of al-Mutanabbī is alleged to have been marred by his prejudice against the poet,³ whose pen-name proclaims him to have been a sort of a prophet of poetry. We may however consider aṣ-Ṣāḥib to be honest in his declaration that he was quite fair and even lenient in pointing out the real defects of al-Mutanabbī's poetry.⁴ It cannot be denied that apart from the sarcastic tone adopted by aṣ-Ṣāḥib in his pamphlet, الكشف عن مساوى شعر المتنبي, his criticisms themselves accorded, from a literary point of view, with the recognised standards of his age.⁵ Nevertheless aṣ-Ṣāḥib did not hesitate to follow the example of his contemporaries and to borrow much from the poems of al-Mutanabbī.⁶ He did it against his own principle, which was, as he declared, that borrowing from poets later than al-Buḥturī was plagiarism and literary theft.⁷ This shows that aṣ-Ṣāḥib had a high regard for the best parts of al-Mutanabbī's poetry and that his mind had no real prejudice against the celebrated poet.

1. *Mu'jam al-Udaba*, Vol. II, p. 312.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 323-24, and لَمَقْتُ means to write, to erase and to look at.

3. See *Yatima*, Vol. I, p. 87, and *Saifud-dowla and his Times* by M. Ṣadrud-dīn, edition 1930, p. 193.

4. الكشف عن مساوى شعر المتنبي, published in Cairo in 1349, p. 1.

5. See *Yatima*, Vol. I, pp. 105-126.

6. See *Yatima* Vol. I, pp. 87-92.

7. الكشف عن مساوى شعر المتنبي, p. 11.

To summarise : aṣ-Ṣāhib-b.-'Abbād was not only a poet and statesman rolled into one, but also combined in himself the qualities of a daring critic and a pious ecclesiastic. Some people believed that he devoted himself to literature alone. But that was a superficial opinion. He had acquired proficiency in almost all the subjects of learning in vogue at the time in which he lived.¹

A careful survey of ibn-'Abbād's extant works will not fail to impress us with the versatility of his genius and the wide range of his knowledge.

He tried his hand at lexicography even. He compiled a portentous dictionary called *al-Muḥīt*, in seven volumes according to ibn-Khallikān but Yāqūt and Suyūṭī tell us that it was originally in ten volumes.² Ḥājī Khalfā and ibn-Khallikān further inform us that although the vocabulary of this work was considerably large, yet the literary quotations given to explain the meanings of the words in it were comparatively few.³ We are not able to subscribe to that opinion. The third volume of the Lexicon beginning with (الز) and ending with (الفاء) is found in the Egyptian Library, MS. No. 42.⁴ Another volume of this dictionary beginning with the letter (الحاء) and ending with the letter (القاف) exists in the collections of Sulṭān Aḥmad III in Istanbul MS. No. 2714. A complete manuscript of the work calligraphed by Qāḍī Muḥammad al-Samāwī is said to have been discovered in Najaf.⁵

2. Another work of aṣ-Ṣāhib that has come down to us is entitled *Kitāb al-Kāfi*.⁶ This is a collection of his correspondence, a selected portion of which exists in the Paris Library.⁷ Some extracts from his correspondence are preserved in *Yatīma* also. A photographed copy of the Paris MS. is found in the Egyptian Library, No. 4880. These scraps have only to be read to be admired.

3. Still another work is the *Dīwān* of aṣ-Ṣāhib. Yāqūt, Suyūṭī and Ḥājī Khalfā⁸ and Brockelmann (Vol. I, p. 131) have duly referred to it as if it was an integral part of his complete works. Only two MSS. of the *Dīwān* under the heading literature Nos. 3953 (containing 13 lines in each page) and 3954 (containing but 7 lines to the page) are found in the Library of Ayasofia.⁹ Two of the Ṣāhib's *Qaṣīdas* are said to have been preserved in the Berlin Library.¹⁰ A collection of the Ṣāhib's poems named

1. Ibn-Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 79.

2. *Mu'jam al-Udaba*, Vol. I, 315, *Bughyat-al-Wu'at*, p. 197.

3. *Kashf az-Zunun*, Vol. V, p. 43, and ibn-Khallikān, Vol. p. 79.

4. See Egyptian Library, Catalogue, latest edition, 1926, Vol. II.

5. For this information I am indebted to Prof. A. al-Maimany of Aligarh.

6. See *al-Fihrist*, Cairo edition, p. 184, *Kashf az-Zunun*, Vol. V, p. 20.

7. *History of the Arabic Literature* by George Zaidan, Vol. II, p. 275.

8. *Mu'jam al-Udaba*, Vol. II., p. 315, *Bughyat al-wu'at*, p. 197, *Kashf az-Zunun*, Vol., III, p. 289.

9. See Catalogue of Ayasofia Library, Turkish edition, 1304.

10. *History of the Arabic Literature* by George Zaidan, Vol. II, p. 275. See also ZDMG, 64, 511, As. 3953, 4-

Dīwān us-Şāhib is preserved also in the Aşafiya Library, Hyderabad-Dn., bound with the *Qaṣīda-Burdah* and other poems.¹ MS. No. 1111: It was copied from an original by the scribe 'Abdullāh b. Ibrāhīm, in 1172 A.H. in the city of "Daurān al-Ḥuṣain. The *Dīwān's* pages are numbered from 77 to 133. Al-Qūbāiy al-Iṣfahāniy mentions that aṣ-Şāhib composed ten thousand verses in praise of the members of the Prophet's family and in disparagement of their enemies.² But the collection in the Aşafiya Library contains only the following *Qaṣīdas* and poems which begin with the lines :—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (١٤) اذا تراخى مديحي آل يسينا | (١) لقد رحلت سعدى فهل لك مسعد |
| (١٨) حب على شرف | (٢) قالت أبا القاسم استخففت بالغزل |
| (١٩) بلغت نفسي مناها | (٣) لوقيل للمجير المعتوه أن له |
| (٢٠) شيب بغير اوانه يعتاد | (٤) قولاً امن بصير الاجيار مجتهدا |
| (٢١) المجد اجمع ما حوته يميني | (٥) حمدا لرب جل عن نديد |
| (٢٢) ومن عفون بذى الارك | (٦) ما لعلى العلا أشاه |
| (٢٣) أمارأيت الدمع مسجوما | (٧) لاح لعينيك الطال |
| (٢٤) مالى أرى قوما اذا سمعوا | (٨) كم نعمة لله سوفورة |
| (٢٥) الشيب ينشر عمرا ثم يطويه | (٩) ياغر الاعذاره كالطراز |
| (٢٦) انى بحب محمد و وصيه | (١٠) احب النبى و آل النبى |
| (٢٧) قد ظل يجرح صدرى | (١١) حدق الحسان رهينى بتململ |
| (٢٨) يا وصل مالك لاتعاود | (١٢) يازائرا سائرا الى الكوفة |
| (٢٩) يا ساربا قد نهضا | (١٣) بازائرا سائرا الى طوس |
| (٣٠) الف امير المومنين على | (١٤) بحب على يزول الشكوك |
| (٣١) أنامن شيعة الرضى | (١٥) حب على بن ابى طالب |
| (٣٢) مشيب عراه لويدوم مشيب | (١٦) ما بال علوه لاترد جوابى |

There are only four *Qaṣīdas* which express aṣ-Şāhib's admiration of God's unity and God's justice (العدل و التوحيد), and all the others are addressed to the Prophet and to the members of his family. It is said that aṣ-Şāhib composed several *Qaṣīdas*, each of which was devoid of a letter of the alphabet,³ but in the anthology under reference, there are but two such *Qaṣīdas*. In the following *Qaṣīda* the author says that he composed it omitting the letter (الف). It begins with :

قد ظل يجرح صدرى من ليس يعدهو فكرى

and ends with :

كوفى خذها فطبعى | قد زف درة بحر | تمت على حذف حرف | تدور فى كل ذكر
بدفعة لم تيسر | بغير طبعى و فكرى | و معجزى مستمر | فى سد نظمى و نثرى (الخ)

1. See *Catalogue of Aşafiya Library*. 2. *Risalat al-Irshād*, p. 25. 3. *Yatima*, Vol. III, p. 223.

4. In the *Dīwān*, aṣ-Şāhib, MS., p. 122; it is so; it may be (فى سرد . . . الخ)

Another Qaṣīda, in which subjunctives and the letter (السين) are omitted, commences with the couplet :— يا وصل مالك لاتعاود * يا هجر مالك لاتباعد
and concludes with these lines :

يا أيها الكوفي هـ * ذى غرة بين القصائد
ورحمت اخت الشين من
اور دتها ترمى النوا * صب للصوائب والصوارد
ها عن طلاب أخ معاند (الخ)

There is another type of Qaṣīda of which Ath-Tha'ālibī (the biographer) makes no mention. Every half-verse of this Qaṣīda begins with a letter of the alphabet. To exemplify the type we quote the whole Qaṣīda below :

ظاء ظلام الشك عنه زائل	الف أمير المؤمنين على
عين عرين اسوده فحوى	بائه ركن اليقين قوى
غين غرار حسامه حتف العدا	تاء توى اعداءه بحسامه
فاء فسيح راحتين سخي	ثاء ثوى حيث السالك مضى
قاف قفا طرق النبي المصطفى	جيم جرى فى خير اسباق العلا
كاف كريم المنتمى قرشى	حاء حوى العلماء وهو صبى
لام لقاح الحرب محروس الذرا	حاء خبت حساده من خوفه
ميم منبع الجانيين تقى	دال درى مالم يحن انسى
نون نقى الجيب مرفوع البناء	ذال ذؤابة مجده فوق السها
واو وصى المصطفى المهدي	راء روى فخاره علوى
هاء هدية ربه لنبيه	زاء زوى وجه الضلالة سيفه
ياء يقيم الدين وهو رضى	سين سويل يقينه مرضى
اهدى ابن عباد اليه هذه	شين شاء أيدى المجارى سبقه
غراء لم يفتن بها شيعى	صاد صراط الدين منه سوى
يرجو بها حسن الشفاعة عنده	ضاد ضياء شموسه نور الورا
حسن الولاء موحد عدلى	طاء طريق علومه نبوى
العروس بديهة	ابرزتها مثل
فليبتدر لنشيد ها الكوفى 1	

Besides these Qaṣīdas, there are a few miscellaneous couplets on wine, love, and ethical subjects such as on learning, generosity, contentment, envy, greed, back-biting, etc.

4. Ibn 'Abbād kept a *Diary* (روزنامه) too, like our modern politicians. It appears to have been highly interesting to his contemporaries. It would have been more so to us if it had survived longer than the author's time. A few extracts from this work quoted in *Yatīma* and *Mu'jam al-Udābā* bring to light many a social, cultural, or educational aspects of

1. *Diwān, as-Ṣāhib*, pp. 183-125.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-128.

those days. For example, the chapter on al-Muhallabī quoted in *Yatīma* makes us fully familiar with the character of al-Muhallabī and of his associates in his social gatherings.¹ Similarly, the passage which describes Abū-Sa'īd as-Sirafiy's teachings in the presence of aṣ-Şāḥib gives us an idea of the general level of culture prevalent in his time.²

5. That ibn 'Abbād was a man of science as well is proved by his *Treatise on Medicine*: it deals with the causes and effects of indigestion. Regarding this thesis Abū-Ja'far at-Ṭabariy says that had the great physicians like ibn-Qurra and ibn Zakariya read it, they could not have added anything to what it already contained.³ It is a standing testimony to aṣ-Şāḥib's great versatility.

6. *Al-Iqnā' fi-al-'Arūd*.⁴ Yāqūt calls it *Kitāb-al-'Arūd al-Kāfi*.⁵ It is a work on prosody in Arabic. It is found inserted in a collection of works in the Egyptian Library MS. No. 2 (ش),⁶ and a fine MS. of this work, dated 559 A.H., exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

7. We have referred to aṣ-Şāḥib's severe criticism of the great poet al-Mutanabbī. These are contained in the brochure called *Kitāb al-Kashf 'an Musāwi Shi'r al-Mutanabbī* (exposition of the defects of Mutanabbī's poetry). It was published by Maktabat-al-Qudsi of Cairo in 1349 A.H.

8. Ibn 'Abbād's *Kitāb-al-Imāmah* has not survived the ravages of time. It was a treatise on a controversial subject of faith. Aṣ-Şāḥib advocated the Tafdīliya doctrine in a modified form. Ibn-an-Nadīm (d. 385), a contemporary of his, mentions that aṣ-Şāḥib in that book dealt with the superiority of Amīr-al-Mu'minīn 'Alīy-ibn-Abī-Ṭālib and yet confirmed the 'Imāmat of his predecessors.⁷ (يذكر فيه تفضيل اميرالمؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب وتثبيت امامته من تقدمه)

Yāqūt, ibn-Khallikān and Hājī Khalfa concur with ibn-an-Nadīm in saying practically the same thing concerning this work.⁸ In the *Risālat-al-Irshād* occurs this misleading quotation *كتاب الامامة ذكر فيه تفضيل علي بن ابي طالب*⁹ and *Kitāb-al-Imāmah*: in which is mentioned superiority of 'Alī-b.-Abī Ṭālib; Peace be on him! and confirmation of his Imāmat. It is ascribed to ibn-Khallikān, which is not correct. The

1. See *Yatīma*, Vol. III, p. 11-14.

2. *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 323.

3. See *Yatīma*, Vol. II, p. 42.

4. *Kashf az-Zunūn*, Vol. I, p. 386.

5. *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 316.

6. See Catalogue of Egyptian Library and E.G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, p. 374 ed. 1902.

7. See *al-Fihrist*, p. 194; ibn-Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 79, *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 316; *Kashf*, Vol. V, p. 212.

8. *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 315; ibn-Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 79; *Kashf az-Zunūn*, Vol. V, p. 51.

9. *Risālat-al-Irshād*, p. 30.

accurate wording of ibn-Khallikān is وكتاب الامامة يذكر فيه فضائل علي بن ابي طالب اعليه الصلوة والسلام و يثبت امامة من تقدمه

9. *Kitāb-al- Wuzarā*. Hājī Khalfa² mentions this as *Akḥbār al-Wuzurā*. It seems to have existed till Yāqūt's time, since he says the book of Viziers is fine: كتاب الوزراء نظيف.³

10. *Al-Jamhara fi-'al-Lughā*. Aṣ-Ṣāḥib is said to have summarized this lexicon and named it *al-Jauhara*.⁴

We must now content ourselves with giving below a bare list of other works of our talented author :—

11. *Kitāb al'A'yād*.⁵

12. *Fadā'il an-Nauroz*.⁶

13. *Diwān-u-Rasā'ilīhi* in ten volumes.⁷ Hājī Khalfa mentions that it was arranged in 15 chapters.⁸

14. *Kitāb Mukḥtaṣar 'Asmā' allāh-at-Ta'āla-wa-Ṣifātihi*.⁹

15. *Kitāb-az-Zaidiyya*.¹⁰

16. *Kitāb-al-'Unwān-al-Ma'ārif fi-t-'Tārīkh*.¹¹

17. *Kitāb Naqd-l-'Arūd*.¹²

18. *Kitāb Nahj-aṣ-Ṣāḥib fī-al-'Uṣūl*.¹²

19. *Kitāb Akḥbār Abi'l'Ainā*.¹²

20. *Kitāb Tārīkh-al-Mulūk-wa-Ikhtilāf-ad-Duwal*.¹²

21. *Kitāb az-Zaidīn*.¹²

We regret to find that most of the above-mentioned works are not extant but the list which we have been able to make bears ample testimony to aṣ-Ṣāḥib's versatile scholarship and encyclopædic knowledge.

Aṣ-Ṣāḥib is also said to have been a great master of prosody and poetic composition. He successfully vied with contemporary poets in versi-

1. Ibn-Khallikān, Iran edition, Vol. I, p. 79.

2. *Kaṣḥf az-Zunūn*, Vol. I, p. 191.

3. *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 315.

4. *Kaṣḥf az-Zunūn* Vol. II, pp. 630-652; *Mu'jam al-Udaba*, Vol. II, p. 316; *Bughyat al-Wu'āl*, 197.

5. *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 315; *Kaṣḥf az-Zunūn*, Vol. V, p. 46., ibn-Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 79.

6. *Kaṣḥf az-Zunūn*, Vol. IV, 452; *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 315; ibn-Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 79, *al-Fihrist*, p. 194.

7. *Mu'jam*, Vol. II, p. 315.

8. *Kaṣḥf az-Zunūn*, Vol. III, p. 459; *al-Fihrist*, 194.

9. *al-Fihrist*, p. 194; *Mu'jam*, Vol. II, p. 316, ibn-Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 79; *Kaṣḥf az-Zunūn*, Vol. V, p. 41.

10. *al-Fihrist*, p. 194; *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 315.

11. *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 316.

12. See *Mu'jam al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 31-516.

fiction. Let us see in what he excelled as a wit and a poet. To begin with aṣ-Ṣāḥib combined in himself all the good characteristics of a prose-writer (كاتب) as well as of a poet, and he could exercise at will the functions of the one or the other with marvellous facility. He could write rhymed prose with as much ease as he could compose poems quite *extempore*. But compared with his rhymed prose, which is usually somewhat grandiloquent, his diction in verse is quite simple and sweet. His metaphors and similes are often amusing. His lyric or short poems of love, if their sentiments had not been merely assumed, would show that in his youth he must have been a perfect libertine. His amorous poems addressed to the beardless boys¹ indicate that aṣ-Ṣāḥib was as lyrically witty and licentious as the famous Abū-Nūwās, the lyric and bacchic poet *par excellence* of the 'Abbāsīd Court. This fact is further confirmed from his diary, where it is written that he once took part in the revelries of the Vizier Al-Muhallabī, drank wine, and enjoyed the company of a songstress all night long.²

Apart from the eulogies based on hackneyed principles commonly adopted by the poets of his days, aṣ-Ṣāḥib has used novel methods in the *Nasīb* or introductory verses of the *Qaṣīdas*. Contrary to the old way of weeping at the '*atlāl*' (ruins) or describing the hardships suffered by the poet on his way to his patron, aṣ-Ṣāḥib begins some of his *Qaṣīdas* with an imaginary conversation between himself and his lady-love in the following manner.³

(٥) قالت ابنة فاني جد سامعة	(١) قالت أبا القاسم استخففت بالغزل
فقلت كيف اجتمع الشيب والغزل	فقلت ماذا من همي ولاشغلي
(٦) قالت وكيف اقتضاك الشيب ترك هوى	(٢) قالت اريد اعتذرا منك تظهره
فقلت في الشيب ادناء من الاجل	فقلت عذرا وماخشى من العذل
(٧) قالت فما اخترت من دين تفوز به	(٣) قالت ألح على تكرير مسالتي
فقلت اني شيعي و معتزلي	فقلت ما أنا عن رأي بذي حول
(٨) قالت اقلدت ام قد دنت عن نظر	(٤) قالت اريد رشادا منك اتبعه
فقلت كلا فاني واحد الجدل	فقلت سمعا فان الرشيد من قبلي

In another *Qaṣīda* he begins by describing how, after the departure of his lady-love, he spent his time in solitude observing the rising and the setting of the stars during nights and attending to the sights and songs of nature during days. This description very artfully and artistically leads to the "turning" called *التخلص* or *حسن الخروج* in Arabic or *گریز* in Persian where the poet

1. See *Yatima*, Vol. III, pp. 88-95.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 13 and 14.

3. *Dīwān*, aṣ-Ṣāḥib, MS., p. 81.

tactfully turns to explain his motif as in the following verses :—

- | | |
|---|---|
| (١٢) فلما رأيت انماء يجرى تسلسلا
ظننت سيوف الهند فيه تجرد | (١) لقد رحلت سعدى فهل لك مسعد
وقد انجذت علوى فهل لك منجد |
| (١٣) وشاهدت انواع الرياحين تجتلى
فيجلى بها برد قشيب معمد | (٢) لقدبت ارجوالطيب منها يزورنى
وكيف يزور الطيف من ليس يرقد |
| (١٤) فا حضرها يحكيه عضد موشم
و احمرها يحكيه خذ مورد | (٣) رعيت بطرفى النجم لآ رايته
تباعد بعد النجم بل هي ابعاد |
| | (٤) تنبير الثريا وهي قرط مسلسل
وان كر فيها الطرف در سبد |
| (١٥) واطربني صوت الحمام بينها
وقد طربت بين الغصون تغرد | (٥) وتعرض الجوزاء وهي ككاعب
تماند من سكرانها وهي تميد |
| (١٦) هنالك تنسى الموصلى وزلزل
و يعبدها من طيبة الشد و معبد | (٦) وتحسبها طورا اسير جناية
ترخ عند المشى و هو مقيد |
| (١٧) هنالك عازبا المدامة سادة
اولى مكرمات ساعدونى فاسعد | (٧) ولاح سهيل و هو للصبح راقب
فشوهده منه طرف باك مسهد |
| | (٨) اردد عيني في النجوم كا نها
دنانير لكن الساء زبرجد |
| (١٨) يتاولينها ساحر الطرف أهيف
أنا مله من شدة اللين تعقد | (٩) رايته بها والصبح ما حان ورده
قناديل والخضراء صرح سمد |
| | (١٠) وقيد لنا من سرباط الخيل اشقر
اذا ما جرى كالريح يكيو ويركد |
| (١٩) وان سجدا لبريق للكس عنوة
فحن له من شدة الحب نسجد | (١١) وطرف على بسط الرياض انيقه
وانهارها اعلامها تتمرد |
| | |
| (٢٠) ساوضح نوح الحق ان كان سامع
وارشد من يصغى الى و يرشد | |

The style and sentiments of these Qaṣīdas suggest that they were written on the Persian model. Not only these two Qaṣīdas but also the panegyrics which aṣ-Ṣāhib wrote to glorify his patrons (*viz.*, ibn al-'Amīd, Mu'ayyad-ad-Dowla and 'Aḍad-ad-Dowla)² sound quite like Persian Qaṣīdas. There is the same continuity of thought and logical connection between the series of his verses as is found in the Persian *Mathnawī*. For example, welcoming the arrival of ibn al-'Amīd to Iṣfahān our poet says :—

- | | |
|---|--|
| (٣) و كما تما الا فلاك طوع يمينه
كا لعبد متقادا لالك رقه | (١) قدم الرئيس مقدما في سبقه
و كما تما الدنيا جرت في طرقه |
| (٤) قد قاسمته نجومها فنحوسها
لعدوه و سعودها في افقه | (٢) فنجبالها من حلمه و جبارها
من جوده و رياضها من خلقه |

1. *Dīwān*, as-Ṣāhib, MS., p. 1.

2. *Yatīma*, Vol. III, p. 6, 99, and 100.

(٥) ما زلت مشتاقا لنور جبينه | شوق الرياض الى السحاب وودقه
 (٦) حتى بدا من فوق اجرد ساج | ان قال فت للريح فاه بصدقه
 (٧) فتظمت مدحا لا وفاء بمثله
 و سجدت شكرا لا نهوض بحقه 1

The small poems, or rather poetical pieces, composed by aṣ-Ṣāḥib either to applaud his friends or to deprecate his foes are similar to his Qaṣīdas in ideas and sentiments.²

But his style in the odes, addressed by him to the members of the Prophet's family, is peculiarly pleasing. The religious feelings and emotions of aṣ-Ṣāḥib swell and rise to the fullest height possible. They present his scholastic tendencies and expose the working of his logical mind in religious controversies. He would not impair his panegyrics with gross exaggerations. Neither would he indulge in empty bombast in his desire to glorify his hero, were he the Khalif 'Aliy himself. For example, he relates historical events in which the greatest and bravest hero of Islam and the fourth Orthodox Khalif played an important role and in the light of these events he points out the status which the Khalif 'Aliy enjoyed among the Companions of the Prophet. The salient points which he often discusses in such odes are :—

1. Khalif 'Aliy was the first of all the Companions to embrace Islam, and he was by appointment the executor of the Prophet's will.
2. He risked his life and slept in the bed of the Prophet when his enemies had encircled his house to murder him.
3. He is unequalled in religious as well as worldly lore, according to the Prophet's saying : " I am the city of learning and 'Aliy is its gate."
4. There was none like 'Aliy in piety, munificence, and knowledge of law, as it was truly said of him that (لولا على هلكنا في فتاونا) , " if there had been no 'Aliy we should have blundered in our legal judgements." See the verse of aṣ-Ṣāḥib in MS. *Dīwān*, p. 109.
5. He had no rival in bravery, proofs of which were observed in the battles of 'Uḥad, Badr, Aḥzāb, Khaibar, al-Jamal and Nahrawān (in the last of which he defeated 'Amr, surnamed the Bold).
6. None could vie with him in patience, an example of which was the day at Ṣiffīn when all his army had deserted him.
7. Nobody can equal his greatness, because the Prophet fraternized with him and gave him the position which was enjoyed by Hārūr. (Aaron) in regard to Moses, and futhermore the Prophet gave his dearest daughter Fātimat az-Zahrā' in marriage to him.
8. The Prophet's alleged appointment of 'Aliy as his successor

1. *Yatima*, Vol. III, p. 6.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 97, 98, 104, 105, 107 and see Vol. II, p. 100.

at Ghadir-al-Khumm according to a Shi'ite Tradition which asserts that the Prophet declared : Aliy is also master of whomsoever I am master.

9. It was on his account only that the Prophet caused the sun to remain in the horizon without setting.

10. The Khalif, Aliy collected the Qur'an and interpreted it in the best possible manner. The verses in which the above facts are mentioned are :—

قالت فمن ذا غدا باب المدينة قل
فقلت من سالوه العلم لم يسئل
قالت فمن ساد في يوم الغدير ابن
فقلت من صار للاسلام خير ولى
قالت فمن قاتل الاقوام اذ نكثوا
فقلت تفسيره في وقعة الجمل
قالت فمن حارب الانجاس اذ قسطوا
فقلت صفين بيدي صفحة العمل
(الخ - ديوان الصاحب صفحه ٨٣)

هل مثل فعلك في يوم الفرائش وقد
فديت بالروح ختام النبينا
هل مثل سبتك في الاسلام ان عرفوا
وهذه الخصلة الغراء تكفيها
هل مثل علمك ان زكوا وان وهبوا
وقد هديت كما اصبحت تهدينا
هل مثل سيفك في يوم الضراب وقد
دارت رحا الحرب تجديعا و توهينا
هل مثل فعلك في بدر وقد حشمت
نفس الوغى و أسالت سيلها حيننا
هل مثل جمعك للقرآن تعرفه
لفظا و معنا و تاويلا و تبينا
هل مثل عزك في يوم الغدير وقد
حصلته سابقا كل المجارينا
هل مثل كونك هارون النبي وقد
شاءت بالقرب اصناف المبارينا
(الخ - ديوان الصاحب صفحه ١٠٩)

فسا بقة الاسلام قد سلمت له
سوى أمة من بغضه تتقدد
وقد جاهد الاعداء ندا وعوده
وكان سواه في القتال يفرد
هو البدر في هيباء بدر وغيره
فرائضه من ذكره السيف ترعد
وكم خبر في خبير قد رويتم
و لكنكم مثل النعام تشرد
وفي أحد ولى الرجال وسيفه
تسود وجه الكفر وهو يسود
ويوم حين حن للفر بعضكم
و صارمه غضب الفرار مهند
(الخ - إنظر ديوان الصاحب صفحه ٨١)

قالت فمن بات من فوق الفرائش فدا
فقلت أثبت خلق الله في الوهل
قالت فمن ذا الذى واخاه عن مقه
فقلت من جاز رد الشمس في الطفل
قالت فمن زوج الزهراء فاطمة
فقلت افضل من حاف و منتعل

قالت فمن فاز في بدر لمفخرها
فقلت اضرب خلق الله للقلل
قالت فمن سار يوم الروع في أحد
فقلت من هالهم ناسا ولم يهل
قالت فمن فارس الاحزاب يفرسها
فقلت قاتل عمرو الضيغم البطل

These poems were composed *extempore* probably with a view to their being sung by aṣ-Ṣāḥib's favourite singers al-Kūfiy and al-Makkiy, whom he often asks to sing or recite in the terminal lines of his Odes.¹ In them and in similar verses the arguments listed above regarding Khalif 'Alīy's superiority are repeated to such an extent as to make them quite monotonous. This may be due partly to the poet's intense love for 'Alīy and partly to the uncontrollable feelings aroused by his vast study of the religious literature. There is not the least doubt that aṣ-Ṣāḥib was a sincere adherent of the Prophet and his family; and he held them in so great a regard and reverence that he says: ²

1. I love the Prophet and his family because I am born (the real son of my father) according to the laws of nature. أحب النبي وآل النبي لاني ولدت على الفطرة اذا شك في ولد والد فآيته البغض للعترة

2. Should a father doubt if a child of his was really his own, the surest sign (for his doubt) would be that that child hated his (reputed father's) family (and descendants).

Such sentiments were certainly deep rooted in his heart, for he says:

If they (the people) could search my heart, they would find (grafted) in its midst (nothing but) two lines unwritten by the hands of any mortal: (one line being) "the love of 'Alīy ibn-Abī-Ṭālib (by me)," (and the other) "the love of my master Abī-Ṭālib (for me)."

His enthusiasm for the love of 'Alīy is further intensified in the following verses.

It is the love of 'Alīy ibn-Abī-Ṭālib that leads to Paradise. Hell is made very hot for those who hate him ('Alīy). None can keep them from its fire.⁴ حب على بن ابى طالب هو الذى يهدى الى الجنة والنار تصلى لذوى بغضة فإلهم من دونه جنة والحمد لله على انى من أوالى وله المنة ان كان تفضيلى له بدعة فلعنة الله على سنة

And all praise be to God that I am among those who have sworn allegiance to 'Alīy. And this is the bounty of God.

If my faith in the fact that 'Alīy was superior to all other Companions of the Prophet, be a deviation (from the path of established tradition, I do not care it). I would rather let the curse of God fall on such a tradition established though it be.

This love of the Khalif 'Alīy in aṣ-Ṣāḥib sometimes led him to exceed the limits of decency, and he then did not scruple to abuse downright those

1. See last lines of the *Qaṣīdas* in *Diwān*, aṣ-Ṣāḥib MS., Aṣafiya.

2. *Diwān*, aṣ-Ṣāḥib, MS., 97.

3. *Yatīma*, Vol. III, p. 98.

4. *Diwān*, aṣ-Ṣāḥib, p. 104, and *Yatīma*, Vol. III, p. 106.

whom he believed to be the opponents of his beloved Commander of the Faithful (امير المؤمنين). The main targets of his curses were Banu'l Ḥarb (literally meaning "children of war"), viz., Mu'āwiyah and his family, of whom he says:—

If I would not go to war against the warring Ḥarbis (of the house of Ḥarb) then let my forefathers disown me as their descendant.

ان لم اكن حربا لحرب كلها
فنهاني الابهاء والا جداد
ن لم أتابع لعنها فترك

If I ever cease to anathematize them let it then be considered that I have renounced I'tezāl (Mu'tazila belief)—and to renounce it is heresy in itself.

ت دين الاعتزال وتركه الحاد

Aṣ-Ṣāhib works himself into a rage as if he was a mad man whenever the name of Mu'āwiyah is mentioned, as in the following verses.²

لعنت امية انها	اهل الضلال لئوالافاك	سلبت بنات محمد	وستورهارهن انتهاك
قد حاربت خيرالورا	والدين مذحجوه شاكي	يا ليتني في كربلاء	انوح اذا بكت البواكي
وتعمدواقتل الحسين	فناظر الاسلام باك	هذا و لو شاهدتها	لو هبت روجي للمهلاك

It seems to me that the centre of gravity of the whole weight of his anger and opposition was the actual fact that the Khilafat was usurped by Mu'āwiyah. As an instance we may quote:—

And all people are blind (inconsiderate).³ (How could) a blind man come out without a guiding leader ?

وعمي رجال كلهم
ما كان يشتغل ابن هند
اعمى يجنى بغير قائد؟
دلل للخلافة وهو حامد

Ibn-Hind (Mu'āwiyah) could not have aspired to the Khilafat, if he had been grateful (or obedient to God and his Prophet).

The real cause of all disputes, intrigues, and wars was what may be called "the clannishness of the Arab race." Every Arab quite unconsciously thought of his own clan (قبيله) first of all and put it before his country and even before his religion. Mu'āwiyah was of Banu-Ḥarb and Ḥaḍrat 'Alīy was of Banu-Hāshim. That was the prime cause of quarrel between the members and followers of the two clans. This reason could hardly be understood by the people in those days; but our poet-politician had understood it clearly, as he was of the opinion that the claim of Ḥaḍrat 'Alīy to the Khilāfat was made an object of dispute owing to the enmity which the leaders of the opposing clans had concealed in their hearts for a long time ever since, if not even before, the assassination of Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān. The verses in which these views are expressed are:—⁴

By God, they (people) would | حق على الايام خالد | والله ما ججدوه عن

1. *Diwān*, aṣ-Ṣāhib, MS., p. 116.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

4. *Ibid.*, MS., p. 105.

not have denied his ('Alīy's) claim (to the Khilāfat)—a claim which will for ever remain an established fact, except for the reason that they concealed age-old enmities and hatred in their hearts.

Again he says :—

فتقول لم يسلم ولم يؤمن ولم يعصم بحبل في اليقين متين	هاتا امية راجعت نار اتها فيها بشمل ضلالها الموضوعون
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Further, in the following verses the poet-statesman says that even the Abbāsids followed in the footsteps of the Umayyads and perpetrated all sorts of cruelties and oppressions against the Ahl-al-Bait (the people of the house of the Prophet).

آل الهدى من بين مقتول وما سور وسموم الى مسجون والله يعزى الظالمين بناه كي يعلموا الانباء بعد الحين ¹	فاذا بنو العباس تحذو حذو ها فاسال عن المنصور أو هارون واسال ولا يغروك ما قد لبسوا اولدلسوا من قصة المامون
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Whether such condemnation of both the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids for their severe treatment of the Fātimids called *Sādāts* is just or not, we leave it to the reader to judge for himself. But we would point out the most striking feature of all his sectarian and other arguments. Throughout his *Dīwān* there is not a single line that casts any serious reflection on the first three Khilāfs (Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṭhmān) although there are some indirect references to them as in the following verses :—

وأوصى الى خير الرجال ابن عمه وان ناصب الاعداء فيه فيجاهدوا هل مثل عزك في يوم الغديرو قد حصاته سابقا كل المجارينا	قالت فمن بعده (البنى) يصفى الولاء له قلت الوصى الذى أربا على زحل قالت فهل أحد في الفضل يقدمه فقلت هل هضبة توفى على جبل هل مثل فتواك اذا قالوا مجاهرة لولا على هلكننا في فتاونا ²
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Such references as are found in the above-verses are in no way disrespectful, much less insulting. They indicate simply the superiority of 'Alīy in certain particular attainments only. Aş-Şāhib's book *Kitāb-al-Imāma* shows that he as a devout Muslim did not differentiate between Church and State—between Khilāfat (a political and legal office) and Imāmat (a social and religious portfolio)—because he is therein mentioned as having confirmed the Imamat of the first three Khilāfs also. Of course, our erudite scholar believed Ḥaḍrat 'Alī to be a more suitable dignitary than any of his contemporaries for the exercise of the high function of the Khilāfat or Imāmat. Yet he probably thought that the

1. *Dīwān aş-Şāhib*, MS. p. 117.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-88 and 109.

3. *Ibid.*, MS., p. 123.

qualifications which Muslims required in their Khalifs were much below the standard which the great cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet had inherited and acquired. It was perhaps this sentiment of admiration and reverence that made him go so far as to sing :—

و محله فوق الامامة
لو يرى للفضل ناقد
And his ('Alī's) position (status)
would be seen to be even above that
(required) for the Imāmat could any
critical judge (examine and see) his abilities and attainments.

But the entire absence of anything indicating any grudge against the Orthodox Khalifs in the poems of one who was a leading missionary of the Shī'a creed,¹ leads us to believe that aṣ-Ṣāhib and his followers had no objection to the office of the Khilāfat having been filled by the Khalifs, Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān successively. This belief finds support in the above-mentioned book entitled *Kitāb-al-Imāma*, of which aṣ-Ṣāhib himself was the author. According to all bibliographers it dealt with not only the superior qualifications of 'Alī-ibn-Abī-Tālib but also with the ratification or authentication of the Imāmat of his ('Alī's) predecessors.² Unfortunately this highly important work of ibn-'Abbād, the Tafdīlī Shī'a, has not come down to us. But its subject-matter as described in the bibliographies clearly explains the belief held by him regarding the vexed question of Khilāfat. If what we are told of that book's contents be correct—and we have no reason to suppose otherwise—then it was the opinion of aṣ-Ṣāhib that each of the four Khalifs had equal right by Bay'at—a sort of election—to be the Khalifa or 'Imām according to the Islamic theory of election, nevertheless 'Alī was much more competent to hold and exercise the office than any of his predecessors. Ibn-'Abbād understood quite well what the general public of his time did not understand, viz., that to have a legal right to hold an office was one thing and to be competent or fit to hold it was quite another. He therefore scrupulously abstained from abusing the first three Khalifas, but that did not prevent him from abusing Mu'āwiyah downright. The poems of aṣ-Ṣāhib give us the impression that to him Mu'āwiyah's struggle with Ḥadrat 'Alī for the Khilāfat was a grave scandal and treason, and therefore that usurper deserved every curse and imprecation. To the objection of the Kharijites who held that 'Alī, the duly elected Khalif, should not have resigned and should not have consented to arbitration by any one in regard to the claims of Mu'āwiyah himself to the Khilāfat, aṣ-Ṣāhib's answer and justification was :—

1. In *Risālat-al-Irshād*, p. 31, is mentioned :—

و بالجمله تشیع صاحب ابن عباد و اهتمام او در ترویج مذهب عدل و توحید غایت اشتهار دارد تا آنکه اهل اصفهان مذهب تشیع را باو نسبت میدادند.

See also *Yāqūt*, Vol. II, p. 300.

2. See aṣ-Ṣāhib's works on pages 191 and 192.

He ('Alīy) was entrusted with the affairs of the people whom he (out of sheer love) would not desert.¹ تولى امور الناس لم يستقلهم
ألا ربما يرتاب من يتقلد

Yet he who takes great responsibilities upon himself very often doubts (his ability to discharge them).

Hence it was that Ḥaḍrat 'Alī consented to arbitration out of love and modesty and not weakness. Thus concerning the vexed and much disputed question of the Khilāfat, the doctrine of aṣ-Şāḥib was quite unlike the popular doctrines that obtained ordinary Shī'as.

Let us now turn to his Mu'tazilite beliefs. In one of his Qaṣīdas, aṣ-Şāḥib declares :—

She asked me what religion I had chosen to gain salvation قالت فما اخترت من دين تفوز به

So I answered : " I am a Shī'te as well as a Mu'tazilite " (the Party of Unity and Justice).
In another Qaṣīda, aṣ-Şāḥib says :—

" Praise be to Providence who has no rival and who is beyond the shortcomings of (His) creatures. حمد الرب جل عن نديد
وجل عن قبائح العبيد

I believe in His unity and justice and I trust in His promise as much as I fear his warnings. أدينه بالعدل والتوحيد
والصدق فى الوعد والوعيد³

Regarding the existence of God and His Unity he asserts :—

والصنع لا بد له من صانع	جميع ما يشهده مولف	مركب منوع مصنف
والتمايم بلا منازع	وفيه للصنع دليل يعرف	لانه مدبر مصرف
وماله مثل من الامثال	ما بين ماء الظهر من دافع	حتى يكون منه حى ناطق
علا وجل غاية التعالى	فها هنا قد زلت الخلائق	وعز ذو العرش القديم الخالق
عزفا تدركه الابصار	ثم اختلاف الليل و النهار	ومخرج الفروس و الاشجار
ولاله كيف ولا استقرار	ومهبط الثلوج و الامطار	جميع ذامن صنعة الجبار
كان ولا عرش ولا مكان	بل هو الرب المليك الماجد	
الصد الفرد العزيز الواحد	العالم الذات القدير الذات	
يرى بلا عين و لا آلات ⁴		

These facts are described in another Qaṣīda as follows :—

ومن كان تخفيه فانى مظهر ساوضح نهج الحق ان كان سامع
ومن لم يجرده فانى مجرد وارشد من يصفى الى ويرشد

1. *Diwān, aṣ-Şāḥib, MS.*, p. 18.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 86-87.

وآخر قال الله جسم مجسم
ولم يدر ان الجسم شئ محدد
وان الذى قدح لابد محدث
اذا ميز الامر اللبيب الموثد
لقد زعموا ما ليس يعدوه مشرك
وقد اثبتوا ما ليس يحطوه ملحد
وقلنا بان الله لا شئ مثله
هو الواحد الفرد العلى الممجد
هو العالم الذات الذى ليس محوجا
الى العلم والاعلام تبدو وتشهد¹

Further, in a dialogue he recites:—

قالت و ما ضر لوائتته جسدا
فقلت لانوجد الاجسام فى الازل
قالت فما القول فى القرآن سقه لنا
فقلت ذاك كلام الله أين تلى
قالت فاين دليل الخلق فيه أين
فقلت تركيبه من أحرف الجمل²

ومن كان بالتشبيه و الجبر دانيا
فانى فى التوحيد والعدل أوجد
انزه رب الخلق عن حد خلقه
وقد راع راوفى الصفات وسند
فهذا يقول الله يهوى و يصعد
وهذا لديه الله من كان أمرد
تبارك رب المرد والشيب انهم
لاكفر من فرعون فيه واعند
وأخر قال العرش يفضل قدره
و أوهم ان الله جسم مجسد

قالت فهل صانع ندعوا اليه أجب
فقلت لابد قولاً غير ذى ميل
قالت فهل هو ذو شبه وذو مثل
فقلت قد جل عن شبه وعن مثل
قالت ابن لى أجسم ذاك ام عرض
فقلت بل خالق الجنسين فانقل

The sum-total of the doctrines stated in the above verses is: "That this highly organized and very systematic universe manifests the existence of its Creator, and the perfect order that prevails in it denotes that there can be but one God, who has no rival and who is neither an accident nor a substance. No one can see Him face to face. It is entirely beyond the powers of the human intellect to comprehend His nature. God sees and hears without the help of any instrument. The Qur'ān is the word of Allāh and is a created word indeed. Muḥammad (peace be upon him!) is the best of the Messengers of Allāh. A miracle for his people is the Qur'ān. It was he who established the true religion (Islam) and guided (men) to the right path of Allah."

The above-mentioned ideas which aṣ-Ṣāhib entertained about the Prophet are expressed in the following lines:—³

قالت فهل معجز وا فى الرسول به
فقلت القرآن وقد اغنى عن الاول⁴

Similarly he says:—

بنى اقام الدين والدين مائل
واوهى قناة الكفر وهى تشدد

قالت فمن صاحب الدين الحنيف أجب
فقلت أحمد خير السادة الرسل

واخلص مدحى للنبي محمد
و ذرية منها النبى محمد

1. *Dīwān*, aṣ-Ṣāhib, MS., pp. 77-81.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-85.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

4. So it is written in the *Dīwān*, it is probably for the sake of metrical necessity that Qur'ān is pronounced Q-rān (قلت القرآن).

فلواه لم يكشف سجايف ضلالة
ولواه لم يعرف من الحق مقصده¹

All these tenets are common to the Mu'tazilites, but aṣ-Ṣāhib's belief in predestination seems to have undergone a change during the course of his long life. His early views about free-will were like those of other Mu'tazilites, viz., that (1) man is the maker of his own actions, (2) God is not the author of evil, and (3) He will not punish His creatures except for actions within their control. These doctrines of aṣ-Ṣāhib found expression in the following verses :—

قالت ولم لا يكون الله خالقها	يقولون ان الله يخلق نية ال 2
ققلت لوكن خلقا لم يكن عمل	2ماتم كلا فهو اعلى و أمجد
قالت أيلزم نفسا غير طاقتها	قالت فاعالنا من ذا يكونها
ققلت حاشاه هذا فعل ذى خبل	ققلت نحن مقالا صين عن خلل
ققلت لوشاءها لم نخش من زلل	قالت يشاء معاصينا و يوثرها

Aṣ-Ṣāhib seems to have so fanatically adhered to these tenets that he says :—

“Slap the fatalist who is pleased with his evil fate !

اصفح المجرى الذى	بقضا السوء قدرضى
فاذا قال لم فعلا	ت فقل هكذا قضى ³

And when he says : Why did you do so ?

Then say ! So it was decreed.

But in the course of time his faith in free-will appears to have dwindled to a vanishing point, as in the following lines :—

I am known to belong in religion to the Party of Justice,

تعرفت بالعدل فى مذهبي	وزان بحب موالى العراق
وكلفت فى الحب ما لم أطق	ققلت بتكليف ما لا يطاق ⁴

While the country of 'Iraq is graced with the presence of Peoples who love my masters ! (Ahl-al Bait).

And I am subjected by this love to such heavy responsibilities that I have been compelled to agree with the doctrine of Fatalism.

Again he seems to say that he began as a believer in Free-will but ended as a Determinist :

For a long time I had been a believer in the freedom of man in his actions.

كنت دهرا	أقول بالاستطاعة
وأرى الجبر ضلة و شناعة	

1. *Dīwān*, MS., p. 81.

2. In the *Dīwān*, aṣ-Ṣāhib, MS., (اتسم). It may be either (الميم or الماتم).

3. *Muḥāḍarāt-al-Udabā*, Vol. II, p. 185.

4. *Risālat al-Irshād*, p. 24.

And I held that Fatalism was wrong and dastardly, فقدت استطاعتى فى هوى ظلم
فى فسمعا للمجبرين وطاعة¹

But since I lost my own will in the love of a damsel,

I have surrendered to the dogmas of the Fatalists.

Here one may advert to an explanation that the lines quoted might have been a mere fancy of the poet's mind in one of its weak and sporting moments, and so they could not represent the actual belief of aṣ-Ṣāhib. But such an explanation cannot fit in with the following verses of poem which was composed solemnly after the astrologer had predicted the signs of the year in which aṣ-Ṣāhib might die. The poem runs as follows :—

O ! Owner of souls and bodies,	وخالق النجوم والاحكام	يامالك الارواح والاجسام
O ! Creator of stars and their portents,	لاالمشترى أرجوه للانعام	مدبر الضياء والظلام
O ! Ruler of light and darkness	وانما النجوم كالاعلام	ولأخاف الضرمين بهرام
I do not ask Jupiter to reward me,	يارب فاحفظنى من الاسقام	والعلم عندالمك العلام
Nor am I afraid of the harm which Mars might do me.	وهجنة الا وزار والآثام	ووقتى حوادث الايام
		هبنى لحب المصطفى المعتام

And verily the stars are nothing but symbols (of probability), و صنوه وآله الكرام²

(Nevertheless) true knowledge lies with the all-knowing Lord only.

O ! lord ! Save me from all ailments

And keep me away from the vicissitudes

Of life and from the weaknesses leading to crimes and 'sins.

Bestow upon me increasing aptitude for loving the Chosen One (the Prophet), his cousin ('Alīy), and his noble family.

It is apparent from the above verses that aṣ-Ṣāhib in his old age had come to the conclusion that God was not only the Creator of souls, bodies and stars, but also of the astrological influences and effects. He believed also that God could save man from committing crimes and sins if He so desired. Thus, the conception of free-will in aṣ-Ṣāhib's mind was so much narrowed down that in his old age he surrenders his will entirely to the will of God and says :—

When the help of one	اذا كان من اجرى الكواكب امره
Who has ordained the motion of the planets is with me,	معينى فإ أخشى صروف الكواكب
I am not afraid of the planetary influences,	عليك أيارب السماء توكلنى فحظنى من شر الخطوب الحوارب ²

In Thee O ! Lord of Heaven, is my trust,

1. *Yatima*, Vol. III, p. 106 and *Risālat al-Irshād*, p. 24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

So protect me from the evil effects of disastrous calamities.

In the lines quoted above, although aṣ-Şāḥib says unconcernedly that he is not afraid of the evil influence of planets and stars, yet he fervently seeks the help and protection of God against the evils caused by them. It is evident that he did not deny the reality of planetary influence on man's actions. In other words he admits that there are certain objects in heaven which not only are beyond human control but also have power to interfere with the freedom of man's will. He therefore appears in his later poems more like an advocate of the theory of Fatalism than like a supporter, as he is generally held to be, of the theory of Free-Will.

Whatever may be the case, the year of aṣ-Şāḥib's death as foretold by the astrologers came and went without doing him any harm. But, at last, the year of the predestined day (20th Şafar 385 A.H.) did come, in which passed away the soul of the greatest genius of the fourth century of the Hijra era, who combined in himself the characters of a great Vizier, a brilliant poet, a discerning critic, a learned theologian, and a devout champion of the House of the Prophet.

The day of aṣ-Şāḥib's burial at Ar-Ray was widely commemorated. Elegies on his death were written and recited by eminent poets of the time. One of them paid his tribute thus:—

With his death died learning,
and noble deeds. So farewell to
learning and noble deeds.

مات المعالى والعلوم بموته
فعلى المعالى و العلوم سلام¹

M. A. MU'ID KHĀN.

1. See *Yatima*, Vol. III, p. 118. I should mention here that I am deeply indebted to Nawab Sir Amīn Jung Bahadur, Member of Islamic Culture Board, for the valuable help he has rendered in our revising and reading proof of this article.

ON THE MARGIN:

(1)

MUNSHĪ, THE AUTHOR OF SUSSĪ PUNNŪN

LOOKING through the article¹ by the late Dr. Hidāyet Ḥosain on *Sa'īd Nāma*, published in the October, 1942, issue of *Islamic Culture*, I find that he has included سسی پنون in the list of books written by Munshī Jaswant Rāi, the author of *Sa'īd Nāma*.² This is not correct. It is a fact that a poet with the *takhalluṣ* of Munshī wrote the popular romance of Sassi and Punnūn, but it was not Munshī Jaswant Rāi. To me it appears that Sprenger is the originator of this confusion between the two Munshīs. In his notice about the *Dīwān* of Munshī he observes :

دیوان منشی : The Dywān of Jeswant Ráy Munshy. He is probably identical with the author of Sassy and Panú. He made a fair copy of his Dywān in 1124.

Contents : Ghazals, 150 pp. and a short prose composition. Beginning :

ای یرشکر ز نام تو باشد دهان ما طوطی سبق گرفته ز نطق زبان ما

And then in his notice about سسی پنون Sprenger remarks :

Sassy and Panú, a story in verse composed in 1140 by Munshy who was familiarly known as Anderjyt, and is probably identical with the preceding poet. The author gives us the following account himself :

مرا منشی تخلص در کلام است	مرا در عرف اندر جیت نام است
نکو در قصبه سرسبز سیراب	وطن گاهم بود در ملک پنجاب
به بزم شمع عالم آشنا کرد	مرا چون از وطن قسمت جدا کرد
نمودم خدمتش تا نوزده سال	بجان شاد طبع فارغ البال

1. *Gleanings from Sa'īd Nāma, a History of Sa'ādat Allāh Khān.*

2. Hidāyet Ḥosain, *Islamic Culture*, October, 1942, pp. 430-41.

3. Sprenger, A., *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustany Manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, p. 507. The verse is not properly quoted. The first hemistich should have been :

ای یرشکر ز نام تو کام و دهان ما

چوشیخ از دارفانی رخت برداشت	مراسید شہامت خان نگہداشت
کنوتم منشی عبدالصمد خان	خدا را صدہزاران فضل و احسان
سن عشر از جلوس ظل سبحان	محمد شاہ غازی شاہ شاہان ¹

Ethé has obviously taken a hint from Sprenger and commenting on *Dīwān-e-Munshī* says :

Lyrical poems by Jaswant Rāi Munshī who made a fair copy of his *dīwān* in A.H. 1124 (A.D. 1712), and is probably identical with the author of the popular *épopee*, سسی و پنو, which was completed A.H. 1140 (A.D. 1727-1728).²

Thus the confusion between Munshī, the author of *Sa'id Nāma*, and Munshī, the author of *Sassi Punnūn*, has been perpetuated, and the late Dr. Hidāyet Ḥosain was led to believe that both the Munshīs were one and the same person. But in fact Munshī, the author of *Sassi Punnūn*, is a totally different person from the Munshī who wrote *Sa'id Nāma*. The following evidence will bear this out.

As has been stated by the late Dr. Hidāyet Ḥosain, on the authority of the author of *Sa'id Nāma*, the full name of the author was Munshī Jaswant Rāi, who went to the Carnatic from Lahore in A.H. 1118 (A.D. 1706), and recited a *Qaṣīda* before the Nawāb, Sa'ādat Allāh Khān, which he had composed in his praise. The Nawāb was highly pleased with his poem and took the poet under his patronage. But from *Sassi Punnūn* referred to by the late Dr. Hidāyet Ḥosain, Sprenger, and Ethé, we find that the full name of the author of this popular romance is Munshī Inderjīt. As far as I know only two manuscript copies of the work are extant. One has been lent to me by my learned friend Ghulām Dastagīr Nāmī, of Lahore, and the other is preserved in the Shīrānī Collection of the Panjab University Library (No. 653 of the Shīrānī Collection). The author of the work gives some account of his life in the following lines :

مرا در عرف اندر جیت نام است	مرا سید شہامت خان نگہداشت
وطن گا ہم بود در ملک پنجاب	زہم جنسان خود ممتاز بودم
مرا چون از وطن قسمت جدا کرد	خدا را صد ہزاران فضل و احسان
بجان شاد و طبع فارغ البال	عدوی دولتش مظرود و مردود
رقم برخط هستی است نامم	
چوشیخ از دارفانی رخت برداشت	
انیس و ہمدم ہمراز بودم	
کنوتم منشی عبدالصمد خان	
المہی ظل فضلش با دسمدود	

1. *Ibid.*, p. 508.

2. Ethé, H., *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the I.O.*

از این پس تا چه انجامد ندانم سخن کوتاه کن والله عالم¹
 اگر از خامه ام سرزد خطای ز اوستادان بود چشم عطای
 در ایام مبارک ماه رمضان بهار آورد این رنگین گلستان
 سن عشر از جلوس ظل سبحان محمد شاه غازی شاه شاهان²

The contents of these verses boiled down would come to this : The writer of these verses was commonly known as Inderjīt, who employed the *takhalluṣ* of Munshī in his verses. He belonged to Nakodar, a town in the Panjab. He left his town and spent nineteen years with Shaikh 'Alam (probably in Lahore, as will be explained presently), and when the Shaikh passed away Sayyid Shahāmat Khān took the poet under his protection. Then the poet became Munshī to Nawāb 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad Khān and wrote *Sassī Punnūn*, in Ramaḍān of the tenth year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.

We also learn from the poet's account that he travelled from Lahore to Multan with the Nawāb in A.H. 1140 (A.D. 1727), when he settled down in Multan, and wrote the *mathnavī*.

سن هجری هزار و یک صد و چل که از لاهور بستم محمل دل
 به ملتان آدمم همراه نواب ولی خورشید طبع و شاد و شاداب
 چه ملتان نو بهاری کا سرانی هوایش همچو شمهری زندگانی
 چه ملتان جلوه خیز ناز خوبان چه ملتان روضه حوران و غلمان

 درین بستان سرای شاد و خرم³ که بودم یک زمان من فارغ از غم
 شنیدم از لب آتش زبانی زحسن و عشق رنگین داستانی⁴

Muḥammad Shāh ascended the throne in A.H. 1131 (A.D. 1719). If, according to the statement of the author, the *mathnavī* was being written in the tenth year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, it was begun somewhere in A.H. 1140 (A.D. 1727) and was completed in Ramaḍān of the same year, i.e., in April 1727. Now this is the year in which the poet travelled with Nawāb 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad Khān to Multan, and became his Munshī. We also learn from other sources⁵ that Nawāb 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad Khān was appointed governor of Multan by the emperor Muḥammad Shāh in A.H. 1138, (A.D. 1725), i.e., two years before Munshī Inderjīt

1. So it is written in the MS., but it ought to have been as علم اعلم —Ed., I.C.

2. Inderjīt, Munshī, *Sassī Punnūn* (G.D. Nāmī's MS.).

3. خورم is written in the MS. It is probably خرم —Ed., I.C.

4. Inderjīt, Munshī, *Sassī Punnūn* (G.D. Nāmī's MS.), ff. 2 and 3.

5. Cf. Ghulam Husain Khān, *Siyar al-Muta'akhkhirin*, (English Translation), Vol. 1-2, pp. 294-95 ; Bealse, T.W., *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 14 ; Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by its Historians*, Vol. VII, pp. 456, 511 ; Shah Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir ul Umarā*, Vol. 2, p. 517 ; Latif, S.M., *History of the Panjab*, p. 193 ; Latif, S. M. *Lahore*, p. 138, *Multan District Gazeteer*, 1926 issue, p. 35.

joined him in Multan from Lahore. Obviously Munshī Inderjīt was staying in Lahore up to A.H. 1140 (A.D. 1727) and before going to Multan. This further strengthens our belief that Munshī Jaswant Rāi could not be the author of *Sassī Punnūn*, as he, according to the findings of the late Dr. Hidāyet Ḥosain, had gone to the Carnatic in A.H. 1118, (A.D. 1706) and was there serving his master Sa'ādat Allāh Khān, the ruler of the Carnatic, in A.H. 1136 (A.D. 1723). The two Munshīs, viz., Inderjīt and Jaswant Rāi served different masters in nearly the same period and have been obviously confused by Dr. Hidāyet Ḥosain, Ethé, and Sprenger. The author of the work *Sassī Punnūn* referred to by Dr. Hidāyet Ḥosain, Sprenger, and Ethé, is none other than Munshī Inderjīt, who has left an authentic, although very short, account of his life in his *mathnavī*, *Sassī Punnūn*.

Incidentally I may mention that the verses quoted by Sprenger from the manuscript of *Sassī Punnūn* used by him tally with the verses of the manuscript in my possession as well as with the manuscript of the Shīrānī Collection. Hence both the manuscripts to which I have access are genuine.

MUHAMMAD BĀQIR.

(2)

“ ‘AHD-NĀMAH ”

THE DOCUMENT OF THE PROPHET

IN connection with the note on the “ *Authenticity of an Important Document of the Prophet*,” published in the last issue of this Journal, it may be mentioned that a photograph of the ‘Ahd-Nāmah published in Bombay Chronicle was also sent to Islamic Culture office. It is written in attractive Nast’alīq and contains some decorations which betray fully developed style of later days. Strangely enough, the photo of the ‘Ahd-Nāmah also contains the same grammatical errors and defective vocalisation as they have already been discussed in the above-mentioned critique.

M. A. MU‘ID KHĀN.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Extra-Mural Lectures of the Osmania University.

UNDER the auspices of the Osmania University Dr. Irach I. S. Taraporewalla (of Bombay) delivered two interesting lectures on (i) the language and literary history of pre-Islamic Iran and (ii) the main currents of pre-Islamic Iranian thought. It would be interesting to give below the main points of these lectures as they provide the Zoroastrian view of the background of Islamic thought. The able speaker, surveying the pre-Islamic history of the Iranian languages and literatures, mentioned in particular the Sumerian language and its influence on the Babylonian culture. He divided the linguistic history of Iran into the ancient, medieval and modern periods. "At the old Iranian stage," he said, "the linguistic division was East Iranian and West Iranian, and the typical East Iranian was Avesta and the typical West Iranian was Old Persian." Old Iranian languages have much in common with the old Indian (Vedic) languages, and this close relation is specially marked between Avesta and Sanskrit. Avesta is the most Eastern of the old Iranian languages. It was the language used by Zarathustra. Darius the great is believed to have the Zenda-Vesta transcribed upon parchment, but as the original collections had been lost to Iran, the text of the religion lived mainly in the memory of the priests during the five centuries that succeeded the Macedonian conquest. The last editing of the Avesta texts was carried out by the first two rulers of the house of Sāsān. "This text of the Avesta Nasks" the Doctor remarked, "remained the main source of religious beliefs and customs till the Arab conquest and beyond." The whole of this Avesta literature was available in the days of the Khalīfa al-Mā'mūn (813-833) because the great Pahlavi work—*Dinkart*—gives a fairly detailed summary of this literature together with numerous quotations from the Avesta, now lost. The destruction of Zoroastrian religious books began after the accession of al-Mutawakkil (847-861). By that time the ancestors of Pārsīs had found a new home in India and when the sacred books were sent to safety, they ultimately found their way into India. The greatest destruction came with the invasion of the Mongols in 1258 A.C. when the whole of Iran was overrun by their hordes and Muslims and non-Muslims suffered indiscriminately. The existing Avesta texts have been subdivided into several books. Out of the 72 chapters of *Yasna*, seventeen chapters comprise the Gathas. These are linguistically the oldest

part of the *Avesta*. As a supplement to *Yasna* is the collection known as *Visparad* which consists of invocations to the various divine powers. The next book is *Vendidad* (the rules against the demons). It contains an account of the sixteen lands created by Ahura-Mazda and the counter creation of the evil one, the history of Jamshid, and also passages on legal matters, on the life of the Zarathustra, on agriculture, on doctors and priests, on various demons and on the ways of circumventing their evil designs. There are also songs of praise to the deities invoked. Some of the ideas are quite the same as those found in the Vedas. There are also the five Gahs, dedicated to the Lord of one of the five periods into which the day is divided.

Among the languages of the Western group of old Iranian, are old Scythian, Median and old Persian. Of these, the first and second have left no record except the names of a few people. Of the old Persian there are fine inscriptions ranging from the time of Darius and Xerxes to those of Artaxerxes and later rulers. Of the Middle Iranian language of the Eastern group is Sogdian. Several Buddhist works in this language were discovered and published in France. Among the Western middle Iranian languages are the Saka and the two Turfan dialects. A great deal of the literature in these refers to Manichæism. The most important of the middle Iranian languages is Pahlavi, the spoken and written speech of Sassanian Iran. The most inherent difficulty of this language lies in what is known as the Semitic element in its writing. Pahlavi has been influenced profoundly by the Semitic not only in its script but also in its syntax and word orders. Modern Iranian is merely a continuation of Pahlavi which flourished from the 3rd century to the thirteenth century of the Christian era. Besides Pahlavi inscriptions which are many, fifty-five works of Pahlavi literature have been discovered. The dates of these writings are hard to determine. The earliest works from the linguistic point of view are as follows :—

1. *Arta Viraf Namak* (the Story of Arta Viraf) : This work relates to his trance, under the influence of which he visited both heaven and hell. There is a certain resemblance to Dante's famous work.

2. *The Dina-i-Mainogi Khirat* (Opinion of the Spirit of Wisdom) : It consists of replies by the spirit of wisdom representing the religion of Zarathushtra to a number of inquiries.

3. *Shayast La-shayast* (Proper and Improper) : It deals with pure and impure deeds.

4. *The Din Kart* (Acts of Religion) : Of its original nine books the first two are missing. It contains information about doctrines, customs, traditions, history and literature of Mazda-worshipping religion. Its compilation was undertaken at the wish of Khalifa al-Mā'mūn (813-833 A.C.). There are also a large number of Avesta quotations which are not traced in any of the existing texts. This work together with Gujrati and English translations has been published in 19 volumes in Bombay.

5. *Bundahishn* (Creation) : It deals with the creation of all that exists and its purpose, and with various conflicts between good and bad spirits. There are also eschatological discussions, and descriptions of calamities that overwhelmed Iran and various customs of the Arab.

6. *Shikand Gumanig Vijar* (Doubt-dispelling Explanation) : It deals with the different religious beliefs prevalent in Iran during the 9th century A.C. This work mentions Jews, Christians, Manichæans and Muslims. The references to Islam are guarded, but there are quotations from the Qur'ân. The text exists in Pazend and Sanskrit. A fragmentary Pahlavi rendering, which is re-translation from the Pazend, also exists as the original Pahlavi text has been lost.

7. *The Dastistan-i-Dinik* (Religious Opinions) : This and its accompanying Rivayat seem to enshrine the opinions of Manuchihr, son of Yudanîm, high priest of Pars and Karman. This work is regarded authoritative on all matters of religious observances by the orthodox Parsi even now.

8. *The Epistle of Manuchihr* : It deals with certain new precepts about purification.

9. *The Selection of Zat-Sparam* : It deals with the meeting of good and bad spirits with formation of man out of body, life and soul, and the renovation of the universe.

10. *A Matigon-i-Hazar Datistan* : This is the social code of the days of the Sassanians.

11. *The Karnamak-i-Artakhshir-i-Papakan* (History of the Deeds of Artakhshir Papakan).

12. *Aiyadgar-i-Zariran* (Memoirs of Zarir) : It contains adventures of Zarir, the son of Gustap, the patron of Zarathustra. It also contains matters of social and geographical interest.

Speaking about the main currents of pre-Islamic Iranian thought, the learned speaker said that the earliest Iranian religious thought was of course Aryan in conception, the same as is found embodied in the earliest Vedas. The message of Zarathustra, given in the *Gathas*, is a repetition of the ancient wisdom taught by Aryan sages. Zarathustra laid stress on five important points: The first is acknowledgement of one Supreme Being. "The Late Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl," he said, "was of opinion that this uncompromising monotheism taught by Zarathustra was due to Semitic influence, but here Zarathustra only re-affirmed the old Vedic teaching 'the truth is one, the wise in many ways call it.'" He only laid emphasis on the supremacy of Ahura-Mazda. The older deities which were removed from the *Gathas* were again worshipped in later times. He attributes to Ahura-Mazda six holy immortals 'typifying the varied creative aspects of the Supreme Being, which are often addressed in the *Gathas* as the Ahura-Mazdas in the plural. Three out of these six represent the father aspect of the Godhead, while the other three (feminine) represent the mother as-

pect of the Supreme Being. The second truth taught by Zarathustra is his explanation of the twin spirits—good and evil, which are created by Mazda. The evil is not a substance but is the absence of life. For all practical purposes, Zarathustra treats evil as something real and tangible. The third truth is his teaching of freedom of human soul. Zoroastrian theology definitely mentions a principle in human make-up which is named *Urvan*—the chooser, which is often invoked to help them to choose aright. The fourth is the responsibility of man for his action. Like the law of the Karma of Hinduism, there is a passage in the *Gathas* which clearly speaks of the *Urvan* coming back. It might be taken as one where rebirth is mentioned. The fifth truth lies in his emphasis on the service of God's creatures, especially of brother-men. This method constitutes for the Zoroastrian the finest realization of God upon earth. This Iranian thought during the Achæmenian days received influences from Elam, Egypt, Babylon, and towards the end of the period, from Greece. The conquest of Alexander the Great (331 B.C.) ushered in Hellenism while Buddhism had already penetrated into Eastern Iran. When Ctesiphon was made capital of Iran, Jewish influence began to permeate the religious beliefs and ceremonials. In the reign of *Shāhpūr I* (240-271 A.D.), *Mānī*, who was a deep student of Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Buddhism tried to reconcile these faiths as also other spiritual ideas prevalent in Iran in those days. He postulated the uncompromising dualism of light and darkness—good and evil. Manichæism spread far and wide and continued to spread till about the middle of the 6th century. After it had died Mazdak revived it and gave it politico-social bias. It was not so much the mysticism of Mazdak that disturbed the ruling classes as the social ideas that flowed therefrom. He preached not merely common possession of property but also common possession of women. It was consequently suppressed by *Nūshīrwān*.

Speaking about Islam, the able speaker said, "The usual story of the Arabs coming down upon Iran with the *Qur'ān* in one hand and the sword in the other is certainly very misleading. The Arab did come with the *Qur'ān*, and they were eager to find converts, so with it they also brought the message of brotherhood which had long been forgotten in Iran. What is more, the early Arab rulers of Iran actually practised this brotherhood. The stories of the persecutions of Zoroastrians in Iran by the Arabs at the time of the conquest are not true. There are several very strong proofs of this tolerance towards the conquered Zoroastrians which can be quoted from history." Explaining the differences between the Aryan and the Semitic mind, he said, "Iranians wanted Islam to be interpreted very differently from what these orthodox Arabs did. Besides this growing and narrow orthodoxy there was also the racial pride of the Arabs who, as conquerors, were inclined to look down upon all Iranians, whether Muslims or not, as altogether inferior to themselves. These causes tended to a very sharp division between the Arab and the Iranian within a very few years of the conquests." Discussing the influence of Iran on Islamic thought,

he said, "It was the preponderant Iranian influence at Baghdād that ushered in the era of toleration and freedom of belief. The real inspiration during this period came from the Mu'tazilia school of thought. A careful study of Şūfī teaching reveals striking similarities with both the Greek and the Indian doctrines, and there is also a considerable lot which can be taken as the continuation of Zoroastrian teaching."

Briefly speaking, the learned Doctor finds Zoroastrian influence on Islamic thought particularly in the Şūfī explanation of the nature of evil. It will not be out of place if we mention here that evil in the Şūfīs' concept is never taken to be substantial or tangible for practical purposes or otherwise as is done by Zarathustra. Nor is it considered by the Şūfīs as twin spirits creating conflict between good and evil. Again, the father aspect or mother aspect of Godhead is not traceable in Islamic mysticism. The fact is that from what we have understood from the learned speaker's explanation of the above quoted five tenets taught by Zarathustra, we are unable to find any trace whatsoever of Zoroastrian influence on early Islamic beliefs. As the Doctor seems to have depended mainly on secondary sources, (especially Brown, *Literary History of Persia*), his references to Islam are comparatively superficial.

The Urdu Periodicals of Hyderabad.

I. *Siyāsat* is an Urdu quarterly devoted to political and social problems. Its October issue (1942) contains an interesting article on Some Aspects of the Political and Social Life of the Hindus and Muslims during the Middle Ages by Mr. Hanāmānt Rao, M.A. It gives a survey of Hindu religious and social movements under the Muslim rule and points out that Ghaznī and Ghorī adventures aimed rather at territorial conquest than at the propagation of Islam in the different parts of India. The ill-feeling between Hindus and Muslims did not arise out of religious differences, but its reason was that Hindus being in the position of a conquered people did not like their conquerors. Both Hindus and Muslims were treated equally by the Muslim rulers. Ghiyāth-ud-dīn Balban, 'Alā'-ud-dīn Khiljī and Muḥammad-bin-Tughluq, all of them maintained a secular policy of their government.

Other articles of interest in this Journal are :

1. Indian Finance, by Dr. Ja'far Ḥusain (of Osmania University).
2. Economic System of Fascism and its Practical Aspects, by Mr. Muḥammad 'Abdul-Qādir (of Osmania University).
3. Industrial Progress of Japan, by Mr. Muḥammad Nāşir 'Alī.
4. The Course of Events, by Dr. Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān (of Osmania University).

II. *The Magazine of the Graduates of the Osmania University.*—Three numbers of this Quarterly are before us for their review. Its volume VI, No. 2 (1942) does not contain any research article. The following articles are, however, interesting:

The First Litterateur of the World, by Mr. 'Abdul-Hāfiz, B.Sc., LL.B. The writer of this paper surveying briefly the earliest works and authors in general and of Egypt and Greece in particular concludes that history does not record definite mention of authors who are alleged to have written the existing pieces of ancient literature. The authorship of many an early work is doubtful. But such doubt does not exist in the case of Confucius whose age is clearly defined. As Confucius, the philosopher and man of letters (551 B.C.) lived before Homer and after Herodotus, he must be regarded as the first litterateur of the world.

It also contains a useful article on the methods of a good translation by Mr. Mīr Ḥasan. The chief methods explained by the writer are (a) the subject-matter contained in the original should be rendered in another language with strict accuracy. (b) The style of translation should conform to that of the original. (c) The spirit of the original and its fluency should be maintained.

An interesting article is on philosophic poetry, by Dr. Khalifa 'Abdu'l Ḥakīm in which the difference between the view-points of a poet and a philosopher is explained. Another article is on basic Urdu by Mr. Sajjād Mīrza, in which the importance of basic language is discussed. Yet another article is on Urdu script by Mr. Muhd. 'Abdul-Qāder Sarvarī, in which a brief history of the evolution of the script generally and of the Nast'aliq particularly is given. The third and fourth numbers of this magazine published together in 1942 contain the following articles:

1. Muslim Colonisation of the Coastal Parts of India, by late Maulāna Muḥammad Murtaḍa.
2. Critical Notes on the above-mentioned Article, by Dr. M. Ḥamidullāh,
3. The Downfall of the Wālājāhī Dynasty, by Mr. Muḥammad Ghauth, M.A.
4. The Office of Dīwānī-Mal-o-Mulki, of Hyderabad, by Mr. Naṣīr'ud-dīn Hāshimī.
5. The Letters of Mīr 'Abdul-Razzāq Shāh Nawāz Khān, by Mr. Muḥammad Ghauth, M.A.
6. Some Firmans of the Emperors of Delhi Addressed to the Amīrs of Deccan, by Mr. Muḥammad Ghauth, M.A.
7. Letters of Aṣaf Jāh I and Nawāb Nāṣir Jung addressed to Raja Tanjavar.

In the latest issue of this Journal (Vol. VII, No. 1, 1943) there is an important article on the Comparative Study of Jurisprudence, by Dr.

Mīr Siyādat 'Alī. In this article the scope of jurisprudence, jurisprudence as a science, an art, and as a philosophy, and its methods are explained in detail. Another weighty article is on the Scholastic Tendencies of Imām Ghazzālī by Mr. Muḥammad Ghauth, M.A.

The article discusses the following aspects of the Imām's life :—

(a) The Imām's name and surname. (b) Early education of the Imām. (c) Turning point in the life of the Imām. (d) The intellectual environment of the Imām. (e) His place and position in the Madrasa-i-Nizāmiya of Baghdād. (f) Some remarks on philosophers. (g) The Imām and J. J. Rousseau. (h) The Imām's quest after truth and his impartial research. (i) The Imām and Kant. (j) The Imām on psychology. (k) His philosophical outlook. (l) His inclinations towards Ṣūfism. (m) His asceticism and departure from Baghdād. (n) He returns to his native place as a great Ṣūfī. (o) Is the Imām a philosopher or a theologian? (p) His hatred of blindly following the conventions. (q) His dissatisfaction against philosophy. (r) His explanation of how perceptions and reasons are not satisfactory means of understanding. (s) The classification of the philosophers according to their respective outlooks on religion. (t) The Imām's view on the unbelief of Ibn-Sīna and Fārābī. (u) His liberality of views in demarcating between belief and unbelief. (v) His explanation of the grades (stages) of existence. (w) The Imām's division of philosophy.

Other interesting articles in this issue are : 1. The Municipalities of the Districts of Hyderabad, by Mr. Muḥammad Fārūq. 2. The Treasures of Manuscripts, by Mr. Ghauth. 3. Historical Documents, by Mr. M. Ghauth. A feature of the issue is that half of the volume of this Journal is devoted to a survey of the economic condition of Hyderabad. In this section the following articles are worth reading :

1. Plans to Solve the Question of Unemployment in Hyderabad Dominions, by M. Aḥmad 'Abdul-'Azīz. 2. The Economic Problems of Hyderabad, by Mr. Ḥafīz Moḥammad Muḥzar. 3. The Importance of the Interest-free Loan Associations and their Condition in Hyderabad, by Dr. M. Ḥamīdullāh. 4. The Position of Agriculture in Hyderabad by Sālim bin 'Umar. 5. The Economic Survey of District Dupalli, by Mr. Nāṣir 'Alī.

III. *Subras* of January 1943 contains the following articles : 1. Dāgh Dehlawī by, Mīrza Farḥatullāh Bēg. 2. Sir Āsmān Jāh, by Mr. Murad 'Alī Tālī. 3. Town-Planning in Ancient India, by Mr. Fiyaḍ-ud-dīn. 4. Transliteration of Foreign Words in the Urdu Language. 5. The Mathnawīs of Inshā', by Mr. 'Atā'ullāh. 6. Urdu MSS. in the Library of Idāra-i-Adābiyāt Urdu, by Dr. Muḥī'uddīn Zor.

IV. *Al-Mūsī* (Azur and Isfandar 1352 F.) : It is a quarterly Journal of the students of the City College. Its special contributions are :

1. The poetry of Šāib, by Mr. Syyid 'Alī. 2. The problems of Indian Agriculture, by Mr. M. Nāšir 'Alī. 3. Mu'min and his Poetry, by Mr. Ghulām Muḥi'uddīn.

V. *The Osmania Magazine* (Volume XV, 1942): This is a bilingual Journal of the students of the Osmania University. Besides a number of articles of literary interest and original poems, there are articles on: 1. Acquisition of a Letter of the Prophet addressed to the Negus, by Dr. M. Ḥamīdullāh. A note on this document has already appeared in the *Islamic Culture*. 2. The Role of Science in Modern Civilization, by S. Shihābuddīn, M.A. 3. Epistemology (علمیات), by Dr. Mīr Valīuddīn. 4. The Indian Weights, Measures and Coins during the Reign of Akbar, by Muḥammad Nāšir 'Alī, M.A. 5. The Past and Present Procedure of the Judicial Courts of Hyderabad Dominions, by Mr. V. V. Patel, B.A., LL.B. 6. World War and Communism, by Mr. Aḥmad Khān, B.A. 7. Mohanjadaro, by Bala Pershad, B.A. 8. Albania, by S. 'Alī Muḥammad Mūsawī, M.A.

Some articles in which our readers are likely to take interest are:—

1. The Origin and Development of International Law, by Qādī Ghulām Khālīq Nawāz, B.A., LL.B. In this article the writer has traced the origin of international law back to 2,500 B.C. on the basis of a recently discovered document that shows that a treaty regarding reciprocal help when attacked by a third party existed between Egypt and Syria. He has also described the progress of international law during the Jewish, Greek, Roman, Christian and Islamic periods. Dealing with Islamic period, the writer says that Islam exercised tremendous influence upon international law. Dane, Machiavelli, Ayala, Gentiles and Grotius have been influenced by Islamic authors. International law was undertaken as an independent subject of study only 1,000 years after the advent of Islam. The first Muslim author on international law was Imām Abū-Ḥanīfa (150 A.H.) whose views on this subject under the title of *Siyar* are now available in the work which was compiled by his pupil Abū-Yūsuf. Another important writer on *Siyar* was Sarakhsy who has commented on *Siyar-i-Kabīr* of Muḥammad aḥ-Shaibānī.

It also contains an article on the Unprecedented Privileges which Islam gave to Women, by Miss Sh. Bānū, a girl-student of the first year in the Osmania University. This paper has won prize in the essay-competition held on the occasion of the celebration of the Prophet's birthday. This essay points out that the women in Roman, Greek, Chinese, Buddhist, Christian and Jewish cultures had no social and legal rights. In the above-mentioned civilization, her position was so very degraded that she was supposed to be no better than chattel and could therefore be inherited by the heirs of a deceased person. But after the advent of Islam, woman's status was raised and made equal to that of man, and as a member of Muslim society she now enjoys all the privileges and responsibilities of which she has so long been deprived.

The Common Features between Islam and other Religions, by Mr. Gopal Rao (of Second Year) is another essay which was awarded Prof. Subba Rao's prize in the essay competition mentioned above. It points out that fundamentals of Islam like unity of God, piety, truthfulness, good conduct, better treatment of women, reward for good acts and punishment for sinners, alms, charitable acts, fasting and praying in some form or other are found in almost all religions like Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity. But exaggerated regard for ancestors has turned Muslims and non-Muslims to worship their national heroes. With the advance in education and rationalism these superstitions are rapidly diminishing. "It is therefore rightly hoped" the essayist concludes "that the ever-decreasing fanaticism on the one hand and the expansion of human co-operation on the other will consequently force mankind to adopt a religion which may have characteristics of being universal and thus be called a natural religion (دين فطرت).

VI. *The Journal of Osmania University* (Volume VIII, 1940-41).— This is also a bilingual journal issued by the Board of Research (Theology and Arts) of the Osmania University. Although printing and literary standard of the Journal leave much to be desired yet the articles are well-worth reading. The Urdu section contains the following articles :—

1. Qirtās (paper) and its Use among the Arabs, by late M. Jamīl'ur-Rahmān, Professor of History, Osmania University.
2. Khalq and Ḥaqq (the World and the Individuals), by Dr. Mīr Valī'uddīn, Department of Philosophy, Osmania University.
3. Time and Space, by Dr. Khalīfa 'Abdul-Ḥakīm, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Osmania University.
4. A Complete Genealogical Table of the Umayyads, by late Prof. M. Jamīl'ur-Rahmān, Prof. of History, Osmania University.
5. Revenue Laws of Islam, by Syed Manāzīr Aḥsan Gilānī, Head of the Department of Theology, Osmania University.

Synopses of these Urdu articles are also published in the English section of this Journal. The contents of its English section are as follows :—

1. The Reign of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī, by Hāroon Khān Shērwanī, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar.-at-Law, Head of the Department of History, Osmania University.
2. Further Observations on State Banks for India, by Dr. Anwar Iqbāl Qureshī, M.A., M.Sc., Econ., (London), Ph.D., (Dublin), Head of the Department of Economics, Osmania University.
3. Muslim Political Thought, by Dr. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, M.A., LL.B. (Osmania), D.Phil. (Bonn), D.Litt., (Paris).

VII. *Science*. This Journal is published under auspices of Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu. The latest issue of this Journal contains the following

articles :—

1. The Role of Science in the Agricultural Development of Russia, by Mr. Kalimullāh.
2. The Place of Science in Art and Letters, by Mr. Tara Chand.
3. Mathematics and the Arabs, by Mr. Mu'īn-ud-dīn.
4. One of the greatest Story of Human Inventions, by Mr. Muḥammad Zakaria.

M. A. M.

Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif of Osmania University.

كتاب المجر , by Ibn-Ḥabīb (d. 245 H.): At last this rare and very important work has been printed and published by the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif of the Osmania University. The printing and get-up show a landmark in the Dā'ira publications. It has covered over 750 pages, out of which 250 pages in a type thinner than that of the main text, have been occupied by name indexes alone. This shows the enormity of the task of the editor who had to identify all these names in a unique manuscript, with the help of such reference works as are available regarding pre-Islamic genealogy ; and such works are very scanty. We congratulate the Dā'ira on this enterprise undertaken during this war ; and hope that المنق by the same author, which would perhaps be of greater importance, and which has also a unique MS., will also be soon made available to the public. The copy of this work was acquired by the Dā'ira about a year ago, as was noticed in this Journal at that time.

DECCAN

THE University of Madras, in the Department of Arabic, Urdu and Persian has started a commendable *Islamic Series*. Two of its latest publications are the following :—

Serial No. 5. The English translation of *Tuḥfatu'l-Mujāhidīn* ;

Serial No. 6. Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India ; both by Dr. S. M. Husain Nainar, Lecturer in, and Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu in the University of Madras.

The *Tuḥfatu'l-Mujāhidīn*, by Zain'uddīn al-Ma'barīy (d. 987 H.), is a classical history of Malabar written in Arabic language. The English translation of the work was published as far back as 1833. The present volume is a second English translation, independent of the earlier one. The present translator does not seem to have known that the original Arabic text, along with a complete Portuguese translation and a long introduction and copious notes, was published in Lisbon in 1898 under

the title "*Historia des Portugueses no Malabar par Zinadim, manuscripto arabe do seculo XVI publicado e traduzido por David Lopes S.S.G.L.*" It had several good maps also.

Dr. Nainar's present translation is a welcome addition. The previous translation by Rowlandson is not worth even the paper on which it was printed. Nainar, however, is very respectful towards his precursor, and goes so far as to say: "He brought out an admirable publication." Rowlandson, who was the Persian translator under the Government of Madras, might have known his job well, but his attempt at translation from Arabic was presumptuous. A few instances would show the justification of this remark:—

<i>Original Arabic</i>	<i>Rowlandson's translation</i>	<i>Correct sense</i>
أثنى عليه الخاقان	The famous Persian historian <u>Khāfī Khān</u> has praised him very much.	The East and West praised him alike.
اخ لام	His brother from the town of Lām which is a small coastal-place in Persia.	His uterine brother.

Every second or third line abounds in such atrocious blunders. Yet in fairness it must be added that at least Rowlandson had this much of merit that he knew Latin and has given many valuable notes from Portuguese histories written in Latin language. These Latin quotations enhance the prestige of the original Arabic author, so much so that he may easily be reckoned among the most trustworthy and truthful authors of the world, since his data on enemy are nearly always correct and are corroborated by the enemy himself.

The translation and annotations of a work on the Portuguese in India require deep knowledge of Portuguese and South Indian history. Besides, the knowledge of geography is also essential. Had Nainar collaborated with some one who knew Latin and Portuguese, there would have remained no ground for wishing for a third and more thorough annotation of the work.

On the whole, the translation of Nainar, which is said to have been revised thoroughly by such a savant as Dr. 'Abdul Haq of the Muhammadan College, Madras, is successful. Mere philological or geographical notes, however, do not make up for everything in a work which is historical in the first place. For instance, (on p. 92) he gives a note that in 1578 the Portuguese viceroy at Goa was D. Diego de Menezes. This person was, according to Lopes, not a viceroy but only a governor, and in 1578 he had already been replaced by Luis de Ataide, who was, however, a viceroy. The Arabic original has a name Bezro, which has perplexed both Lopes and Nainar. This may either be the Arabicised form of Pedro. (Pedro Mascarenhas was viceroy in 1854, and the Arabic author has mistaken him for the one in office in 1878), or else, Pedro was one of the fore-

names of the then governor or viceroy.

The other work on *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* is the thesis of Dr. Nainar for his doctorate of the University of London. The inclusion of this kind of research in the University Series is a praiseworthy feature which might be adopted with benefit by the Osmania University and other sister institutions.

Like the majority of theses, the present work shows the first initiation of a young student into the realm of compilation. The works at this stage show promising features which have yet to be directed into right channels. The present work is no exception to the general rule. It is nevertheless a useful and handy reference book, more of a catalogue or index than of a work of research.

The author does not seem to know *GAL* of Brockelmann, and consequently also not the new discoveries of the classical Arabic geographical works which are considerable in number, especially from *Mashhad*. He also does not seem to have cared to utilise geographical data in Arabic works other than geographies proper. A broader view of the subject would certainly not have been useless. He has not also availed himself fully of all that has been done by his precursors in the field specially in India, like Sulaimān Nadawī. He does not hesitate to assert even now that the "first Muslim invasion of India" was by Muḥammad-ibn-Qāsim, in spite of the fact that Balādhuriy has collected a large data to show that the Muslim inroads started from the time of Caliph 'Umar onwards.

That the العابدی in the printed Ibn-Rustah is الفاندى or still more correctly الفاندين is a very simple error on the part of the editor of Ibn-Rustah; and the remarks of Nainar that it is "beyond all calculation" are perhaps themselves so.

He theorises that بو ذاسف is not Buddha, as has been believed until now, but Bhūtapati (*i.e.*, Siva). Had Dr. Nainar, in support of his contention, given similarities in the Sivite and Budhāsif legends, it would have been more convincing than merely pointing out the phonetic resemblance in the names of the two personalities.

We would request the authorities of the University of Madras to entrust this kind of publication to such printing houses as possess Arabic type. The scores of names printed in this book have been written in a very bad handwriting, and their blocks have turned worse.

S. K.

DELHI

A Chair in Islamic Studies.

THE newly published number of the Delhi University magazine includes an article by the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Maurice Gwyer, which

envisages considerable expansion of teaching facilities in the University. One of the proposed schemes is the establishment of a professorial chair in Islamic studies, a subject which has hitherto been grossly neglected in this University. Unfortunately there are as yet no visible signs of the materialization of the scheme beyond the fact that the Vice-Chancellor is genuinely interested and thinks that Islamic studies should form an important department of the University associated with the historic city of Delhi—once known to the world by its proud title of Qubbat-ul-Islām.

The Nadwat-ul Muṣannifin.

This organization has been functioning successfully. Its journal, *Burhān*, has maintained its high standard. It has published, among others, the following learned articles during this quarter :—

1. *Imām Ṭaḥāwī*, by Maulawi Sayyid Qutb-ud-dīn.
2. *Uṣūl-i-da'wat-i-Islām*, by Maulana Muḥammad Taiyab.
3. *'Ilm-i-ḥaqā'iq*, by Maulana Ḥakīm Abul-Barakāt 'Abd-ur-Ra'ūf.
4. *Fann-i-tamthīl*, by Dr. I. H. Qureshi.

This Journal serves the useful purpose of bringing together the learned among the Muslim theologians and some of those writers who are trained in the Western methods of research. This intellectual co-operation is so indispensable that one regrets that there is so little of it.

An Inaugural Lecture.

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, the newly appointed University professor in Economics, delivered his inaugural lecture in January. The lecture was of special interest to Muslims because the professor's main thesis was that it is futile to imagine that economic activities should have no reference to the ideals of humanity. Those of us who have always felt that the economic forces should be guided into channels which will not reduce man into mere automaton found great support in the professor's arguments and felt strengthened in our conviction that the Islamic ideals of economic life are not only practicable but also desirable.

Persian Wit and Humour.

Dr. Hādī Ḥasan of the Muslim University gave a lecture under the auspices of the University of Delhi on 'Persian Wit and Repartee.' He quoted many illustrations from Persian writers and poets. The lecture was well attended and the lecturer kept the audience greatly amused throughout the lecture.

The Meaning of Ḥikmah.

It is not often that one has the pleasure of hearing such a learned discourse as the one which Dr. S. Aḥzar 'Alī, M.A., M.O.L. (Panjab), Ph.D. (Cantab.), gave in two instalments on the significance of the word *ḥikmah*

in the course of his readership lectures. Dr. Azhar 'Alī has a rare insight into *taṣawwuf* and it is difficult to give even a brief résumé of his closely argued lectures. The following is a mere skeleton of the discourse. Dr. Azhar 'Alī gave the interpretation of the word *ḥikmah* (wisdom) as used in a number of the verses of the Qur'ān ; for instance in the following :—

يؤتى الحكمة من يشاء (بقره . ٢٤٠) . و آتينه الحكمة وفصل الخطاب . و يعلمهم الكتاب و الحكمة .

The lecturer started with the adage “ knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers.” He began his exposition of the term ‘wisdom’ with quotations from the Old Testament, citing the story of the fruit of the forbidden tree, which, as promised by Satan, would render the partaker thereof capable of knowing ‘ the good from the evil.’ The Book of Job (XXVII, 28) clearly defines ‘wisdom’ as ‘ the fear of the Lord ’ which has its parallel in the Arabic saying, *راس الحكمة مخافة الله* . Some of the quotations cited by Dr. Azhar 'Alī from the Old Testament are reproduced below :—

“ Forsake her (wisdom) not and she shall preserve thee ; love her and she shall keep thee.”

“ She (wisdom) shall give an ornament of grace and a crown of glory.”

“ He that getteth wisdom loveth his own soul.”

“ I have taught thee in the way of wisdom ; I have led thee in the right path.”

Man has been exhorted to “ cease from thy own wisdom” (Book of Proverbs, XXIII, 4). “ Should men perish without regarding it (wisdom) doth not their excellence which is in them go away, since they die without wisdom.” According to Dr. Azhar 'Alī, wisdom is something related to God on the one hand and the human soul on the other, his authority being the verse : “ Also that the soul be without knowledge, it is of little good.” Besides, man is warned against the wisdom of this world, which is “ foolishness with God” (Cor. III, 19), whereas “ wisdom from above is pure ” (Ja, III, 17).

Wisdom as explained in the Old Testament is an attribute of the Divine Being whereby He reveals Himself to man, inviting him to come into closer contact. Wisdom is also treated as an object personified. As such, it is endowed with diverse traits and capacities in the Rabbinical literature. It is identified with the Torch or Law which assumes for us the role of a guide to the Divine Being in understanding His plans or administration of the world. It is the loved one of God, and a present to the newly launched world. It is also God's agent in the administration of the world (Jewish Mysticism, pp. 73-74).

In the Qur'ān, Dr. Azhar 'Alī tells us, ‘wisdom’ is used after the word *الكتاب* in a number of verses. Each messenger of God has confirmed and supported his predecessor's word. This is the view of the Qur'ān

which also lays it down that "for every nation, there has been a guide" and also that "for every age there has been a guide" and also that "for every age there has been a book" (كتاب). All these facts strengthen the claim that Islam is an international religion, intended for all peoples. Hence its outlook is so broad and all-embracing.

Dr. Azhar 'Alī then briefly interpreted the following verses in particular :

ربنا و ابعث فيهم رسولا منهم يتلو عليهم آياتك و يعلمهم الكتاب و الحكمة و يزكيهم . لقدمن
الله على المؤمنين اذ بعث فيهم رسولا من انفسهم يتلو عليهم آيته و يزكيهم و يعلمهم الكتاب
والحكمة و ان كانوا من قبل لفي ضلال مبين . هو الذي بعث في الامم رسولا منهم يتلو عليهم آيته
و يزكيهم و يعلمهم الكتاب و الحكمة .

He maintains that the conferment of or initiation into wisdom is the last stage in the development of the higher and better life. One has, therefore, to strive patiently and laboriously avoiding pitfalls since those who strive after it have been promised the reward of Guidance.

و الذين جاهدوا فينا لنهد اينهم سبلنا .

Dr. Azhar 'Alī further holds that personal initiative and effort count a great deal in this as in other matters. He does not consider Guidance as entirely a gift from God. A different view will not only be contrary to the practical nature of Islam and a negation of its democratic spirit, but also of Divine clemency and beneficence which are so frequently stressed by the Qur'an. Such a view would be still more untenable in the light of Qur'anic teaching inculcated in verses like the following :—

لا اكره في الدين . فمن شاء فليؤمن و من شاء فليكفر . ان الله لا يغير ما بقوم حتى يغيروا ما بانفسهم .

A number of orientalisks wrongly seized upon the idea of Divine Grace and emphasized it inordinately to prove that Islam has discouraged, almost prohibited, personal effort and initiative, thus paralysing the minds of its followers. Dr. Azhar 'Alī's interpretation strikes at the root of such a view.

Purification obviously presupposes the existence of uncleanness (associating a co-partner with God), falsehood, immorality, the flesh of swine, blood and carrion, fermented drink, games of chance, divining arrows and idol-worship are some of the things which are considered unclean. Included among these is also man's failure to exercise his intellect and understanding, which is tantamount to the improper use of the faculties bestowed upon man (*vide* Qur'an V: 92; VI: 126, 136; VII: 69; IX: 17, 96, 126; X: 100; XII: 31; XXX: 33). Prayer is a safeguard against lewdness; charity is a means to the attainment of purity as also in the fear of God. One should cultivate humility, فلا تزكوا انفسكم هو علم .
من اتقى .

All these require effort ; and only conscious effort can expect purity as a gift from God.

The knowledge of the Book (الكتاب) is, according to Dr. Azhar 'Alī, a matter very largely depending upon personal intellectual equipment and spiritual progress. He further quoted several traditions of the Prophet to prove that حكمة, (wisdom) coincides with spiritual knowledge (علم باطن), a view which is supported by Imām Mālik's definition of *ḥikmah* as the recognition of Truth and Righteousness, whereas Ḥasan Baṣrī openly defines it as fear practised in actual observation of religion. This again brings one to Job's definition—" the fear of the Lord is the crown of wisdom."

Some Manuscripts.

The Delhi University Library has, through the efforts of Dr. S. Azhar 'Alī, acquired a few manuscripts during this quarter. It will be evident from the descriptions given below that one of these the *Raudat-ul-Aḥbāb*, is of unique interest.

1. *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*, by Amīr Khusraw of Delhi, the scribe is Shaikh Kamāl, son of Shaikh Fath-ullāh Chishtī of Sahspur who finished his work on 14th Muḥarram 1069 A.H. The script is clear nasta'liq, though not of a very high quality. In places the MS. is worm-eaten.

2. *Dīwān-i-Shawkat Bukhārī*: The name of the scribe and the date of the transcription are not mentioned. The First six folios have been repaired by some previous possessor of the manuscript who has in a different hand, inserted the lines which were damaged. The original writing is attractive nasta'liq, and on the whole, the manuscript is in a fair state of preservation. If this is the same work as catalogued by Ivanow as No. 809 and by Rieu as Add. 7810, then this is a defective copy.

3. *Anīs-ut-tālibīn* by Khawāja Muḥammad Pursa. The full name of this book is, as the author explains in the beginning, *Anīs-ut-tālibīn wa 'iddat-us-sālikīn* and it contains the sayings and views of Ḥaḍrat Khawāja Bahā-ul-Ḥaqq wa'd-dīn Naqshband. The author explains in the introduction that the saint's disciple Maulānā Ḥusām-ud-dīn Khawāja Yūsuf Hāfizī Bukhārī, had intended to collect his master's sayings but he was forbidden to do so by the saint while he was alive. The author compiled the book after diligent enquiries at the request of the saint's Khalīfah Khawāja Aṭā-ul-Ḥaqq wa'd-dīn, commonly called 'Aṭṭār. The manuscript is in beautiful nasta'liq ; the scribe is Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abd-ur-Razzāq—the date of transcription is 947 A.H. A copy of this work has been catalogued by Rieu as Add. 26,294 but the British Museum copy is obviously of much later date besides being defective. In the same volume is another book also called *Anīs-ut-tālibīn*. The author is Mullā Qāsim ibn Muḥammad Shahr Sajahi (?) *alias* Kātib. This book incorporates the sayings of the saint Aḥmad alias Maulānā Khawājagi Kāshānī. The author has collect-

ed these sayings from the leading disciples of the Shaikh. This manuscript has no colophon but it seems to be contemporary with the other *Anīs-ut-Ṭālibīn* which has been described above.

4. *Rauḍat-'ul-aḥbāb*, by 'Atā'ullāh bin Faḍl-ullāh, *alias* Jamāl al-Husainī. This book is a history of the Prophet, his *ahl-i-bait* and *aḥḥāb*. The author enjoyed great reputation and is mentioned, in a remark appearing on the first folio, as *as-Saiyid-ul-Jalīl Sanad-ul-muḥaddithīn* (obliterated)... (the glorious Sayyid, the authority of those well-versed in tradition...). This book is catalogued by Rieu as Add. 23,498. The oldest dated copy is perhaps in the British Museum (or 146) which bears the date Dhīl-qa'dah 964 A.H. The only complete copy (which, however, lacks maqṣad III of volume II) known to exist in Rieu's 145 or Nos. 12 and 13 in the Curzon collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal are incomplete and of much later dates. Internal evidence shows that the first volume was completed in 888 A.H. and the second in 900 A.H. "The author was living in pious retirement" in 930 A.H. The first volume possessed by the Delhi University Library is dated 17 Ramaḍān-ul-Mubārak 959 A.H. Thus it would be clear that this is one of the earliest copies in existence. It is a beautiful manuscript, and is well preserved. The Calligraphy is very beautiful, the style being nasta'liq; the writing has not the fully-developed rounded letters of later day nasta'liq but bears the influence of naskh. The second volume, which does not possess the third maqṣad and comes only up to the death of 'Uṭhmān, bears no date, but is evidently of the same date as the first volume with which it is bound. The third volume is missing; the last page of the text has the following inscription in a different handwriting:

پنجشنبه ۲۹ شهر ذی القعدة سنه ۱۰۲۴ بمبلغ دوازده و نیم روپيه اکبری بلا قصور ابتیاع نموده
ود و روپيه خرج پیوند و کاتب .

Translation: On Thursday, the 29th of the month of Dhīl-qa'dah 1024 bought for twelve and a half faultless Akbari rupees, and spent two rupees on repairs and in paying the scribe.

Thus the MS. was already so old in 1024 A.H. that it had to be carefully repaired. The author wrote the book under the patronage of the famous Shēr 'Alī Nawā'ī, the leading poet of the Turkish language, a great patron of learning and the minister of the famous Sultān Husain Mīrzā Ba'iqrah of Khurāsān, the glories of whose court at Herat will always live in the cultural history of the East.

I. H. Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE passing away of Maulānā Abu-'Abdullāh Muḥammed-bin-Yūsuf Suratī is an irreparable loss to the world of learning and erudition.

The Maulānā was a man of versatile genius, and possessed a rare brain and intellect.

Born at Samrud, a village in Surat, in the family of traders and landlords in 1307 A.H. (1889 A.D.), he completed the study of Holy Qur'ān at the age of seven. An epidemic in the village in 1315 A.H. (1897 A.D.) forced him to come to Surat for his study. A year later he proceeded to Bombay and was the pupil of Maulvī Moḥammad Ja'far till 1320 A.H. (1902 A.D.). But his thirsty soul searched for bigger fountains, and one day he quietly slipped away and after an adventurous journey he reached Delhi on foot and joined the famous Madrasa of Habash Khān where he finished elementary books of grammar and Hadīth. He took lessons in *Mishkāt* from Maulānā 'Abd'ul Wāhhāb Multānī, and read *Alfa*, of Ibn-Mālik, *al-Mo'allaqāt* and *Kāfī* with Maulānā Abū-Yūsuf Ḥasan Khān Puri.

The fame of Shaikh Tayab Makki attracted him to Hyderabad where he remained for a year and followed the Shaikh wherever he went. He drank deep of the Shaikh's learning and attended regularly for five years his lectures on Logic, Philosophy, Literature, Principles of Jurisprudence, Jurisprudence, Commentary and *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī. For some personal reasons he left his revered teacher never to meet him again. He had the greatest love and regard for his teacher but he had his differences with him regarding Abū-Huraira. He was so strong in his opinion that he wrote a scholarly booklet on Abū-Huraira which elicited praise from the Shaikh himself who wrote a foreword to the book. The famous scholar of Bihar, 'Allama Shaikh Shamsu'l-Ḥaq 'Azīmābādī exchanged letters with him in this connection. After perusing his booklet, he was impressed by his ability and acknowledged it by writing a foreword to the book.

He was a passionate lover of books and specially of rare manuscripts. When he heard of the Library at Tonk, he went there to copy *Al-Mustadrīk-lil-Ḥakīm* and other rare manuscripts. He decided to live there permanently and married the daughter of Sayyid Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn-Aḥmad 'Alī ibn-Moḥammad 'Alī alWā'iz-Rāmpuri, the brother of 'Allama Ḥaidar 'Alī. Nawab 'Imādu'l Mulk, who had the greatest love and reverence for his learning, called him to Hyderabad for correcting and writing commentaries on the *Diwān*, An-Nu'mān-ibn Bashīr al-Anṣārī, *Diwān*, Abi-Dūlaf, and other books. The work of Dā'iratul Ma'ārif began with his correction and commentary on *Jamharatul Lughā* by Doraid al-Azdi. He supplied a lot of rare manuscripts, copies as well as originals, to the Aṣafiyah and Ḥabībūr Raḥmān Khān Shērwanī Libraries.

Nawab 'Imād'ul Mulk wanted to instal him in the chair of Arabic literature in the Osmania University and he had arranged everything for him, but Maulānā Muḥammad 'Alī flooded him with telegrams and Ḥakīm Ajmal Khān, his class-fellow, pressed him so hard to come to Jāmi'a Millia as Arabic teacher that he could not refuse. He taught there Arabic from

1339 A.H. (1920 A.D.) to 1346 or 47 A.H. (1928 or 29 A.D.). Dr. Zakir Husain came to him as a pupil and regularly read with him privately. The Arabs, proud of their language, came and learnt Arabic literature and Ḥadīth from him. When the Indian Muslim deputation was going to Hejaz, he accompanied it in his individual capacity for a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Arabs were struck by his mastery over the Arabic language and literature, whenever they met him.

In the days of Khilāfat and non-co-operation movements, when Mr. Gandhi was the accredited leader of the Indians he refused to accept him as the leader of the Musalmans. A non-believer, he said, could not lead a true believer to the right path. His differences with Maulānā Muḥammad 'Alī on this and other points led to his disassociation from Jāmi'a. But the love of Jāmi'a remained in his heart and he had the most cordial relations with Jāmi'a men.

He had one great weakness in him as great men always have. He could not stick to one place and shifted from place to place in search of a permanent and peaceful corner to carry on his work. But Providence willed it otherwise. In a long address and panegyric, containing about one hundred verses, in honour of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, he made a stirring appeal to His Exalted Highness to afford him facilities for his work. Unfortunately it did not reach the gracious ears, but remained with his son, though it deserves publication.

From Hyderabad he went to Tonk and from there to Bombay where he remained ailing for the last four years. A few months before his demise Aligarh attracted him. In abject misery and poverty the learned soul passed away from the world on the 7th August 1942, leaving his name on the march of time.

He has left nothing for his children, except rare manuscripts and scholarly works many of which are unpublished. His eldest son Abū-Ṭāhir Suratī has read much from his father and has inherited a wonderful memory. He wants to publish the works of his father, but cannot do so for want of funds. His second son is studying English at the Aligarh Muslim University.

The Maulānā has written innumerable literary articles and many books, some published and some still lying in the shape of manuscripts on his shelf. While in Hyderabad he corrected and wrote commentaries on (1) *Kitāb al-Af'āl* by ibn al-Quttā'-as-Siqli (three volumes). (2) *Kitāb-al Kifāya-fil-'Ilmīr-Riwāya*, by Khatīb Baghdādī. (3) *Azhārul-'Arab* selections from Arabic poems in Arabic. (4). *Sīrat Imām Ibn-e-Hazm* in Arabic, not published. (5) Commentary on *Diwān* Hassān bin Thābit, 2 volumes, one complete and the other incomplete, in Arabic. (6) *Kitāb al-Juma*, pages 200, in Arabic, not published. (7) *Kitāb al-Inṣāf-fi-ma Ḥadathafi-Naḥve-Abī-Horaira-min-al-Khilāf*, in Arabic.

He was a fine poet of Arabic and a full *Dīwān* can be completed from his scattered works. Besides, there are many of his books in Arabic which cannot be discussed in such a short report. Full information can be had from his son Mulla Ṭāhir, Safdar Manzil, Aligarh. His Urdu works are :—

- (1) Criticism on Allama Shibli's *Siratun-Nabi* published in *Jāmi'a*.
- (2) Criticism on *As-Simtul-La'ālī Aḥsan-e-Hadīth-fī-Iṣbāt-e-Hujjatil-Hadīth*.
- (3) *'Ālam-e-Barzakh*. A whole issue of *Ma'ārif* was given for this article.
- (4) *Arabic Grammar*.
- (5) Translation of *Kitābat-Tauḥīd*.
- (6) Literary criticism—incomplete.

There is hardly any scholar at present so well read and with such a prodigious memory and breadth of vision. He was an authority on Arabic Grammar, Philology, Literature, History, Chronology and Biography. His position in the realm of Arabic literature is so high that it is difficult to find his equal. Any book which he chanced to peruse came within the grip of his memory. Hundreds of rare Arabic panegyrics, thousands of Arabic poems were on the tip of his tongue. He always reminded us of the strange stories of the intellect and memory of the scholars of the early decade of Islamic Arabic literature, and the Muslims are poorer to-day by the Maulānā Ṣaḥīb's death. May his soul rest in peace!

* * *

The Majlis-e-Islamia, Aligarh, is doing the noble work of cultivating interest in Islamic thoughts and culture. Eminent Muslim scholars and thinkers are invited to deliver lectures on problems vexing the Muslim youth at present. These papers are published and distributed among students, staff and public at large. Weekly lectures are held and papers relating to Islamic subjects are discussed.

Dr. Muḥammad Aḥmad Khān of Eta has associated himself with the activities of Majlis and has submitted his own plan of work. He is showing a keen interest in the study of Holy Qur'ān in the light of modern theories and thoughts. He wants to pursue a line of work similar to that of 'Allama Ṭantāwī of Egypt. His plan is to compare and contrast the modern theories with Qur'ānic verses. He has already published some papers in this connection. He proposes to set up a School of Research to work on various aspects of Holy Qur'ān. He is going to start an endowment which would provide scholarships for students prepared to work on these related problems.

The long awaited English translation of Holy Qur'ān by the learned scholar, Maulānā 'Abdul-Mājid Daryābādi is now being published by the Taj Company, Lahore. The translator has followed only the tenets of the Ahle-Sunnat. Innumerable disputed points have been clarified in the foot-notes. The Jewish and Christian books have been cited in his support. He has brought to light the meanings of many verses after a thorough research in the domain of geography and history. This translation will be of much value and use to the English-reading youths.

Sayyid Sulaimān Nadavī's short and popular biography of the Prophet *Rahmat-e-Ālam* is again going to the Press for its second edition. The writer will welcome any useful suggestion in this connection. The Hindi translation will soon see the light of the day. The work of *Hayāt-e-Shiblī* is going on with utmost care. The first volume is in the Press and is being printed under the careful guidance of Sayyid Şāhib. God willing it will be published shortly.

The Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, has published its catalogue, volume XXV. of Arabic manuscripts this year. The catalogue has been prepared by Maulavī 'Abdul Ḥamid and revised by Maulvī Mas'ūd 'Ālam Nadavī. The present volume of the Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts deals with the Arabic miscellanies contained in the collection of the Library. It is the first volume on the manuscripts of collections of treatises on varied subjects by different authorities jotted together in one volume. It contains notice of 323 treatises of varying sizes, comprised in seventeen volumes (Nos. 277-1-87) of miscellanies.

Some of the old and valuable Arabic manuscripts in this volume deserve special notice.

No. 2771/1. A copy of *al-Kitāb fi-ar-Ramya*, a rare work on archery by al-Murḥif-bin 'Abdal-Karīm, written in the sixth century A.H. in Arabic.

No. 2771/2. An old copy of *al-Urjuza*, a very concise treatise on archery, expounding briefly its objects and discussing important principles by the author of the preceding work, probably written in the sixth century A.H. in Arabic.

No. 2773/9. A copy of *Adāb al-Futya*, a rare treatise on the duties of a Muftī by Jalāl'ud-dīn, 'Abdar-Raḥmān bin Abī Bakr as-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).

No. 2773/38. A rare copy of *Maqāmāt-al-Waḥūsh*, a work in elegant prose, by Badru'ddīn Ḥasan bin 'Umar bin Ḥabīb ad-Dimashqī (d. 779/1377).

As already reported in January last year, His Excellency Nawāb Şāhib Chhatāri has appointed a committee in U.P. to devise ways and means for the reorientation of the economic, social, religious and political life of the Muslim youth of India according to the strict tenets and traditions of Islam. The committee is functioning under the able and distinguished chairmanship of 'Allama Sayyid Sulaimān Nadavī who is helped by eminent scholars, thinkers, and men of letters. The committee has already completed the draft on the political structure, which is being sent to every member for approval and suggestion. The economic planning is also being rapidly worked out. These works are not so easy as they appear. Moreover, there are difficulties in securing the concurrence of scholars of different schools of thought. But with the rising tide of consciousness and a growing demand of the Muslim youth for a political and economic programme it might serve useful purpose and be of much value at this critical juncture in the history of Muslim India.

It is a matter of great pleasure and pride that Aligarh is going to have a Jāmi'ah-e-Azhar of its own. The need of a well-equipped College of Oriental Learning similar to the School of Oriental Studies in London, has long been felt. But the idea could not be put into practical shape as there was no definite scheme before the gracious Chancellor, H.E.H. the Nizam. The Muslim University Gazette understands that "the Vice-Chancellor Lt.-Col. Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmed has suggested and that H.E.H. the Chancellor has also approved the idea that this Oriental College should be developed about the proposed Zahra Mosque."

Students from foreign countries, especially from China, desire to join Aligarh University to learn subjects relating to Islamic religion, Islamic learning and Islamic culture. If this scheme matures surely this Masjid-e-Zahra will have the same prominence and importance as Jami'ah-e-Azhar of Egypt.

It is understood that the Chancellor of the University very much appreciated the suggestion, and the plans of the building which will be necessary for such purpose are being considered. When the plans take concrete shape, it may be hoped that the position of Zahra will excel the position of Azhar.

S. A. A.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

UNDER the auspices of the Islamic Research Association, Lahore, a study circle, called the Iqbāl Study Circle, has been recently formed with the object of stimulating and promoting a systematic and scientific inquiry into the works of Iqbāl. The activity of this circle began with a thoughtful paper, read at the Oriental College by Dr. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Abdullāh, M.A., D.Litt., who pointed out and explained the scope of certain preliminary investigations which must be carried out before one could hope to understand properly the mind of Iqbāl. These preliminary investigations, according to the learned lecturer, included an accurate determination of the significance of the various characteristic terms and expressions used by the great poet, a critical analysis of the Eastern and Western sources of his thought, and an exposition of the numerous problems—religious, political and social—which he has grappled. Since most of the poetical compositions of Iqbāl are in the Persian language, the student of Iqbāl must first of all make himself conversant with the language as well as with the ideas of the Persian poets, *viz.*, Rūmī, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, Faiḍī, Nazīrī, Ṣā'ib, Jalāl Asīr, who have more or less influenced not only the thoughts but also the diction of Iqbāl. Similarly, one must gain a clear understanding of the philosophic theories of those Oriental and Occidental thinkers, *viz.*, Rūmī, Suhrawardī, Sanā'ī, Aṭṭār, Hegel, Nietzsche, Bergson and McTeggart, with whose ideas Iqbāl has concerned himself most.

It is pleasing to note that, despite the present abnormal conditions created by the present war, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf of Lahore, the well-known publisher of Islamic literature, has managed to continue his publishing activities with his usual zeal. Most of the works which he has brought out on the religion and history of Islam have already been noticed in the review-columns of this Journal. His publications are remarkable not only for the interest and importance of the subjects with which they deal, but also for their elegant get-up. The following works were published by him in the course of the last year :—

My Life : A Fragment, an autobiographical sketch by Maulānā Muhammad 'Alī ; *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, by Dr. I. H. Quraishi ; *Caliphate and Kingship in Mediæval Persia*, by Dr. A. H. Siddiqi ; *Geographical Factors in Arabian Life and History*, by Dr. Sh. Inayatullah ; *Why We learn the Arabic Language*, by Dr. Sh. Inayatullah ; and *Studies in the History of Early Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, by Professor H. K. Shērwanī.

Sh. I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

HUMĀYŪN BĀDŠĀH, Vol. II, by Dr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., Maxwell Company, Lucknow, 1941; pp. xiv+444; price Rs. 8.

THE quarter of a century which intervened between the death of Bābar and the accession of Akbar was a turning point in the history of India. It was a period of transition between the Sultanate of Delhi and the Empire of the Great Mughals, a period which saw the final overthrow of the last vestiges of Afghan rule and cleared the boards for a greater and a more renowned India. It is well known that it was Shēr Shāh's reforms which paved the way for what was accomplished later by Akbar, but this is only a half-truth and deals with only one aspect of Akbar's reign. It is really not his administrative ability which has made his name famous, but it is his catholicism, his toleration and his cultural trends which have earned him the title of "the Great"; and it is forgotten that in this he owes a great debt to his father Humāyūn, who was obedient as a son, kind as a brother, unifier of the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis, extender of toleration to the Hindus, founder of the new capital of Din Panāh away from the party turmoil of old Delhi, and the supporter of learning.

It is always difficult to find an objective study of a historical personage dead centuries ago, without much trace of the bias of the writer, and Dr. Banerji has successfully tried to write such a life-sketch. In the first volume of his work which was published some years ago, he

rightly assessed the value of the Mughal period of Indian History in the following words: "Mughal culture and civilization filtered through India's medieval society; Mughal art and architecture enriched India's artistic heritage; and Mughal ideas and ideals of government influenced the development of Indian polity. Thus our present which has its roots buried in the past, bears an unmistakable Mughal impress; and it is the duty of the historian properly to assess the Mughal contribution to the evolution of our national life." In the second volume of the work, which is now before us, he has made good his promise even to a greater extent than he had done in the first volume.

The book deals with the period from 1540 to Humāyūn's death, from the time he trod his way, after having suffered defeats at the hands of the Afghan Shēr Shāh at Chausā and Qannauj, through the Indian desert to Irān, to his reconquest of Delhi and his death fifteen years later. The author follows Humāyūn almost step by step to Lahore, across the Punjab, at Bhakkar, in his return to Rohri, in Rajputana, back to Sind and in Irān, dealing *en passant*, but in great detail, with his marriage with Hamidā Bānū Bēgam and the birth of Akbar, the recapture of Qandhār and Kābul and the reconquest of Delhi. He gives us a peep through the zenana, giving us the details of his negotiations with Hamidā Bānū before her marriage, his other wives and their progeny, and the prominent women of his time, ending the work with the innovations, regulations and monuments

of Humāyūn, the institutions of kingship and the nobility, and the great popular movements which took their root during the period, thanks to the tolerant and even helpful attitude of the government, such as those associated with the names of Kabir, Tulsi Dās, Chaitanya and Gurū Nānak. He deals at length with the Persian and Hindi poetry and has some very pertinent remarks on the early history of the Urdu language.

Dr. Banerji is thoroughly conversant with the spirit of Persian poetry and prose which forms the basis of the historical literature of Humāyūn's reign, and rightly assesses its value as a language which was gradually but certainly replacing the Turkī which was the original dialect of the Chaghtais. But it seems that in this matter he lays a little too much stress on the sojourn of Humāyūn in Irān which he says was largely responsible for this change. As a matter of fact Persian had long been the language of culture not only in the North but in the South as well, and the short duration of the life of Turkī as the court language was only a kind of interlude which soon came to an end. There are one or two other observations which need be corrected. The author says, for instance, that when Humāyūn was married to Hamīdā Bānū he had eight wives, while as a matter of fact only three were living, as is apparent from what he says on p. 39. In the same way the whole controversy about the date of Akbar's birth has been settled on the basis of the supposition that the 'Aqīqah' ceremony is performed on the fortieth day while as a matter of fact there is no such compulsion. But these and other slight slips do not minimise the excellence of the book by one iota.

The style is also excellent, such as will be seen from the graphic account of the accident which ended Humāyūn's life. The author says: "The king had fixed a grand *darbār* for that evening when a number of his officers would be rewarded with *jāgirs* and promotions. Since some time would elapse before they would assemble, the king wished to retire for rest. When he had just reached the stairs, he heard the call of the *mu'adhhdhin*

from the neighbouring mosque. In order to show reverence to the call, he wished to seat himself on the first step, his feet being on the second. As it was a cold evening of January, he wore a long robe. The flight of stairs was steep and the stone-steps were smooth and slippery. In trying to take his seat on the narrow steps, one of his feet got entangled in the flowing skirt of his robe and in the slight distraction, thus caused, his staff, on which he was resting, slipped, causing him to lose his balance and to fall head-long down several steps. He received severe injuries, some drops of blood coming out of his right ear, lost consciousness immediately after the accident and in this condition was taken to his palace. He expired eight days later on the fifteenth of *Rabi'ul awwal* (January 28, 1556) at sunset."

This is a book which should be on the shelf of everyone who wishes to make an objective study of the "stirring times" which are represented by the quarter of a century between Bābar's death and Akbar's accession.

H. K. S.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN HISTORY AND INDO-LOGY, Vol. II, for 1939, by Braz A. Fernandes, published by the Bombay Historical Society, Bombay; price Rs. 5; pp. xxxiii + 191.

THE Publication of *Bibliography of Indian History and Oriental Research for 1938* as a supplement to the *Journal of Bombay Historical Society* has been given an enthusiastic reception by scholars all over India.

With the advice of scholars and experts, the volume under review appears as an independent publication under an altered name and arrangement. It includes books and articles from periodicals, however brief, which contain anything of value to the history of India and Indology in general. This edition was expected to cover up books and journals published

in 1939 as the title suggests, but still much more remains to be added as many journals and books published in 1939 could not reach the publisher in time to be included.

This book is divided into five sections and items are arranged in alphabetical order under authors, etc., which serve a useful purpose.

We realise very well that the herculean task of compiling Annual Bibliography of Indian History is not an easy one. It is laborious and taxes the diligence and perseverance of the writer. Not only this, but the more important thing is that it requires the full co-operation of scholars, and learned institutions without whose help it would remain incomplete.

In such a volume many misprints and errors are unavoidable, but we notice only a few of them—which speaks of the high standard maintained. In the list of Periodicals and Abbreviations used, we do not find P.B.P. (*vide* item 912) and therefore we are at a loss to know what it stands for. Again, in item (832) we find Sajjad, which should read Sajjad. Besides these, there are also errors of transliteration. On pp. xx and 148, Shaikh Muhammad Ashtaf is incorrect and should read Ashraf. The item 1329 is reproduced again in 1335; this multiplicity could have been avoided. So far as these relate to the print, one could excuse them. Under Education and Geography, the list could have been improved with profit by the addition of many books and articles. The failure to mention the excellent publications on history and geography in Urdu, we are sorry to say, is the least pardonable.

In spite of these little blemishes, we are sure that no better service could be rendered to students of History and Indology than the publication of this volume which proves an invaluable guide and should be on everyone's bookshelf. We heartily congratulate Mr. Braz Fernandes and his band of learned scholars on their achievement. For a work of this kind, the price is cheap.

K. S. L.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN ARABIAN LIFE AND HISTORY
by Dr. Sh. Inayatullah, pp. 160; published by Sh. Md. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore; price Rs. 4-8-0.

THE importance of geographical factors in history is more than has hitherto been realised by our educationists and researchers. This book seems to be the first attempt in the right direction. Instead of selecting some country of outward glitter for his study, Dr. Inayatullah has been rightly advised to choose the Desert Peninsula of Arabia for his laborious task. The importance of Arabia to Islam is supreme. The Prophet was an Arab. The customs of Arabia provided the basis for Muslim laws in all those matters not covered by direct legislation. It was the Arabs, again, who founded the first Muslim State which expanded from the Atlantic to the Pacific with an unprecedented rapidity—for within 25 years of the first organisation and constitution of a city-state in Madīna by the Prophet and within 15 years of his death, we see in the time of Caliph 'Uthmān the occupation by the Muslim armies of parts of Spain in the West, of Western China in the East, of Coastal India in the South, and of Caspian regions in the North, and of all the territories that lie between. The genius of the Arab colonizers to assimilate and Arabicise wherever they went, even by changing the very mother-tongue of the conquered people, is a phenomenon the background of which remains still to be studied. The work under review is a pioneer work in an untrodden field. The investigation of geographical factors in the history and social life of a single country may easily provide materials for life-study by generations of researchers. The author is a scholar of Arabic and has, besides, utilised works existing in several of the European and Eastern languages.

So far as Arabian life is concerned, Dr. Inayatullah has confined himself to the writings of European travellers. There is no dearth of works by Eastern and Muslim travellers who had naturally

greater opportunities of close and intimate observation. More than that, the subject requires a first-hand knowledge, and we hope that before the second edition of the book is attempted, the author will visit at least Hijaz and some of the more important parts of Arabia.

The importance of periodical fairs in Arabia has by some accident failed to draw the attention of the author. We would draw the attention of the author to an article in the 5th volume of the Hyderabad Academy Studies زمانہ جاہلیت کے معاشی نظام کا اثر پہلی مملکت اسلامیہ کے قیام پر (The influence of pre-Islamic economic system of Arabia on the constitution of the first Muslim State), which might be helpful in this connection. The fauna, flora and many other things of Arabia have been described with a wealth of detail by Yāqūt and other geographers. It is the duty of the workers who follow to carefully sift all materials from every branch of classical literature—Qu'rān, Ḥadīth, Fiqh, Poetry, Geography and all—and utilise them for the purpose of deducing facts and factors bearing on the subject. We expected some mention of mules and ostrich, of the world-famous scents of Aden, of myrrh of Ḥaḍramaut, of weaving industry of Yaman and of the ilāf (ایلاف) or commercial pacts of international importance in pre-Islamic Arabia. Minerals and petrol should have also been noticed. The influence of Arabian geography on sight and hearing and on faculties of observation and retention of the people of that country, on the sciences like Astronomy and meteorology, etc., should have also been dealt with. Again, some discrimination should have been made between the data of ancient and modern times.

On the whole, however, Dr. Inayatullah is to be congratulated on this brilliant work which gives great promise of still greater achievements. It might be emphasised that the critic should not be too exacting with a young scholar who has received his first initiation in research with his thesis of doctorate. He should rather suggest lines for future works of investigation.

HISTORY OF EARLY MUSLIM POLITICAL THOUGHT AND ADMINISTRATION by Prof. Hārūn Khān Shērwanī of Hyderabad; published by Sh. Md. Ashraf, Lahore pp. 290; price Rs. 6.

MUSLIMS have for long ruled vast areas of the world with glory and lustre. Yet the principles and guiding motives of their politics and administration have yet to be studied in the light of the present day requirements of political science. No nation or civilization has had greater enemies than Islam. The Christians in Spain, Tartars in Baghdād and others in other parts of the world have made havoc of the records of Islamic achievements which have been irreparably eclipsed. Still, whatever infinitesimal portion of the whole has been able to survive is not small in quantity. But the task of their study is not light. Prof. Shērwanī has been publishing for the last several years small studies on individual personalities. All these papers have now been collected together and partially revised. He has selected, for convenience's sake, persons and not institutions. Hence the history of individual institutions during the last fourteen vicissitudinous centuries remains still to be written. Yet the work of the present character provides ready material for the worker for the kind of history we have suggested.

A study of persons and not of institutions naturally leaves many missing links in the chain, but that does not diminish the value of the present work in its field.

There are many misprints, due obviously to the fact that the publishers did not utilize the services of the author for reading at least one proof. There are others which might be attributed to the Arabic script, e.g., *Hazan Humairi* (p. 35 instead of the correct *Yazan Himyari* (p. 37), *Amman* instead of *'Uman, Akad* for *'Ukaz* (39), and *yaqta* for *Yaqza* (64); Zainab was not the daughter of عبدالمطلب. Such examples may be multiplied.

The author has evolved an altogether

new system of transliteration, which has this undesirable characteristic that new values are given to old conventional signs; e.g., th for (ذ) instead of (ث), d for (ڈ) instead of (ض), ş for (ث) instead of (ص), † for (ث) instead of (ط). The professor would have been well-advised to invent new signs for new sounds of Urdu letters instead of causing confusion to students with regard to Arabic letters.

The work is a happy acquisition in the literature of its kind and partially fills a long-felt need.

S. K.

Haidar 'Alī, Vol. I, 1721-1779, by Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta, 1941); price Rs. 5; pp. iv + 294.

OF late, scholars have taken interest in the Mysore Hero, Haidar 'Alī, and three books have been written on this interesting personality of the 18th century. Among them Dr. Sinha's monograph, the one under review, stands out prominently.

Dr. N. K. Sinha, Professor of Indian History of Calcutta University, has already two books to his credit, viz., "The Rise of the Sikh Power" and "Ranjit Singh." These works have already earned him a name as a cautious and accurate scholar. In them we find less of wordiness, and more of balanced judgment and freshness of thought.

From the North-West he has directed his attention to the South with success. This monograph is a credit to his labour and a real contribution in the field of Indian History. It was in 1936 that the author thought of writing a monograph on Haidar, and we find that he contributed no less than five articles, published in the Indian History Congress Journal and the Historical Records Proceedings, which are now incorporated in this book as Chapters VI, VIII, IX, XV and XVI.

It is a well-known fact that Colonel Mark Wilks earned an undying name by

his standard work on Mysore, which runs in three excellent volumes. These volumes still command our respect as a standard work of unsurpassed value. Before he took up his pen on this subject the author thought that no useful purpose would be served unless something new was contributed to the study of Haidar 'Alī. That is why he perused Wilks very minutely to ascertain whether his proposed work would be of any use. Wilks had neither the time, nor the opportunity to utilise the contemporary Marathi, Portuguese, Dutch and French sources. Thus we find that the author made good the shortcomings in Wilks's works and the result, thanks to his energy and zeal, is the present monograph. We are happy to find that the author has utilised materials collected from far-off situated cities, viz., Mysore, Madras, Travancore, Nova Goa, Calcutta, New Delhi and London, and, what is more creditable, from more languages than a student of history can know, i.e., English, Marathi, Persian, Kanarese, Tamil, Telugu, Portuguese, Dutch, etc. Besides this, the bibliographical note at the close of the book is very instructive.

We do not find any mention of the Bombay Records. We had the pleasure of utilising these records and we know that they contain material which would have been useful to the author. When the Bombay Record office possesses Records of a period earlier than 1767, then it is strange that Delhi should be without them.

We feel that the author could have utilised two MSS. in Hyderabad, and a few more from the Sa'idia Library. That would have changed his opinion on Tuzuk-i-Walājāhī, which is still an incomplete work. This much is for the MSS. As regards the published material, we do not find any reference to the Gazettes, as we know that they contain some useful informations on Haidar 'Alī. These are only our suggestions.

It should be remembered that this work does not claim to be a history of Mysore from 1721-1782, nor specifically a biography of Haidar 'Alī. To borrow the author's expression—it is a study in biographical form of a typical figure of

18th century. While not neglecting personal details, the author has devoted his attention to the military and diplomatic activities of his hero.

Unlike other world-famous personalities, Haidar 'Ali was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. In the first chapter, which is short and interesting, the author traces the early career of his hero in spite of the paucity of material.

In the 2nd chapter the author says, "Haidar's rise, like that of many other great men, was as much due to his energy, enterprise and daring as to his opportunities. A detailed study of his career from 1750-60 leads logically to the conclusion that he had a nicely calculated programme which unfolded itself stage by stage. But so much of his success he owed to external complications with their quick turns and sudden changes in the course of events that it is very difficult to say what he owed to his own foresight and how much to circumstances. Intrepid and swift, he was always ready to take advantage of his opportunities." Such is the opinion of the learned author. We cannot help recalling a character sketch of Haidar 'Ali by the Madras Courier of 8th October 1789. We quote it in *extenso* for the benefit of readers, as it makes an interesting comparative study of Haider 'Ali.

"The late Nabob 'Ali Khān had evidently no bounds to his ambition but the steps he took to raise himself were gradual; he weighed his projects with the abilities of a sound politician and carried his enterprises into execution with steadiness of determination, boldness and intrepidity of determination, which ever rendered him a formidable and warlike enemy; the enthusiasm of religion never diverted his thoughts from the attention due to the more material interest of a rich populous and flourishing kingdom. It is true he was a Musalman, but not bigot; the man who gave attention to the duties of his station of whatever caste or sect, seldom failed to feel the consequences accruing from his industry. Merit, it is said, when known to him never went without its reward; he assiduously cultivated the good opinion of the Brahmans,

being fully convinced how necessary the craft and consequences of those priests were in almost every department of the State. He is said to have been strict in the administration of justice amongst his subjects but parsimonious in all pecuniary transactions and insatiably rapacious in accumulating hoards of wealth in the event of conquest; his love for money has led him to the perpetration of the most unheard of cruelties; he conducted the intricate business of his durbar with a perspicuity and profundity of discernment hardly credible, having been an illiterate man. Although stern in aspect, he was mild and engaging in his manners.....he professed friendship for European ever anxious to learn something from them, he was certainly possessed of more real goodness of heart and more sincere affections for his subjects than his successor and son Tippoo."

In Chapter VI entitled the "Relations with the Marathas 1764-1765," we find incidents are narrated up to the 3rd May 1764 (p. 75) but nothing is mentioned what took place in September 1764, although the events of 16th November 1764 (p. 77) are mentioned. While in Chapter VIII, "Relations with the British 1760-67" (pp. 97, 98), the author says, "While the Madras Government and the Mysore Chieftain were eyeing (?) each other with suspicion, the Bombay people perhaps more intent on trade obtained from Haidar an exclusive right to purchase pepper in preference to all others, and they even suggested to the Madras people that as some dispute subsisted between Haidar and the Nawab of Arcot, the President and Council should try to settle it. They were so friendly to Haidar that they even supplied him some cannon, gunpowder and fire-arms when he pressed urgently for aid in men and store at the time of Mahadev Rao's expedition (1764-1765) and this at the risk of antagonising the great Peshwa." This statement requires explanation and correction.

We know that the English were interested in capturing pepper trade—and tried to persuade Haider 'Ali to

give them the monopoly of the trade. In his letter, dated the 27th August 1764, Haidar 'Alī writes to the Bombay Council as follows: "By Muḥammad Husain I received your letter and presents you to sent (?) to me which gave me great satisfaction. I observed all that you say and Mānocjee has (?) told me everything (?) for you. The trade of pepper and sandal-wood is entirely yours and I wish our friendship may be daily more and more increased for our mutual happiness." (Public Department Diary 10, pp. 592-94). But what happened a little later on was that Haidar 'Alī found himself face to face with the Marathas. He requested the English to supply him with guns, soldiers and ammunition from Bombay at his own expense. (P.D.D. 10, pp. 592-94). The details of this proposal were that the English should send him five guns—25 pounders, five guns—28 pounders and five thousand English and German muskets. The English, fearing that the Marathas would attack Haidar's ports such as Onnore and others and destroy their valuable depots and godowns. promised to consider his proposal. But the President of the Council thought that it would not be proper time for them to come into open conflict with the Marathas. In spite of this, Haidar submitted a fresh proposal consisting of four clauses, too detailed to mention here. But as the Maratha army under Mahadev Rao encamped near Haidar's, the Hon'ble East India Co., felt that Haidar's position was precarious and as

such it was not safe. Therefore they declined to extend any help to Haidar.

On p. 215, the author says, "Dhaunsa proved absolutely undependable. 'Either because he was really chicken-hearted or on account of the Nizam's hesitant policy, he would not take the offensive.' We know from the Marathi and other sources that Dhaunsa was a brave soldier and not at all chicken-hearted. Then why did he prove Undependable? The answer is that the gold of Haidar kept him inactive as well as the hesitant policy of his master."

In his Chapter, "Relations with the British 1775-1779," the learned author has clearly proved beyond a shadow of doubt the bungling policy of the British. Many records bear ample testimony to this sad truth.

What we have said about this book in no way affects the high standard attained by this work. This scholarly monograph will remain an authoritative work on Haidar and Dr. Sinha has laid us under a debt of gratitude.

The publisher should also be congratulated very heartily on the production of so important a work in so neat and delightful a form, without any misprint or error, while the print, paper and map add to the reader's delight. The price is very cheap.

K. S. L.



[And say ; My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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MUSLIM CONTRIBUTIONS TO GEOGRAPHY . DURING THE MIDDLE AGES¹

GREEK and Roman contributions to geography reach their high watermark with the work of Ptolemy, and perhaps it would not be too much to say that with him the story of ancient discovery comes to an end. From then onwards, books in Greek and Latin cease to contain any more information and gradually the Dark Age of geography set in, which is characterised by a negation of the spirit of inquiry, a dominating feature of the early centuries of the Christian era. During this period the Pagan Greeks and their intellectual attainments failed to excite admiration from Christian savants. The influence of early Christian teachings was detrimental to the general acceptance of pre-Christian geographical theory. In the words of no less a person than St. Ambrose, "to consider the nature and position of the earth does not help us in our hope of the life to come."

The introduction of curious extravagances began to replace the so-called pagan views, the end of the world was freely anticipated in 1,000 A.D. and the spherical shape of the earth and the existence of the antipodes were subjects of ridicule. For example, Monk Cosmas carried these ideas to their logical conclusion by entirely refuting the pre-Christian views about cosmography (astronomical geography, as it was then called) in his famous work *Christian Topography*. His earth was flat, rectangular and oblong, twice as long from east to west as from north to south, and was surrounded by oceans. In addition, a high mountain rose in the north behind which the tiny sun played hide-and-seek to bring forth day and night—and beyond the unknown vast oceans lay Paradise. These conceptions about the earth remained the fundamental teachings of what has been called the 'school of violent denial.' It is, in fact, against such a background that we are to judge the merits of the geographical works of those early Muslims who rekindled the spirit of classical Greece and, what is of greater importance, carried it much further in enriching geographical thought.

1. 'Muslim Contributions to Geography' was the title of an article by the author, which was published in the Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Vol. XIV, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1939. The author has used some material from the above-mentioned contribution, but the present work has been greatly enlarged in the light of additional sources which have been consulted. He is very grateful to Dr. S. Akhtar Imâm, M.A., Ph.D. (Bonn), Department of Arabic, Calcutta University, for valuable help in connection with the reading of German and Arabic texts and for several useful suggestions.

The Arabs were indeed the heirs of that Hellenistic culture for which a way was first opened by the conquests of Alexander and which became so widely diffused throughout the eastern provinces of the later Roman empire. Much later, with the close of the Umayyad period in the middle of the 8th century A.D., the wave of Islamic conquest and expansion had reached its maximum limits and the Muslims settled down to ways of peace and culture, and along with growing prosperity was ushered in a remarkable period of general intellectual activity.

The rise of the Prophet Muḥammad is one of the most stupendous events in history. After the disappearance of the Persian empire and the impotency of the Romans, the Muslim dominions extended from the borders of China to the heights of the Pyrenees—a distance of over 7,000 miles ; unlimited intercourse and extensive commercial activity through the vastness of the Muslim world offered valuable opportunities for the advancement of knowledge and culture.

Two things must be borne in mind in connection with the scope and influence of Muslim geographical thought. Firstly, this contribution was not only immense but reveals a distinct advance over classical achievements generally. Secondly, it influenced Europe perhaps only indirectly and in a limited sense, because of the prejudices and ignorance of contemporary Europe, which was further inflamed by the long-drawn conflict between the Cross and the Crescent.

Taking the Muslim contributions to geography as a whole we propose to resort to a three-fold division : (1) Descriptive geography and the Muslim geographers, (2) Advancement of geographical conceptions and geographical interpretations, (3) Cartography [astronomical and mathematical geography is left over for more technical treatment].

DESCRIPTIVE GEOGRAPHY

THE development of Muslim descriptive geography has four distinct aspects and the relevant material is derived from contributions pertaining to these fields, *i.e.* (1) an extensive travel literature by land and by sea, (2) the various itineraries, giving profuse details of routes, distances and stages, (3) elaborate treatises on regional and local geography, (4) a mass of historical-topographical literature on single towns in various parts of the Islamic world—quite often providing much geographical information.

Besides possessing the Roman's knowledge of lands and seas, the Arabs were better acquainted with four other regions hitherto only vaguely known.

Strabo's and Ptolemy's knowledge about the regions round the Caspian Sea and areas to the north-east of the Black Sea was very scanty. Pliny regarded the Scythians as cannibals while Ptolemy's sea of Azov extended to the site of Moscow. The sea of Aral was not mentioned at all. The lake

of Khwarizm (Aral) was represented for the first time on a map in caliph al-Mā'mūn's times.

Many expeditions were sent in this direction from Baghdād. In 921 A.H. Ibn-Faḍlān went as an envoy to the Court of Volga Bulgars and wrote the first reliable account of this area. Later on, numerous Arab traders visited these parts and extended their activity to southern Russia and Poland. Scandinavian countries too did not escape their notice and the recent discovery of large numbers of Arab coins in Sweden proves the extent of their activity.

In those early times, the frequency of typhoons and the danger of pirates were a positive menace to sea ventures in Far Eastern waters. The Roman trade with south-western China was directed through the Burma-Yunnan route and their knowledge about Malaya and the East Indies was inaccurate. Ptolemy supposed that south-eastern Asia extended westward in the south, to join with Africa, thereby making the Indian Ocean a land-locked body of water. Undoubtedly, Arab and Persian maritime activity had been extended to Chinese waters before the advent of Islam. But with the rising tide of the new religion, the early Muslims wished to take the message of the Prophet even to China. They succeeded in reaching Canton and built a mosque there with Chinese good-will. Some of the first accounts of these regions are those of Sulaimān, the merchant (237 A.H./851 A.D.), who travelled to India and China in the middle of the 9th century. Later, in the beginning of the 10th century, Abū-Zaid aṣ-Ṣirāfī collected accounts of these areas and their maritime routes in what is known as *Silsilat-ul-Tawārikh*. His *Hand-book of India and China*, اخبار الصين والهند, in its first part mostly gives a repetition of the notes of Sulaimān the merchant, but in the second part Ṣirāfī deals with the changes that had taken place in commerce by sea in their relation to history. On the whole, this remained a much frequented area by navigators and traders. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa also gives us glimpses of the special features of this far-off corner in the course of his sea journeys from Malabar to the Maldives, Ceylon, Coromandal Coast, Malaya, and China. Thus, throughout, a great deal of knowledge pertaining to nautical and maritime matters was accumulated. This fact is further brought out by such interesting compilations as Buzurg ibn Shahriyār's book on the Wonders of India, كتاب عجائب الهند, and much later by the utilisation of the services of the experienced navigator Ibn al-Mājid (Shihāb ad-Dīn), d. 1500, by Vasco da Gama in 1498 from the African coast to Malabar in the course of his epoch-making voyage.

A younger contemporary of Mājid, Sulaimān al-Mahrī wrote *Kitāb al-Fawā'id* (كتاب الفوائد) providing up-to-date information about the Indian and Far Eastern waters. Stories such as those of 'Sindbad the Sailor' characteristically reveal the active interest taken by people at large in distant areas across the seas.

The Greeks and Romans had frequented the East African coast and the former had also founded coastal settlements. But their activity was largely confined to the littoral portion, the tropical heart of Africa remained unknown to them. Muslims not only claim many maritime adventures in these seas but they also seriously undertook inland penetration up to the coasts of modern Natal. The adventures of the stories of Sindbād the Sailor are very largely concerned with exploits off the East African coast. No doubt fact and fiction are blended in such stories, but a great deal of knowledge about these lands was forthcoming. Roman 'Africa' largely meant Mediterranean coastal regions *plus* the bordering desert fringes and Egypt. Soon after the conquest of Egypt the Arabs penetrated into the Sahara: on the one hand they reached the Senegal and the Niger, and on the other they knew the secrets of the Nile valley. They explored Sudan and established friendly relations with Abyssinia (Habash).

In fact such expansions in the knowledge about descriptive geography as have been very briefly summarised were possible on account of an extensive commercial activity, the political and spiritual dominance of the Muslims, and the remarkable achievements of intrepid travellers like Ibn-Faḍlān, al-Bīrūnī, Ibn-Hawqal, Mas'ūdī, Idrīsī and Ibn-Battūṭa, to mention but a few of them, and seamen of the calibre of Sulaimān, Abū-Zaid, Ibn-Shahriyār, Mājid, and al-Mahrī. In addition to this, the annual congregation at Mecca provided vast opportunities for an exchange of views and the narration of experiences in travelling, when thousands of Muslims from different climes, of different races, and from far-off lands met their co-religionists.

The Muslims not only increased the geographical knowledge of new areas in Asia and Africa, but, what is more creditable, they contributed to methods of geographical interpretation, which we are not to judge by the standards of the 20th century. The attempts can be regarded as the earliest beginnings of a 'regional conception' in geography, which preceded modern sociological and human studies by many centuries.

Thus many of these geographical writings reveal an attempt to study cause and effect, to explain man's reaction to his environment, and herein certainly lies their superiority over their Greek and Roman prototypes. In fact these Muslim mediæval geographers made a serious departure from old traditions by pulling geographical studies out of the dominating astronomical and mathematical tangle. Even that great master Ptolemy can be described to be "more of an astronomer than a geographer." He used his net of latitude and longitude to devise a mathematical division of the known world, upon which were based his geographical regions, without any attention being paid to physical and political boundaries. As Muslim geographical studies developed, this method was found increasingly unsatisfactory and gradually the new approach of a "regional study" based upon the study of geographical surroundings and their influences on human activity, began to be increasingly introduced along with

numerous historical facts and other material less relevant.

Valuable Muslim contributions to geography began with the commencement of the Abbasid Age and lasted till the advent of the Mongol hordes, when the best in that culture was destroyed. Baghdād remained for long a notable centre of such intellectual pursuits, but both the eastern and the western parts of the Islamic world shared in this academic activity.

THE GEOGRAPHERS

THE earliest known Muslim geographical work was that of Hishām Abul-Mundhir ibn al-Kalabī (d. 820 A.D.) but only a few fragments¹ of his work have come down to us. He is said to have written ten books on geographical matters. It is surmised that he probably dealt also with other subjects than Arabia.

The work of al-Khwārizmī (Muḥammad b. Mūsa) laid the first foundations of Arabian geographical science. His *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* (كتاب صورة الارض, Shape of the Earth) was written in the first half of the 9th century A.D. The exact date has not been fixed, but, according to Wiedemann, the author (Khwārizmī) took part in the scientific activity which flourished in the reign of the caliph Mā'mūn (813-33 A.D.), and it is surmised that his geographical work is connected with the famous map drawn by numerous scholars for Mā'mūn. But Barthold believes that the work was probably compiled in the days of Mu'tasim, as the new capital Samarra (Surra-man-ra'a) is mentioned by Khwārizmī. As to the merit of the work, Nallino² remarks that it is a work the like of which no European nation could have produced at the dawn of its scientific activity.

The famous philosopher al-Kindī (Abū-Yūsuf Ya'qūb) was a younger contemporary of Khwārizmī. He wrote a geographical work under the title *Description of the Inhabited Part of the Earth* (رسم المعمور من الارض).

A pupil of Kindī, Sarakhsī (Ahmed b. Muḥammad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib) who died in 899 A.D. was the author of a book on *Routes and Kingdoms*.

About the same time one of the leading mathematicians, Abul-Ḥasan Thābit b. Qurra' (836-901 A.D.), translated Ptolemy. To Sarakhsī, who was a native of Khorāsān and worked at Baghdād, goes the credit of producing a work which was more 'geographical' than astronomical and mathematical in outlook.

One of the earliest geographical works of this period is that of Ibn-Khurdādhbih (Abul-Qāsim 'Ubaidullāh ibn-'Abdullāh) who was descended from a Persian family and was brought up in Baghdād, where

1. Maulānā Sulaimān Nadavī in *Arḍ ul-Qur'ān*, Vol. I, p. 16, says that a few fragments of Kalabī's work are available, while Kramers, writing in the supplement to the *Encycl. Islam*, says that none has come down to us. Maulānā calls him the author of كتاب النواذر •

2. Minorsky, V., *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (Barthold's Preface, 10).

he made the acquaintance of the celebrated musician Ishāq of Moṣul. He also studied literature along with music. Later on he became chief postmaster of Jibāl province. Between the years 844 and 848 A.D. he was at Samarra on the Tigris, and it was then that he wrote his famous *Kitāb al-Masālik w'al Mamālik*, كتاب المسالك و الممالك, (on Routes and Kingdoms). This book gives a summary of the main trade-routes of the Arab world. Though in several places facts are mixed with hearsay and fiction, yet this work provides descriptions of such distant lands as China, Korea, and Japan.

A work of about the same period is that of a Bedouin, Arrām b. al-Asbaj as-Sulamī, written about 231 A.H. (845 A.D.) known as كتاب اسماء جبال تهامه و مكاها, which deals with the mountains of Tihāma in Arabia. This work is mentioned by aṣ-Ṣirāfi. Yāqūt, the famous 13th century geographer, also mentions another book by the same author جزيرة العرب (the 'Isle' of Arabia) in his dictionary of learned men, معجم الادباء, Vol. III, p. 86.¹

A geographer of outstanding fame was Ya'qūbī (Aḥmad b. Abī-Ya'qūb b. Ja'far b. Wahab b. Wādeḥ al-'Abbāsī), who was of the family of 'Abbāsīd caliphs and a Shī'ite.² He was at the Ṭahirid court in Khorāsān and was a widely travelled man, having visited India, Egypt, and Maghrib (N.W. Africa). He wrote something resembling a modern gazetteer, called *Kitāb al-Buldān* (كتاب البلدان, Book of Countries), in 278 A.H. (891 A.D.). This work gives details about numerous places and here and there attempts are made to state facts of physical geography explaining the human geography of many areas. This work of Ya'qūbī has unfortunately not survived in its entirety. But it gives a valuable account of Baghdād as well as of several other cities. Details of the high roads across the 'Irāq province are found fully set forth only in his work. Ya'qūbī was also the author of a history of the Abbasids in two volumes carried down to 872 A.D. He is sometimes popularly known as the 'father of Muslim geography.' Perhaps this is because of the fact that his work is much more widely known in the West.

Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Marwazī, who died 274 A.H. (887 A.D.), wrote his *Kitāb al-Masālik w'al Mamālik* (On Routes and Kingdoms) and this work (المسالك و الممالك) was certainly of some importance as it was mentioned by Ibn an-Nadīm in *Fihrist*, (p. 150, and also by Yāqūt in معجم الادباء, Vol. II, p. 400).³

Al-Bāladhūrī (Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jābir) was a great historian whose reliability and critical powers are much appreciated. Though he was not primarily a geographer, he discusses geographical topics in many places

1. Brockelmann: *Supplement* Bd. I.

2. *History of Arabic Literature*, Clement Huart, p. 292.

3. Brockelmann: *Supplement*, Bd. I.

in his writings. For example, he refers in his well-known work *Futūh al-Buldān* (فتوح البلدان) to the bursting of the banks of the Tigris in Sassanian times. He was educated at Baghdād during Mā'mūn's days and wrote his فتوح البلدان about 869 A.D. According to Yāqūt (معجم الادباء) Vol. II, p. 131, he had written two more books, كتاب البلدان الصغير and كتاب البلدان الكبير, which have not come down to us. In his later years he died of mental derangement after drinking Balādhur (Indian 'Bhang') in 892 A.D.

Al-Hamadānī (Abū-Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-Faqīh) was born in Hamadān, a famous city of Irān. He was the author of كتاب البلدان (Book of Countries) which was probably written in 902 A.D.¹ Soon after the death of the caliph Mu'tadid, but all that we now possess of this work is the extract² made in 1022 A.D. by 'Alī ibn Ja'far of Shāizar.

Ibn-Rustah (Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Rustah) was the author of an encyclopædia *al-A'lāq an-Nafīseh* (الاعلاق النفيسه), the seventh volume of which (now in the British Museum) deals with geography. His work was compiled at Iṣfahān in 290 A.H. (903 A.D.). Though Ibn-Rustah's geographical writings have an astronomical bias, his discussions deal with a variety of topics, like the extent of the earth, the founding of Mecca and Madīna, seas, rivers, climate, as well as the geography of Irān and adjoining lands.

But to a geographer, of the utmost interest is his most minute account of the great Khurāsān road as far as Ṭūs (near modern Maṣhad) with some of its branch roads, notably those going to Iṣfahān and Herāt; also the roads from Baghdād to Kūfah and Baṣrah with the continuation to Shirāz. In addition to remarks about exact distances and prominent stages on these roads Ibn-Rustah describes the relief of the areas traversed, and this has helped in the fixing of many sites of towns which no longer exist.

Ibn-Serapion is an altogether obscure geographer and only a few details about him are known. He was a Copt (Egyptian Christian), and compiled his work about the year 945 A.D., after the taking of Baghdād by Buwaihids. He is said to have made a chart describing 'Irāq with special reference to Baghdād and parts of Mesopotamia. He wrote about the river and canal system of Mesopotamia and added shorter descriptions of rivers in other provinces. Le Strange has utilized his work in connection with his two books.³

Ibn-Faḍlān (Aḥmad b. Faḍlān b. 'Abbās b. Rashīd b. Ḥammād) is one of the earliest traveller-geographers, whose accounts of the Volga-Caspian

1. Work edited by Prof. Aḥmed Zaki Validi of Turkey.

2. *History of Arabic Literature*, Huart, p. 299.

3. *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate and Baghdād under the Abbasid Caliphate*.

regions are greatly valued. He was sent by caliph al-Muqtadir in Šafar 309 A.H. (June 921 A.D.) as an envoy to the king of Volga Bulgars, where he arrived on the 13th Muḥarram 310 A.H. (11th May 922 A.D.). On his return to Baghdād he described his journey in the form of a book which is perhaps the first reliable account of an area about which very little was known till then. Yāqūt later on probably utilized this source in his work معجم البلدان. Another work of considerable importance by Ibn-Faḍlān is his *Risālah* (رساله) which has recently been discovered by Prof. Zakī Validī at Mashhad.¹

Abul-Faraj (Qudāmah b. Ja'far al-Kātib al-Baghdādī) who died, 310 A.H. (922 A.D.) wrote *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (كتاب الخراج), a book which deals with land-tax, but in the introduction the author deals with the organisation of postal services and provides a summary of the geography of the Arab empire and the adjoining countries.

Al-Jaihanī was a minister at the Samanid court between 279-295 A.H. (892-907 A.D.). He compiled a work on the lines of Qudāmah's *Kitāb al-Kharāj*. This work has been lost, but Sprenger is of the opinion that perhaps Idrīsī utilized it in describing many parts of Asia. Another outstanding traveller-geographer was Abū-Dulaf (Mis'ar b. al-Muhalhal al-Khazrajī al-Yanbū'ī). He was born at Yanbū' near Mecca and later lived as a poet at the court of the Samanid prince Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'il, from 301-331 A.H. (913-942 A.D.). In 331 A.H. (942 A.D.) an Indian envoy is said to have come to this court on a mission of goodwill from an Indian prince Kalatli b. Shakhbar.² Abū-Dulaf went with the mission on its return journey and visited Kashmīr, Kābul, Sīstān, and the Malabār and the Coromandal coasts. On his return he wrote عجائب البلدان (*Wonders about Countries*). This work was later utilized by Yāqūt and Qazwīnī.

Al-Balkhī (Abū-Zaid Aḥmad b. Sahl) was born near Balkh in Shamistan. He went to 'Irāq for his education and became a pupil of the famous philosopher al-Kindī, under whom he studied history and philosophy. On his return to his native land he took up service under the prince of Balkh (Aḥmad b. Sahl b. Hāshim al-Marvazī who died in 307 A.H./919 A.D.). Balkhī is one of the early Muslim map-makers and most of his work كتاب الاشكال or صورة الاقاليم (*Figures of Climes*) consists of explanations of charts. He also wrote on *Routes and Kingdoms* (المسالك و الممالك). His works were compiled in 309 A.H./921 A.D. and he died in 322 A.H./934 A.D.

Another geographer about whom few biographical details are available is al-Iṣṭakhrī (Abū-Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī), who must

1. Prof. Z. Validī's contributions in *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. 204, p. 144, and *Geographische Zeitschrift*, 1934, Vol. I, p. 368.

2. Brockelmann, p. 228.

have lived in the first half of the 4th century A.H. (10th A.D.) as there is evidence of his contact with Ibn-Ḥawqal in 340 A.H. (951-52 A.D.) or according to De Goeje between 318-21 A.D. Iṣṭakhrī wrote on *Routes and Kingdoms*, and his book is based upon Balkhī's earlier work of the same name. In his work also maps play an important part. He was a native of Iṣṭakhr in Fārs (in Irān).

Ibn-Ḥawqal (Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad) is noted for his extensive travels, which lasted no less than 30 years. He left Baghdād in Ramaḍān 331 A.H. (May 953 A.D.), and travelled throughout the Muslim world gathering a store of knowledge and experience. He had studied Khurdādhbih and Jaihānī and met Iṣṭakhrī in 340 A.H. and at the latter's request revised his work and maps, but later on rewrote it under the same name about 367 A.H. (977 A.D.). Dozy believes that he was a spy in the service of the Fāṭimids but that does not lessen the merit of his compilation and his labour.

Al-Mas'ūdī (Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ḥusain) is famous both as a historian and as a geographer, and was certainly one of the most versatile of the 4th century writers. He belonged to an Arab family and was born at Baghdād. He early acquired a 'wanderlust' and commenced his travels through Irān, and was in Iṣṭakhr in 305 (915 A.D.). He continued his travels eastward next year. In India he visited Multān and Maṣūrah and after passing through Ceylon he went onward to the China sea, came back to Zanzibar and later reached 'Umān. After a short while he travelled along the southern shores of the Caspian sea and visited Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine. He was in Egypt during the later years of his life and died at Fustāṭ in 345 A.H. (956 A.D.). Mas'ūdī's vast experiences of travel and observation are recorded in his (مروج الذهب ومعادن الجواهر) (*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Precious Stones*). Fortunately the text of this great work is available to the modern reader. Mas'ūdī had made a thoroughgoing study of the geographical literature available and therefore incorporated references to numerous works now not extant.

Al-Ḥā'ik (Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb al-Hamdānī b. al-Ḥā'ik, the weaver) was a man well-versed in history, but was also a geographer of no mean merit, besides being an astronomer and a poet. He came from a Yemenite family and was very much interested in the folk-lore of ancient South Arabia. He wrote *Kitāb-Jazīrat al-'Arab* (كتاب جزيرة العرب, *A Geography of Arabia*)—dealing with its physical features, races, tribes, animal and mineral products, routes and settlements, etc. He also wrote الأكتيل about forts and graves and other archæological aspects of Yemen. Unfortunately many details about him are not known. He is said to have died at Ṣan'ā in 334 A.H. (945 A.D.), in prison.

Al-Maqdisī, also sometimes known as Muqaddasī (Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad), was a native of Palestine and was born in

Jerusalem. His fame as a geographer is widely recognised in the west. Maqdisī was a great traveller and visited all parts of the Islamic world except India and Spain. In his writings he reveals himself as a very close observer of life and professions, and seems to have a great insight into the literature of the lands which he visited. He wrote *احسن التقاسيم في معرفة الاقاليم* (*the Best of Divisions for the Knowledge of the Climes*) in his fortieth year, at *Shīrāz* in Fārs, in 375 A.H. (985 A.D.). According to Maqdisī, geography had received scant attention from the scientific writers who had preceded him, and therefore he took upon himself the task of collecting data from all parts of the Islamic world based upon personal travel and observation, and presented them in a coherent form for the proper understanding of the life, manners, and needs of peoples. His method is best set forth in his own words :—“ I thought it expedient therefore to engage in a subject which they (scientists and writers) have disregarded and to single out a branch of knowledge of which they have not treated save imperfectly— and that is the chorography (geography) of the empire of Islam, comprising a description of the deserts and seas, the lakes and the rivers that it contains, its famous cities and noted towns, the resting-places on its roads and highways of communication ; the original sources of spices and drugs ; and the places of the growth and production of exports and staple commodities and containing an account of the inhabitants of different countries as regards the diversity in their language and manner of speech , the hills, plains, and mountains, the limestones and the sandstones, the thick and thin soils, the lands of plenty and fertility , the various states and their boundaries ; the cold and the hot regions and the rural and frontier districts. It is amazing to note how near he comes to the conceptions of a modern geographer as regards the utility of the subject for general education ; for he says :—“ I recognised that this subject is an all-important one for travellers and merchants. It is desired by princes and noble personages, sought for by judges and doctors of law, the delight of commoners and men of rank ”¹ Among the geographers whom Maqdisī had consulted were *Khurdādhbih*, *Jaihanī*, *Balkhī*, *Hamadānī* and *Jāhiz*. He discusses their merits and drawbacks very frankly. Accompanying his description of the lands of Islam, which he divided into fourteen divisions or provinces, Maqdisī prepared separate maps² for each division, and in these maps he used symbols and methods of representation of relief, etc., for their proper comprehension by all. In his maps, routes were coloured red ; the golden sands, yellow ; the salt seas, green ; the well-known rivers blue ; and the principal mountains drab.

He considered the earth to be nearly spherical in shape, divided into two equal parts by the equator, and having 360 degrees of circumference, with 90 degrees from the equator to each pole. He conceived of the

1. Maqdisi, pp. 2-3.

2. Ibid., p. 12.

southern hemisphere as mostly consisting of water and the northern as having the concentration of land.¹ In connection with the description of his 'climatic' zones he gives numerous details of physical and human geography. On the whole his descriptions of places, of manners and customs, of products and manufactures, and his brief geographical accounts of individual provinces are some of the finest written pages in the whole range of medieval Arab literature.² Two copies of his work are available, one is the Constantinople manuscript and the other is in Berlin.

A geographical work of considerable importance written towards the close of the 10th century A.D. which has only recently³ come to light is *Hudūd al-'Ālam* حدود العالم (the Regions of the World), written in Persian by an unknown author. It was compiled in 372 A.H. (982-83 A.D.), and is dedicated to the Amīr 'Abdul-Ḥārith-Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, of the local Farighunid dynasty which ruled in Guzganan, now northern Afghanistan.⁴ The unique manuscript was copied in 656 A.H. (1258 A.D.) by Abu'l Mu'ayyid 'Abdul-Qayyūm b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-'Alī al-Fārisī.

The book deals with the geography of such distant areas as India, Tibet, China, Turkistan, Volga Bulgars, Caucasus, Spain and eastern Europe, etc. There are more detailed accounts of the author's native land. Prof. Minorsky considers it conspicuous for its well-balanced brevity and believes that perhaps it was written as a 'preface to a map' to which the author refers again and again. Unfortunately no trace of such a map is available. He is also of the opinion that Balkhī, Iṣṭakhrī, Khurdādhbih, and possibly Ibn-Ḥawqal were the sources which were largely used by the writer of *Hudūd al-'Ālam*. Before describing the various parts of the inhabited world the author devotes chapters to seas, islands, mountains, rivers, and deserts.

Muhallabī was the author of an outstanding geographical work dealing with Sudan, which was written for the Fātimid caliph al-'Azīz in 375 A.H. (985 A.D.). It was the first book of its kind about this area and later formed Yāqūt's main source for the geography of Sudan.

Al-Bīrūnī (Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad), one of the greatest Muslim scholars, was a scientist, historian, and naturalist, and had studied chronology, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. His breadth of views and the wide range of his knowledge are amazing. He had a keen geographical sense and the conclusions to which he arrives are of a high order. Al-Bīrūnī was born in one of the suburbs of Khīwā (Khwārizm) in 362 A.H./973 A.D.—hence his designation.

1. Maqdisi, pp. 99-100.

2. Le Strange—*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 13.

3. The Russian orientalist, Capt. Toumansky had asked Mirza Abul-Fadl Gulpayagani of Samarqand to look for old manuscripts in that area. On 25th Oct. 1892, the Mirza wrote to him mentioning the discovery of *Hudūd al-'Ālam*. Toumansky first mentioned the manuscript in an article in 1986—Minorsky.

4. Minorsky, V., *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (translator's Preface, VII).

He was first in the employ of the lord of Khiva but later joined the service of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. He was held in high esteem by the great Sultān and later on went to India with Maḥmūd's successor, Mas'ūd. In India al-Bīrūnī devoted himself to the study of Indian languages, especially Sanskrit, and conveyed to the Indian savants the fruits of Greek scholarship and wisdom. He left for posterity, as a result of his Indian journeys and general studies, his famous *Kitāb ul-Hind* (كتاب الهند)—a work, which, by reason of al-Bīrūnī's profound knowledge of facts, may be regarded as one of the most significant productions in the field of regional geography.

He also tackled such subjects as mineralogy and geology, the best example of his speculation in the latter field being his explanation of the origin of the plain of Hindustan, which area, according to him, was formerly the bed of a sea and was later filled up by alluvial sediment. The remarkable closeness of this view to the modern conception can best be shown by al-Bīrūnī's own words. He says, ".....one of these plains is India, limited in the south by the above-mentioned Indian Ocean, and on three sides by lofty mountains, the waters of which flow down to it. But if you see the soil of India with your own eyes and meditate on its nature, if you consider the rounded stones found in the earth however deeply you dig, stones that are huge near the mountains and where the rivers have a violent current, stones that are of smaller size at a greater distance from the mountains and where the streams flow more slowly, stones that appear pulverised in the shape of sand where the streams begin to stagnate near their mouths and near the sea—if you consider all this, you can scarcely help thinking that India was once a sea, which by degrees has been filled up by the alluvium of the streams."¹ Further, his remarks having a bearing on physical geography, which are many, are of a high order. In describing the geography of Asia and Europe, he mentions a continuous chain of mountains from the Himalayas to the Alps. He makes a distinction between a gulf and an estuary; the latter, he says, is a part of the river at its mouth while the former is an extension of the sea penetrating for some distance into the land.² Al-Bīrūnī gives a better idea of the inhabitable world than many of his predecessors: he believed in the southern extension of the African continent and the navigability of the ocean in the south. His numerous details about the geography of India include the frontiers of the country, its physical build, the nature of rainfall, the chief itineraries radiating in all directions from Kanoj, the commercial activity of many towns and littoral areas and the animal and plant life of the country. From a sociological point of view he discusses the prohibition of beef-eating and explains how, India being a hot country, cows meat was not easily digestible and also that the land

1. Sachau—al-Bīrūnī's *India*, Vol. I, p. 198.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

being mostly agricultural the slaughter of cattle was regarded as detrimental to economic life.¹

He clearly understood the phenomena of tides and explained how the increase and decrease in ebb and flow develop periodically and parallel with the moon's phases and he adds that such things are known to the people living near the sea-shores. Describing the situation of Somnath² he says that the place owes its name to the ebb and flow of water, hence 'master of the moon.' Each time the moon rises and sets, the water of the ocean rises in flood so as to cover the place, and later, when the moon reaches the meridian of noon and midnight, the water recedes in the ebb. According to him the educated Hindus used to determine the daily phases of the tides by the rising and setting of the moon, the monthly phases by the increase and waning of the moon ; but he was of the opinion that they did not understand the physical cause of both phenomena.

On the mathematical and the astronomical side of geography al-Bīrūnī discusses the antipodes and the rotundity of the earth, the determination of its movements, and gives the latitudes and longitudes of numerous places. Above all, what is of special significance is his effort to bring out the influences of environment on many social customs and man's economic needs. Another work, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, (الاثار الباقية) displays his grasp of history. His *Canon Masudicus*, (القانون المسعودي) is a work on astronomy and is of great merit. He also wrote a *Book of Jewels* (كتاب الجماهير في معرفة الجواهر) in which he discusses the sources and characteristics of many precious stones and pearls.³ Al-Bīrūnī died in 440 A.H. (1048 A.D.).

Spain also produced several geographers of outstanding merit, men who travelled widely, observed minutely and wrote exhaustively. Al-Bakrī (Abū-'Ubaid 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdul-'Azīz) was born at Cordova in 432 A.H. (1040 A.D.) and died there in 487 A.H. (1094 A.D.). He wrote a *Geographical Dictionary*, معجم ما استعجم, and also a book on *Routes and Kingdoms* (المسالك و الممالك). Bakrī seems to have studied a wide range of subject-matter before compiling his own work. One of his main sources was the Spanish geographer Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭāriqī died 363 A.H. (973 A.D.), who had written about North Africa. Another source was the work of Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, a Jewish merchant and slave-dealer, who was a Spaniard and had travelled through Germany and the Slav countries during the reign of Otto the Great.

A notable geographer was Muḥammad b. Abū-Bakr az-Zuhrī of Granada, who is one of those few writers who gave to their work the name

1. Sachau—al-Bīrūnī's *India*, Vol. II, pp. 152-53.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-5.

3. *Chapter on Pearls in the Book on Precious Stones* by al-Bīrūnī translated by Dr. F. Krenkow, *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XV, no. 5, Oct. 1941.

of *geography*. He is the author of a *Book of Geography* (كتاب الجغرافيه) and lived towards 532 A.H. (1137 A.D.). It is said that in the time of caliph Mā'mūn, seventy geographers completed a work, of which only a few pages¹ are now in the *Bibliothèque National*, Paris, no. 2220. This work was utilised by al-Fazārī and al-Kumarī and their work in its turn was used and enlarged upon by az-Zohrī in his *Book of Geography*.

But the most famous Spanish writer on geography was al-Māzinī (Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. 'Abdur-Raḥīm al-Māzinī al-Qaisī al-Andalusī), who was born in Granada in 473 A.H. (1080 A.D.). He came to Egypt in 508 A.H. (1114 A.D.) and went to Baghdād in 556 A.H. (1161 A.D.). For a considerable time he studied in Khorāsān and later at Aleppo and died at Damascus in 565 A.H. (1169 A.D.). One of his works is a geographical description of his journeys تحفة الالباب ونخبة الاعجاب. Another account of his journeys through Spain, Africa, Damascus, Ardbil, the Caspian Coasts, Derband and the land of Khazārs is known as المغرب عن بعض نخبة الازهان في عجائب البلدان. Two more well-known works are: المغرب عن بعض (dealing with Maghrib) and, تحفة الكبار في اشعار البحار (dealing with sea voyages), a copy of which is in the Historical Academy, Madrid.

A geographer who seems to be a Spaniard was al-Munajjim (Ishāq b. Ḥusain), who is supposed to have worked in 4th century Hijra between the period 340 A.H. (951 A.D.) and 454 A.H. (1063 A.D.) in Morocco. His book deals with many cities (كتاب آكام المرجان في ذكر المدن المشهورة بكل سكان) (*A Geographical Dictionary*). The main importance of this work lies in the fact that celebrated writers like Idrīsī and Ibn-Khaldūn utilized it.

Abū-Muḥammad al-Abdari of Valencia wrote an account of his journey through North Africa in 688 A.H. (1289 A.D.) الرحلة المغربية. Ibn-Jubair was also of Valencian extraction and was born in 1145 A.D. He is famous for his extensive travels, which came about in connection with his pilgrimage to Mecca towards the end of the 6th century Hijra, and his book is known as the *Travels of Ibn-Jubair*, رحلة ابن جبیر. On his return to Spain, Jubair taught at Malaga and later at Fez and Ceuta (died 1217 A.D.).

Al-Idrīsī (Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh-b. Idrīs ash-Sharīf) is perhaps the best known Muslim geographer in the West. His travels through Europe and his long residence at the court of the Christian king of Sicily, Roger II, entitled Idrīsī to be taken notice of by Europe much earlier than the others. He came of an 'Alīd family and was born in Ceuta in 493 A.H. (1099 A.D.) and was educated at Cordova. After his long travels through the world of Islam and Europe he was persuaded by king Roger to settle down at the court of Palermo. There, in 548 A.H. (1154 A.D.), he wrote a treatise, *Amusement for him*

1. Brockelmann : *Supplement*, Bd., I.

who Desires to Travel Round the World نزهة المشتاق في اختراق الافاق, also known as كتاب رجارى (*Book of Roger*). About the same time he also made a celestial sphere and a representation of the known world in the form of a disc, which gives him an outstanding place among the Muslim cartographers. In giving the finishing touches to his work, Idrīsī was in an advantageous position, because Sicily, set almost in the centre of the Mediterranean, was the rendezvous of ships and navigators from the Northern waters, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean. Idrīsī's knowledge of the Niger above Timbaktu and of the head-waters of the Nile and the Sudan is remarkable for its accuracy. His work is certainly the most notable example of the fusion of ancient and modern geography. A modern geographer¹ has rightly remarked, "In view of its 'modernity' and high intrinsic worth, it is difficult to understand why Idrīsī's work, composed as it was at the chronological and geographical point of contact between the Islamic and Christian civilizations, remained so long unutilized by Christian scholars in Sicily, Italy or other Christian countries until we remember that the primary,—we might almost say the sole—interest, of the Latin West in Arabic literature centred in the preparation of calendars, star tables and horoscopes, and the recovery of ancient lore. It was not much concerned in the twelfth century with the descriptive geography of Africa or Asia." One great feature of Idrīsī's work is the absence of unreserved approval of Ptolemy's ideas in the light of his personal knowledge and varied experiences as a highly travelled man.

Al-Moṣulī (Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī) was a writer of a book of travels عيون الاخبار, giving descriptions of his journey through Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, during the period 537-585 A.H. (1142-1189 A.D.). The book was written in Ceuta and also contains names of scholars of note whom the author had met. Another book of this type was written by Shaikh al-Ḥarwī dealing with the most frequently visited places of pilgrimage in the eastern part of the Islamic world اشارات على معرفة الزيارات. He died in 611 A.H. (1214 A.D.).

Yāqūt Ḥamavī (ibn 'Abdullāh ar-Rūmī) came of Greek parentage and was born in 574 A.H. (1179 A.D.). While yet a boy he was captured and later purchased by a Baghdād merchant of the tribe of Ḥamat—hence the designation 'Ḥamavī.' Yāqūt is one of the most celebrated of Muslim geographers and his work is of tremendous importance as it gives us a picture of the world of Islam just before the destruction of its culture and prosperity at the hands of the Mongols. Yāqūt lived a truly adventurous life. First we find him undertaking commercial travels for his master, but after his third journey in 590 A.H. (1194 A.D.) to the island of Krish (in the Persian Gulf), he left his benefactor. He became a pupil of 'Ukbarī

1. Kimble, G. H. T., *the Geography of the Middle Ages*, p. 59. He also mentions that the first known translation (into a European language) of Idrīsī's work was published in Rome in 1619 and that this was in a much abridged form and the translator did not even know the author's name!

and after acquiring some learning became a bookseller and decided to write himself. In 610 A.H. (1213 A.D.) he again went on a journey, first to Tabriz, then to Mosul, Syria, and Egypt. Two years later he started from Damascus on his eastern journey and came to Nishāpūr in the following year and at Merv he studied many valuable works. Thus he equipped himself to write, but while at Balkh he heard of the first onrush of the Tartar hordes and quickly repaired to Mosul in 1220 A.D. His great *Geographical Dictionary* (معجم البلدان) was finished on the 13th March 1224, and he died five years later at Aleppo. Yāqūt was a self-made man of wide learning and varied experiences and his writings reveal enormous industry.

He made a thorough study of the outstanding geographical works before his own and in fact references to several compilations no longer available are found in his books. That he displayed the critical method of a modern geographer is found in his criticism of Ptolemy's reference to places and towns in Arabia¹ when he mentions that he fails to identify many places given in the works of Ptolemy, since they no longer exist.

Zakariya al-Qazwīnī was born at Qazwīn in Ādharbaijān in 1203 A.D. and settled at Damascus in 1232 A.D. Later he served as Qādī of Wāsīt and Ḥilla under caliph al-Musta'ṣim, the last of the 'Abbasids. His books include 'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt and Āthār al-Bilād (آثار البلاد) a historical geography written in 1250 A.D. He died in 1283 A.D.

Abu'l-Fidā (Isma'īl b. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Shāhanshāh b. Ayyūb 'Imāduddīn al-Ayyūbī) belonged to the ruling house of Hamāt, a branch of the Ayyubids of Egypt, and was born in Damascus 672 A.H. (1273 A.D.), where his father al-Malik al-Afdal, brother of the Amīr of Hamāt, al-Malik al-Manṣūr, had fled before the Mongols. His works have gained wide recognition in Europe as typical of the later Muslim school of geography. Abu'l-Fidā's geographical work is *Taqwīm al-Buldān* تقويم البلدان. Another compilation of great merit was a world history in two volumes المختصر في اخبار البشر.

Hamdullāh Mustawfī's work *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, نزهة القلوب, is of special significance, because it was written in Persian and pictures the world of Islam in the east, after the tornado of the Tartar destruction had almost spent its fury. He wrote this book in 1340 A.D. and it gives detailed accounts of the varied geographical aspects, physical and human of Irān and large parts of Central Asia. He also wrote a historical work called *the Select History* (تاریخ گزیده) which, besides being of considerable value for Mongol times, contains in many places geographical information of much importance.

At this late period came a contribution of tremendous importance, which has quite often received scant attention in the West ; this was the

1. M. Sulaimān Nadvi—*Arḍ ul-Qur'ān*, Vol. I, p. 71.

dictated account of his wanderings by Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa. It is strange indeed how in paying due tribute to Marco Polo for his extensive travels we seem to take such little notice of a man of wide learning who travelled much more than the Venetian. Not many details are known about Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa's life, apart from his accounts of his travels. He was born at Tangier on the 24th February, 1304, and died in 1369. He left Tangier on Thursday, 2nd Rajab 725 A.H. (14th June 1325 A.D.), when he was twenty-two years of age, and his entire travels lasted for about 30 years, after which he finally returned to Fās (Fez) in Morocco at the court of Sulṭān Abū-'Inān and dictated accounts of his journeys to Ibn-Juzayy. These are known as the famous رحلة (*Riḥla*).

Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, also known as *Shams ad-Dīn*, was in fact the only medieval traveller who is known to have visited the lands of every Muslim ruler of his time, quite apart from Ceylon, China, and Constantinople. The mere extent of his wanderings is estimated by Yule at not less than 75,000 miles, without allowing for deviations, a figure which is not likely to have been surpassed before the age of steam.¹ In the course of his first journey he travelled through Algiers, Tunis, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria to Mecca. After visiting 'Irāq, Shīrāz and Mesopotamia he once more returned to perform the Hājj at Mecca and remained there for 3 years. Then travelling to Jeddah he went to Yemen by sea, visited Aden and set sail for Mombasa (E. Africa): after going up to Kulwa he came back to 'Umān and repeated his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1332 *via* Hormuz, Šīrāf, Bahrain, and Yamāma. Afterwards he set out with the purpose of going to India, but on reaching Jeddah he changed his mind and revisited Cairo, Palestine, and Syria, thereafter arriving at Aleya (Asia Minor) by sea and travelled across Anatolia to Sinope, whence he crossed the Black Sea to Kerch in the Crimea, and, after long wanderings over the Kuban steppes to the mouth of the Volga, accompanied a Greek Princess (*Khātūn Bayalun*) to Constantinople through southern Ukraine. On his return from the Byzantine capital he came back to As-trakhān and thence entered *Khurāsān* through *Khwarizm* (*Khiva*) and having visited all the important cities like Bukhāra, Balkh, Herat; Tūs, Mashhad, and Nishāpūr he crossed the Hindu Kush mountains by the 13,000 ft. *Khawak* pass into Afghanistan and passing through *Ghaznī* and Kābul entered India. After visiting Lahiri (near modern Karachi) Sukhar, Multān, Sirsa, and Hansi, he reached Delhi. For several years Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa enjoyed the patronage of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq, and was later sent on an embassy to China. Passing through Central India and Mālwa he took ship from Kambay for Goa, and after visiting many thriving ports along the Malabar coast he reached the Maldivé Islands, from which he crossed to Ceylon and climbed Adam's Peak. Continuing his journey he landed on the Malabar (Coromandal) coast and once more returning to the Maldives he finally set sail for Bengal and visited Kamrup,

1. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, Gibb, p. 9 (Introduction).

Sylhet and Sonargaon (near Dacca). Sailing along the Arakan coast he came to Sumatra and later landed at Canton *via* Malaya and Cambodia. In China he travelled northward to Peking through Hangchow. Retracing his steps he returned to Calicut and taking ship came to Dhafari and Muscat, and passing through Fārs, 'Irāq, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt made his seventh and last pilgrimage to Mecca in November 1348. Returning homeward he came to Tunis through Egypt and Cyrenaica and went to Sardinia by ship, later reaching Fez. But Ibn-Battūta's 'wanderlust' was not quenched until he had visited Muslim Spain and the lands of the Niger across the Sahara.

Historically Ibn-Battūta's travels came at a period when the majority of the Tartar conquerors had been converted to Islam, and as a consequence the political conditions in the Islamic lands were relatively stable. But what interests a modern geographer is neither his accounts of the wealth, generosity, or eccentricities of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq, the piety of noble-minded Shaikhs, nor the number of the lovely slave-girls he possessed; but descriptions of a varying natural environment, products of far-off lands, articles of export, metropolises, ports, and sea-routes, and the great traveller's understanding of their significance. It is indeed remarkable that the errors are comparatively few, considering the enormous number of persons and places he mentions. Doubts have been expressed regarding the genuineness of two of his journeys, to Bulgar lands (Kuban area and lower Volga) and to China. But, perhaps the best argument for belief is found in the depth of his keen geographical observations. His description of the Kuban steppes with horses more than the number of sheep in Morocco, and their herding by the keepers with the help of lassoing,¹ makes a realistic scene. Speaking of the land to the north beyond the left bank of the Volga he refers to its intense winter cold, the thick mantle of snow covering the ground, the use of dog-drawn sledges as the only means of communication, and the skins of sable, minever and ermine used in trade.² In the account of his return journey from Constantinople through S. Ukraine he once more speaks of the intense cold, saying that he had to wear three fur coats and two pairs of trousers, and adding that while he was making his ablutions with hot water close to a fire, the water ran down his beard and froze. In connection with his Chinese travels he speaks of the use of coal when he says, "They make fires with stones which burn like charcoal, and when they are burned to ashes, they knead these with water, dry them in the sun, and use them for cooking again until they are entirely consumed."³ Further, he remarks that China was the best cultivated country in the world and that there was not a spot in the whole extent of it that was not brought under cultivation. If Marco Polo can refer to the city of Hangchow as being within a hundred mile compass and possessing twelve thousand bridges of stone, then Ibn-Battūta's

1. Ibn-Battūta, Gibb, p. 115.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

remark that it took three days to traverse it does not savour of too much impossibility !

He gives an excellent description of the numerous small coral islands in the Maldive group enclosing atolls, and the low level surfaces of these islands. He points out the immense utility of the cocoanut, palm, and the multifarious uses of all of its parts, recognises cowries to be the shells of animals, and comments on the abundance of fish and the rice cultivation of these coral islands and tropical shores. He also mentions the peculiar dress, manners, and customs of the people.¹ Similarly, along the East African coast he describes the produce of betel-nuts, bananas, cocoanut, palms, and the import of rice from India.

Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa's sea-voyages and references to shipping reveal that the Muslims completely dominated the maritime activity of the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the Chinese waters. Also it is seen that though the Christian traders were subject to certain restrictions, most of the economic negotiations were transacted on the basis of equality and mutual respect. People of either religion were taken as passengers on ships without animosity, as Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa himself travelled on Genoese and Catalan ships.

ADVANCEMENT OF GEOGRAPHICAL CONCEPTIONS

THE above résumé reveals the astounding growth of a geographical literature through more than three centuries, and its spirit and contents quite often display serious attempts at interpretation and scientific reasoning which were backed up by a vast expansion of knowledge about the world. One of the most interesting scientific works of the fourth and the most fruitful century in the history of Islamic civilization was the *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*,² a collection of treatises which includes numerous references throwing light upon current geographical ideas. For example, in explaining the rise of human civilization, the 'Brethren' speak about the vast geological changes and gradual working out of geo-morphological processes, and these ideas come remarkably close to our present-day conceptions. They declare³: "That as the mountains are built up in the ocean depths, the seas rise and overflow plains and steppes until in the course of time the plains become seas and the seas dry land. Upon the land raised out of the sea, rain falls and streams are formed which bring down soil and sand. In this, plants, herbage of various kinds, and trees grow." Then we come across men like 'Alī ibn Sīnā (died 1037 A.D.), who believed in the process

1. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, Gibb, pp. 243-44.

2. *The Brethren of Purity*, an academy or society of learned men which flourished at Baṣrah in the later part of the fourth/tenth century. The writers, who remained anonymous and were obviously men of rationalistic tendencies, produced a number of treatises covering the whole field of contemporary knowledge.

3. Levy, R., *Sociology of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 387 (footnote).

of evolution and also hinted at the work of the forces of denudation on the surface of the earth.

But the culmination of such a scientific approach is reached in the method of Ibn-Khaldūn (Abū-Zaid 'Abdur-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammed Walī-ud-Dīn at-Tunisī al-Ishbīlī) who was born at Tunis on the 27th May 1332, and died on the 17th March 1406. After having travelled widely in Spain and North Africa and after occupying responsible posts he began his literary career at the ripe age of 60. He was undoubtedly the greatest historical thinker of Islam. Ibn-Khaldūn is the celebrated writer of a *Universal History*, which ran into seven volumes. It is to the introduction (*Prolegomena* مقدمه) to this work that geographers are greatly indebted. He can be regarded as an early pioneer of social science, as his attempts at the correlation of environment with human activity are contained in this introduction, and this alone may entitle him to be called the forerunner of the later development of geographical thought in the 19th century. His geographical accounts are placed at the beginning of his work, for the proper understanding of sociology and history. In the words of Hozayen: "He attempts to trace effects of both climatic conditions and local environment upon the physical and mental qualities of different peoples." He treats the whole subject in a modern scientific manner, severely criticising Mas'ūdī and censuring Bakri for failing to understand the true meaning of history.

Ibn-Khaldūn also inaugurated an elementary classification of different modes of life, by distinguishing between what he calls 'Bādyā' (باديه) —land of nomadic life—and 'Ḥaḍar' (حضر)—land of settled life. To this study he adds many remarks on the type of habitats in 'Bādyā' and the geographical influences, which give rise to the development of the 'city.' He criticises¹ the early Muslim Arabs for founding many cities and townships in utter disregard of adverse geographical environment and hydrographic disadvantages, which neglect, he points out, ultimately led to the quick decline of many such cities, e.g., Qairawān, Kūfah, Baṣrah, etc., as soon as the political patronage had disappeared. He also discusses the growth of industries and the development of exports and imports and examines the characteristic features of the highly efficient agriculture of Andalusia² (S. Spain) under the Muslims. It is in such remarks, which are scattered here and there in the Introduction, and are in most cases suffused by his sociological studies, that the interest of his work lies, as a prototype of modern 'human' and 'social' geography.³

CARTOGRAPHY

ON the other hand, the Arabs were not very successful in attaining

1. Hozayen, A., *Some Arab Contributions to Geography*, Geography, 1932.
2. Ibn-Khaldūn, (*Prolegomena*), 'Factors Governing the Foundation of Cities.'
3. *Ibid.*, 'Prices in Cities.'

high standards in cartography (the science of map-making), one of the causes, of course, being the Arab love of decoration. In many cases the picturesque was preferred to the accurate. But it should not be forgotten that their contributions were made at a period when Western cartography was little more than an attempt to provide theological texts with decorative illustrations, while the Muslim world carried on the tradition of classical achievements and in many respects advanced beyond it. Though their works drew inspiration from Ptolemy, most of the Arab geographers did not follow him slavishly as their knowledge of geography had advanced much further. In general, the representation of the world on a map shows a return to the older Greek and Babylonian conceptions of an encircling ocean. But this was due to the wider maritime activities of the period, which brought them to the shores of the Atlantic on the one hand and to the Pacific on the other. They discarded Ptolemy's idea of the connection between Africa and South-Eastern Asia, making the Indian Ocean a landlocked sea. Nevertheless it is true that in several works facts and fiction are found curiously mixed up.

The influence of extensive maritime activity by the Arabs, which took them to all the known waters—the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, and the South-Western Pacific—and the complete domination of South European waters by them, made it imperative that the seamen should be guided in their adventures by accurate observation of positions and coastal trends. They certainly possessed numerous navigation charts which must have exercised considerable influence on the later Portolani charts made by the Portuguese and the Italians in the 14th century. The deep influence of Muslim maritime leadership is apparent in the use of numerous Arabic and Persian words in European languages in connection with navigation and shipping,¹ e.g. أمير البحر (admiral), انجر (anchor), الحبل - كبل (cable), etc. The remarkable Portolano charts came much later in the day, the earliest examples dating from about 1300 A.D. But the perfection found therein is difficult to account for unless we assume a long process of evolution.² The majority of Western scholars, however, are of the opinion that the Portolani are unconnected with any other series of maps, medieval or classical. Perhaps some new discovery helped by later research may reveal the influence of Arab navigation charts on these European maps. In spite of their many fine details, the makers of these charts did not use Ptolemy's system. They neglected latitude and longitude because they were difficult to determine, hence their grid system was merely a series of lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from several points on the map.

The Babylonian conception of the universe figured a disc-shaped earth floating in the ocean, with the vault of the heaven arching above it, and the firmament over all. This notion was accepted by the Greeks and

1. Maulānā Sulaimān Nadvī: Arab Navigation, *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1941.

2. Jervis, W. W., *the World in Maps*, p. 69.

Romans, as well as by the Israelites, and through the Scriptures it was carried over to the Christian Europe of the Middle Ages. Ptolemy marks the culmination of cartography in the ancient world. Henceforth there was a steady decline. Although the *Geographia* continued to be available in the Arabic world, it disappeared in Western Europe and was not recovered until the 15th century. As a result the Latin-Germanic culture of the Middle Ages was forced to depend for its geographical knowledge on an inferior source, the tradition of Roman cartography. Ptolemy's most fundamental error was his underestimate of the earth's size, an error which luckily helped to strengthen Columbus' belief that he would reach Asia quicker by sailing westward. Taking the figures of Posidominus (1 degree=500 stadia) and applying them to the distance measurements at his disposal, he concluded that Europe and Asia extended over one-half the surface of the globe, while in reality they cover only about 130 degrees. Similarly he reckoned the length of the Mediterranean as 62 degrees, whereas in reality it is only 42 degrees. "Al-though the Arab geographers and the marine chart-makers of the 13th century had corrected this distortion, it continued to figure in European cartography until 1700."¹

On the whole, from the point of view of a distinct advance over the older works, the Muslim geographers constructed celestial globes and studied the problem of projections. Their maps of those areas which had come under Islam were superior to those of Ptolemy. And a progressive tendency was that maps were regularly used for geographical instruction in schools.

One of the earliest map-makers was al-Khawārizmī. His *Kitāb Šurat al-Ard* was written in explanation of his map. It is surmised that this map was copied from a Syrian copy of Ptolemy's map. It does not show a network of latitudes and longitudes. According to the view² which accepts Khawārizmī's participation in the scientific activity of Mā'mūn's period, he was connected with the joint production of the famous map for the caliph, in which no less than seventy scholars took part. The next stage is reached with the advent of what can well be called the 'Balkhī school.' Balkhī's atlas contained a world map, a map of Arabia, the Indian Ocean (Baḥr Fāris), maps of the Maghrib (Morocco, Algeria etc.), Egypt, Syria, the Mediterranean (Baḥr Rūm), and about a dozen other maps of the central and eastern Islamic world. The text of his geographical work which described the various lands, divided into 'climatic' zones, was written in explanation of his maps. K. Miller in his *Mappa Arabica* fittingly calls it the *Islam Atlas*. All that is lost, but Iṣṭakhrī and a little later Ibn-Hawqal continued this method of supplementing their writings with maps which were largely based upon Balkhī's labours. But the originals of these attempts do not survive to enable us to judge fairly of

1. Raisz, *General Cartography*, p. 21.

2. Minorsky, V., *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, (Barthold's *Preface*, p. 10).

of their merits. Maqdisī represents the closing stages of the Balkhī school. He says: "In the making of maps we have done our best to bring out correct representations of the different parts of the empire after carefully studying a number of drawings. and also the drawings of Ibrāhīm al-Fārisī (Iṣṭakhri), which come nearer to fact and are worthy of reliance although confused and imperfect in many places."¹ He divided the Muslim world into 14 divisions and showed each one in a map. And a proof of his more practical cartographic ideas is found in his own words: "In these maps the familiar routes have been coloured red; the golden sands, yellow; the salt seas, green; the well-known rivers, blue; and the principal mountains drab; that the descriptions may be readily understood by everybody."²

Al-Bīrūnī made a round world map in his *Kitāb at-Tafhīm* to illustrate the position of seas, and he also devised a method for the projection of maps of the sky and the earth. However, the best known Muslim map-maker is Idrīsī, who is said to have made 70 maps of his 'climatic' divisions, a celestial sphere, and a globe of silver. On the globe he indicated his seven latitudinal climatic divisions. He also made a map of the world on a silver plate. These were prepared along with his other geographical works at the court of king Roger of Sicily in 1154 A.D. On the whole his maps reveal his superior knowledge about the world as he knew it. Two celestial globes were made by 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ṣūfī towards 1040 A.D. in Cairo, and in 1275 A.D. Ibn-Hula of Mosul made his bronze globe.

The painstaking researches of Konard Miller and Prince Yousouf Kamāl now make it possible to arrive at a fair estimate of Muslim cartography.³

NAFIS AHMAD.

1. Maqdisī, p. 8, Constantinople MS.

2. Ibid., p. 12..

3. Prince Yousouf Kamāl, *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti*, Lieden, 1935.

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MAKHDŪMA-I-JAHĀN : A GREAT RULER OF THE DECCAN

SYNOPSIS

[AGHA Nargis Bānū, who bore the title of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, was one of the greatest women who ever flourished in the Deccan. She was a queen of the Bahmanī dynasty whose achievement in politics and culture are remarkable. She was a great ruler and a successful administrator. She ruled the Bahmanī kingdom for 12 years, from 1461 to 1472 A.C. Though she never ascended the throne and never appeared in durbars as Sulṭāna Raḍia of Delhi did, yet, from behind the veil, as the regent of her minor sons, she steered the ship of state skilfully amid stormy seas. She assumed the helm at a time of emergency, when the kingdom was in immediate danger of disruption after the death of her husband Humāyūn. Internally it was seething with discontent, and externally it was threatened by powerful foes, who shook it to its very foundations. The queen rose to the occasion, and shouldered the entire responsibility of the government. As the head of the regency, she laid down the policy to be followed, guided her ministers, and met the foreign foes who poured in one after another, with the result that the kingdom remained intact as it was before. But she is one of the unfortunate personalities to whom history has done scant justice. Great as she was, she was overshadowed by the more glamorous personality of Maḥmūd Gāwān, though he was entirely her creature].

AS no contemporary document of Bahmanī history is extant it is not possible to sketch the early life of Āghā Nargis Bānū Makhdūma-i-Jahān. It is certain that she was a direct descendant of the Bahmanī kings through her father. She was the grand-daughter of the great Bahmanī king Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, and the daughter of his second son Mubārak Khān.¹ Ḥasan Khān and Mubārak Khān were his two sons who are known to history, and they survived their father after he was ousted from the throne and died. They were fully grown up and married in the life-time of their father, and therefore it is quite probable that Āghā Nargis Bānū was born and brought up at Gulbarga in the reign of her grand-father and had seen its glories. It seems that the highly intellectual atmosphere of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī largely moulded the receptive mind of Nargis Bānū, who had inherited from her grand-father many noble qualities. Fīrūz Shāh's was a glorious reign which inspired many great men who came in contact with it, and doubtless Nargis Bānū had learned much and had imbibed the spirit of the age even in her childhood. When Fīrūz Shāh was ousted from the throne by his brother Aḥmad Shāh Walī in 1422 A.C., the whole situation changed and the descendants of the former king were in a sad plight. Fīrūz Shāh was sent into confinement and his descendants were banished to Fīrūzābād on the Bheema, to live a quiet life. Ḥasan Khān who had been nominated by his father

1. *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, Hyderabad edition, p. 96.

as his successor, was an open rival to Aḥmad Shāh and therefore he deserved the banishment. But his younger brother Mubārak Khān was also forced to retire to Fīrūzābād.¹ And thus it is quite probable that his famous daughter Āghā Nargis Bānū accompanied him and lived with him at Fīrūzābād in semi-confinement, missing the pleasant social and literary atmosphere which she enjoyed at Gulbarga. But it appears that the impressions of those early days never faded from her mind, but later became her guiding ideas and made her a great queen and ruler.

The later life of Āghā Nargis Bānū, when she was brought back from Fīrūzābād to Bīdar and married to Humāyūn, is equally obscure. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, being a princess of the royal blood, she was selected by 'Alā'uddīn II as a proper match for his son Humāyūn, and was then married to the prince. It may not be true to say that Āghā Nargis Bānū's conjugal relations with Humāyūn were very happy, but she was recognized as a distinguished member of the royal household and enjoyed the high position of a queen. She was honoured with the title of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, either by her father-in-law, 'Alā'uddīn II or by Humāyūn in his own reign. Though it was a common title which was usually conferred on all the Bahmanī queens, Āghā Nargis Bānū also proved herself worthy of the honour by her noble achievements, which still live in history. As she lived in the capital after her marriage, she also came into contact with the political activities of the times, and had a chance of studying the political and administrative progress of the reign of 'Alā'uddīn II, which added to her practical knowledge.

There is every reason to believe that Makhdūma-i-Jahān was a highly educated and cultured lady with a high degree of political consciousness and administrative capacity. Though actual instances of her active participation in politics are not known, yet it appears that she was, somehow or other, brought into contact with some sections of the state administration, either in the reign of her father-in-law 'Alā'uddīn II, or in the short reign of her husband Humāyūn. Her political insight, and administrative experience were already recognized by her royal husband and the nobles alike. Humāyūn was greatly impressed by her political ability, and trusted her to be a successful dowager queen of the Deccan, and it was for this reason that he, on his death-bed, placed the entire administration of the kingdom in her charge. He nominated his minor son Niẓām Shāh to be his successor, and appointed a council of regency to conduct the affairs of state with Makhdūma-i-Jahān at the head. To quote a later historian, "Makhdūma-i-Jahān was a wise, far-sighted and highly educated lady fully acquainted with the state administration."² Ferishta calls her a wise and shrewd lady,³ and 'Alī-bin-Azizullāh employs very high-sounding

1. *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, Hyderabad edition, p. 53.

2. *Mahbūb al-Waṭān*, (محبوب الوطن) by 'Abdul-Jabbār Khān, p. 592.

3. Ferishta, Lucknow edition, pp. 343 and 347.

epithets in her praise such as " Queen of the World and the Mistress of the Universe."¹

The council of regency which was appointed by Humāyūn before his death to conduct the state administration during the minority of his son, consisted of Khwāja Jahān, the Turk, and Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān, besides Makhdūma-i-Jahān. These two ministers, one an adventurer and the other a trader, who hailed from Transoxiana, were welcomed and ennobled in the reign of 'Alā'uddīn II. They were further promoted to the military command and governorship respectively in the succeeding reign of Humāyūn, who came into contact with them in course of time and recognized their merit. The king also, on his death-bed, selected them to serve on the council of regency in the capacity of ministers. But with a view to ensuring sound and firm administration, he vested the supreme authority in Makhdūma-i-Jahān and ordered the ministers to follow her directions,² because the ministers were foreigners and the king was not sure of their loyalty and efficiency. The queen had authority to lead the regency and lay down the lines of the policy which was carried out by the ministers. Although she never appeared in the council of regency or the durbar, she steered the ship of state from behind the veil with as much political skill and alacrity as the situation required. Her first act was to confirm Khwāja Jahān, the Turk, and Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān in the posts of foreign minister and premier in compliance with the dying wish of the late monarch, and to give them the necessary powers to carry on the administration.³ The ministers approached the dowager queen through an inmate of the harem called Māh Bānū and sought her advice,⁴ which guaranteed sure administrative guidance.

The regency council started its daily work with the usual routine of government, as it had been carried on in the previous reigns. The durbars were held as usual with the boy-king seated on the Turquoise Throne, and ministers, nobles, and priests standing to his right and left in accordance with their rank and position. The central and the provincial officers were promptly appointed and confirmed with necessary instructions to report on all urgent matters. But from the very beginning the regency was called upon to solve some more intricate problems, internal and external, which demanded a higher order of political judgment. Internally the kingdom was in a state of great discontent owing to the tyrannical rule of the late king. The people who had suffered various hardships and were in constant danger of losing life, property, or honour, were entirely estranged from the government. Many noble families had left the kingdom in despair, and those who were bold enough to remain were either in confinement or lived a most unhappy life, dislodged from their former

1. *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, Hyderabad edition, p. 96.

2. *Ferishta*, Lucknow edition, p. 343.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

positions of honour. Some of the nobility who had escaped from the despotic regime had made their abode outside the kingdom and were engaged in plotting against it. It was a most trying situation for the regency to cope with, and it was by no means an easy task to restore the good old days of the former kings. The dowager queen applied herself first to the task of revoking the harsh decrees promulgated by the late king, to rehabilitating the finances and administration of the state, to releasing the innocent people who were in prison, and restoring the private property which had been unjustly confiscated.¹ She tried her best to conciliate the loyal men who had been alienated from the government and called them back to service. Mallo Khan Dekni, who had escaped to Raichur in the last reign, was called back to service on very generous terms.²

The foreign situation, which was extremely complicated by the hostile movements of the neighbouring powers, was no less perplexing than that at home. The dowager queen had not yet succeeded in disposing of the domestic problems through her cherished policy of conciliation, when she was forced to encounter foreign invasions launched by the kingdoms of Orissa and Malwa. The Bahmanī kingdom was surrounded on all sides by the kingdoms of Gujrat, Malwa, Orissa, and Bijjanagar, which, with the exception of Gujrat, were never friendly to her. The untimely death of Humāyūn and the accession of the boy-king Niẓām Shāh, together with the disloyalty of the Bahmanī nobles, provided an irresistible temptation to the rulers of Orissa and Malwa to attack the Bahmanī kingdom and seize some of its rich provinces. The rāja of Orissa, who was supported by the powerful landlords of Telugu country, was first in the field. He entered the Bahmanī kingdom *via* Rajmundry and laid waste all the villages and towns up to Kolas.³ Makhdūma-i-Jahān was however equal to the situation. In full co-operation with Khwāja Jahān, the Turk, and Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān, she managed to collect from all parts of the kingdom,⁴ a big force of cavalry forty thousand strong, and marshalled them to oppose the enemy with the king and the ministers at the head. The two armies met at a place twenty miles from Bīdar. The main army had not yet moved from its camp for the military operations, when an advance guard which consisted of not more than one hundred and sixty horses led by the soldier-priest, Shāh Muḥibullāh, surprised the enemy and put them to flight. The rāja was so completely routed that he was at last forced to sue for peace and pay a heavy indemnity.⁵

But the victory was followed by another invasion from Malwa. The king of Malwa Maḥmūd Khaljī, who was seeking an opportunity, marched

1. *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, p. 96.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

3. Ferishta, Lucknow edition, p. 343.

4. Ferishta, p. 343.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 344.

to the Deccan through Khandesh with a strong force of cavalry. The rāja of Orissa and the Andhra Chief also availed themselves of the opportunity to avenge their former reverses, which placed the Bahmanī kingdom in a very critical situation. But the queen and her ministers remained steadfast in the discharge of their duty and strained every nerve to ward off the danger. They first arranged for the Tilangana army of the kingdom to move northward and check the advance of the eastern forces and then they mobilized the armies of Daulatabad, Bijapur, and Bera, to meet the northern enemy. They met Maḥmūd Khaljī at the fort of Qandhar. The Bahmanī forces were drawn up with the boy-king and Sikandar Khān, his foster-brother, in the centre, Khwāja Jahān and Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān on the right, and Niẓām-ul-Mulk on the left wing. In the first stage, the battle was so skilfully conducted by the Bahmanī general that sure success was promised to the Deccan arms, but its later development proved unfavourable owing to lack of co-operation and mutual confidence. When the centre, which was led by the young king and a general, was surprised by Maḥmūd Khaljī, it was not promptly helped by Khwāja Jahān, and was consequently dispersed. The sudden disappearance of the king and his canopy from the battlefield discouraged the entire Deccan army and compelled it to retire to Bidar. Khwāja Jahān, however, had the courage to remove the baggage and save it from falling into the enemy's hands.¹

Makhdūma-i-Jahān was alarmed at this reverse, the most serious that the Bahmanī kingdom had ever suffered. She was also shocked to hear the painful news that Khān-i-Jahān was in league with the invader, who, elated with the victory and encouraged by the jealousies of the Bahmanī nobles, was marching upon Bidar. But the brave lady stood unshaken and faced the crisis with a firm and resolute mind. Since the time was not opportune, she postponed disciplinary action against the persons who had lost the day by their treachery and negligence,² and applied herself immediately to urgent needs of defence and the task of saving the kingdom from further aggression. Her first step in this direction was to console the officers who had taken an active and faithful part in the battle and then to remove the central government, comprising the king, ministers, and herself, to Fīrūzābād,³ where, secure from the danger of invasion, she could save the government from falling into the enemy's hands, and coolly think over the possible means of defence. The transfer of the government was a very shrewd act which bore fruit in the long run. Though the city of Bidar was captured and plundered by the enemy after a siege of 17 days, yet the fort, defended by Mallo Khān, who was posted there by the queen, held out to the last. And at Fīrūzābād the queen was making earnest efforts to expel the enemy from the soil of the Bahmanī kingdom.

1. Ferishta, pp. 344 and 345.

2. Ibid., p. 345.

3. Ibid., p. 345 and *Burhān-i-Ma'ūthir*, 100.

As the Bahmanī forces which had sustained a crushing defeat at Qandhar were in a disheartened condition and could not be relied upon for further military action, the queen was forced to seek help from outside. According to 'Alī bin 'Azīzullāh she wrote a letter to Maḥmūd Bā'ighra appealing to the traditional alliance between the kingdoms of Deccan and Gujrat, and asking for help against the northern enemy.¹ There was a prompt response to the letter owing partly to the old alliance and the personal charm of Makhdūma-i-Jahān and partly to the rivalry which then existed between Malwa and Gujrat. Maḥmūd Bā'ighra of Gujrat at once marched to the Deccan and placed a strong army of twenty thousand horse at the disposal of Maḥmūd Gāwān, who was sent by the queen to meet him via Beer. This joint action on the part of the armies of Gujrat and Deccan proved too strong for Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa, and he was after all forced to leave Bīdar, routed and pursued by the defenders. The difficult and dangerous country of Goudwana through which he passed added to his disasters. Next year in 1462 A.C., he appeared again in order to avenge his previous defeat, but timely help from Gujrat again brought about his discomfiture.²

The flight of Maḥmūd Khaljī from the Deccan put an end to the external dangers which had threatened the Bahmanī kingdom for two years continuously. The victory which was gained against Malwa was a clear proof of the moral and material strength of the Deccan and of the greatness of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, whose personality was an indispensable asset in the crisis. She played the part of saviour of the Deccan inasmuch as she saved the kingdom from the fear of foreign invasion, and obliterated the stain of dishonour on its reputation. It was her personal influence that collected the disintegrated forces of the country and brought the kingdom of Gujrat to her help in time of need, with the result that the time-honoured sovereignty of the Bahmanī kingdom was restored to its proper position. It can be said with certainty that if the kingdom had been left entirely in the charge of the ministers, Khwāja Jahān the Turk and Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān, and had not benefited by the royal patronage, it was likely to have been dismembered and annexed by Malwa and other neighbouring powers. In the first place, the ministers, besides being of doubtful loyalty, were foreigners, not acquainted with the intricacies of Deccan politics. And secondly they were not in a position to exercise their influence in inter-state relations, which are usually governed by royal prestige and charm. Their appeal was not likely to get the same response from a foreign prince as that of the great queen herself.

It seemed to be a re-birth of the Bahmanī kingdom when the central government was brought back from Firūzābād to Bīdar and all the damage done by the Malwa invaders to public and private property was

1. *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, Hyderabad edition, p. 100.

2. 'Alī bin 'Azīzullāh has copied the letters which were addressed to the ruler of Gujrat in acknowledgment of his kind services to the Bahmanī kingdom.—*Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, pp. 102, 104, 105, 106.

repaired and the city restored to its former glory.¹ The restoration was attended by the general rejoicings of the people who were tired of foreign oppression, though it has lasted only for a few weeks. The rejoicings were, however, temporarily marred by the sudden death of the young king, whose marriage was being celebrated with great pomp. His younger brother, Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī, who was only nine years old, was raised to the throne in 1463 A.C., without any disorder in the government. The new reign was very peaceful because the kingdom had now emerged as a full-fledged power from the internal and external troubles which had been harassing it for the last two years. It was well defended, and the administration, in which the mother-queen took a keen personal interest, was just and efficient ; she also ensured the future prosperity and solidarity of the kingdom by providing good education and training for her son and guidance and encouragement for her ministers. Muḥammad Shāh was educated and trained by a great scholar of the time, Ṣadr-i-Jahān Sūshtry, with the result that he acquired high proficiency in writing, science, and the arts, and, according to Ferishta, became the most highly qualified ruler of the Bahmanī dynasty next to Fīrūz Shāh.²

The next important problem before the queen was to place the kingdom on a firm and a solid basis by putting loyal officers in the key-positions and purging the state of those who were disloyal. The queen realised that Khwāja Jahān the Turk, who held a high position as prime minister, was showing signs of disloyalty. He had betrayed the Bahmanī cause in the battle of Qandhar, and after that he appeared to be engaged in arrogating to himself the supreme position in the state at the cost of the royal members and other ministers. He treated Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān as his rival, and sent him on official tours to distant provinces of the kingdom so that he might be kept out of the way. The queen fully realised how urgent a problem it was to get rid of the minister before it was too late and his insubordination blossomed out into open rebellion. As it was not easy to deprive the minister of his power in a peaceful manner, the queen ultimately had to resort to physical force, and commissioned Nizām-ul-Mulk, a military officer, to put him to death. One day, when Khwāja Jahān was coming to the palace, he was attacked and murdered by Nizām-ul-Mulk. Violent though the act was, it was very necessary for the future peace and prosperity of the kingdom, otherwise there would have been civil war and great bloodshed in the long run. Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān, who had held the post of foreign minister so far, was promoted to the vacant office and was honoured with a long list of high-sounding titles³ such as were hitherto unknown in the history of the Deccan and India. This eminent position he owed entirely to Makhdūma-i-Jahān's royal patronage. It was she who trained him for the part that he played

1. Ferishta, Lucknow edition, p. 347.

2. Ibid., p. 347.

3. Ibid., p. 347.

in Deccan politics, and encouraged and promoted him to the highest position in the state, so that ultimately he became a renowned figure in history. On one occasion, when Khwāja returned victorious from Goa, she called him her brother¹—a unique honour in the history of the Deccan, and one not enjoyed even by the great Bahmanī minister, Saifuddīn Gorī.

This change of personnel was followed by the installation of Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī, who was now fourteen and capable of assuming the responsibilities of kingship. He was married and entrusted with the ruling powers in 1468 A.C., and he ruled very successfully in co-operation with Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān.² Though the queen henceforward lived a retired life, devoted to religious practices, she never ceased to guide and inspire the state administration with her personal charm and political insight. She sometimes accompanied military expeditions in order to encourage the soldiers and generals, and it is a memorable fact that she died, not at home, but in a military camp. Muḥammad Shāh too paid his respects to his mother every morning as a duty, and sought her counsel in the administration and especially in the higher problems of state, with the result that the kingdom was strong enough to defend itself and extend its territories to Goa on the west and Orissa and Masulipatam on the east.

The great queen who, according to Ferishta, "was solely responsible for the sound and progressive administration of the kingdom"³ (کاروبار داشت), breathed her last in 1472 A.C., at Belgaum, when she was at the height of her brilliant career.⁴ She had accompanied a military expedition to Belgaum and died there. Her remains were respectfully sent to Bīdar, and interned in the graveyard of her ancestors. The following poetic lines in Arabic, composed in her memory after her death, convey an idea of her worth and grandeur.

She was like a pearl of the crown, the Mary of all the ages.
When she received the call of her Creator,
Unseen voices shouted out the chronogram in her memory,
May God give help to the kingdom of her successor.

درة التاج مريم الاعصار اذا جاءت نداء باعها
ملهم الغيب قال في التاريخ ايد الله ملك وارثها⁵

'ABDUL-MAJĪD ṢIDDĪQĪ.

1. Ferishta, p. 350.

2. Ibid., p. 348.

3. Ibid., p. 348.

4. Ibid., p. 353.

5. *Mahbūb al-Waṭān* by 'Abdul-Jabbār Khān, p. 492.

THE MINSTRELS OF THE GOLDEN AGE OF ISLAM

THE great biographical repository of Arabian musicians of the golden age of Islām is the *Kitāb al-Aghānī al-Kabīr* of al-Iṣfahānī (d. 967). This has been the source book of most later productions, a statement which can be verified by reference to such works as the *Mu'jam al-Udabā* of Yāqūt (d. A.D. 1229) or the *Nihāyat al-'Arab* of an-Nuwairī (d. 1332).

We also know most of the sources of al-Iṣfahānī himself, since he quotes on the authority of such writers as Yūnus al-Kātib (d.c. 765), Yaḥyā al-Makkī (d.c. 820), Ishāq al-Mauṣilī (d. 850), Aḥmad al-Makkī (d. 864), al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869), 'Amr ibn Bāna (d. 891), and others, presumably from their books, all of which, save some by al-Jāḥiẓ, have disappeared.¹

That there were other sources, not now available to us, from which al-Iṣfahānī did not draw, seems highly probable. This may be deduced from the *'Iqd al-Farīd* of Ibn-'Abd-Rabbihi (d. 940), in which quite different material often occurs. This author does not mention his immediate sources, except for references to the al-Kalbī family, nor can we place our finger on the authority for the stories of the minstrels which are given by ibn-'Abd-Rabbihi, although in other subjects his dependence on the *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* of Ibn-Qutaiba (d. 889) and similar works has been traced.

Although Ibn-'Abd-Rabbihi was an Arab of Spain, he practically ignored the minstrels of the peninsula. Indeed, the Buwaihid *wazīr*, ibn-'Abbād (d. 995), records his displeasure at finding so little about the Muslims of Spain in the *'Iqd*, where only one minstrel of al-Andalus is recorded. This is the famous Ziryāb, the greatest musician of the golden age in Muslim Spain, and the details which are given in the *'Iqd* concerning him supplement what is found elsewhere.²

1. See Farmer, *Sources of Arabian Music*, s.v.

2. Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, I, 633 ; II, 83-90.

As I have shown elsewhere,¹ the text of the *'Iqd* is corrupt, and the editors of the several editions have left undisturbed innumerable *spuria et dubia*, especially in proper names, whilst the poetry, in spite of the numerous *dīwāns*, which have been carefully edited in recent years, remains just as needy scribes had so hurriedly copied it.

For these reasons alone the section on "Stories of the Minstrels" in the *'Iqd al-Farīd* deserves special attention, and so this translation with some critical emendations of the text is offered. For the sake of historical sequence, a few of the stories have been transposed from their original position in the text, but reference to the pagination will indicate where these changes occur.

TRANSLATION²

I

STORIES OF THE [UMAYYAD] MINSTRELS

(p. 186).

THE first of them [in the days of Islām] was Ṭuwais [Abū-'Abd al-Mun'im, d. 705]³ and he was [first celebrated] in the days of [Caliph] 'Uthmān [d. 656]. There informed us Ja'far ibn Muḥammad [d. 765], he said, "When Abān ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān [d. 723-4] was governor of al-Madīna for [the Caliph] Mu'āwīya ibn Abī-Sufyān [d. 680],⁴ he sat great in his glory, and the people stood in rows before him. Then came Ṭuwais the singer, and he had tinged his hands with dye, and he carried with him a tambourine (*duff*)⁵ of his, and he was wearing a mantle.

"Having saluted [the governor] he then said, 'Dearer than father and mother art thou, O, Abān : Praise be to Allāh who has let me see thee as ruler over al-Madīna. I have vowed to Allāh concerning thee that, if I saw thee, I would tinge my hands with dye and, carrying a tambourine, would come to the seat of thy government and sing thee a song (*ṣaut*).' Then Abān said, 'O, Ṭuwais, this is not the place for that.' He [Ṭuwais] said, 'Dearer than father and mother, etc., O, ibn al-Ṭayyib, give me leave [to sing].' He [Abān] said, 'Begin, O, Ṭuwais.' Then he bared his arms, and threw off his mantle, and walked between the two rows and sang :⁶

What is the matter with thy people, O, Rabāb :
It is as if they were angry ?

1. Farmer, *Music : the Priceless Jewel* (1942), *passim*.

2. Cairo edition, A.H. 1305, Vol. III.

3. Earlier in the text he is wrongly called Abū-'Abd an-Na'im.

4. According to other authorities he held this position under the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (d. 705).

5. In the *Aghānī*, II, 176, it is the square tambourine (*duff murbba'*) that is mentioned.

6. The second line is different in the *Aghānī*, IV, 38.

Then Abān clapped his hands, and rose up from where he was sitting, and embraced him, and kissed him between the eyes, and said: 'They will blame me on account of Ṭuwais.'¹ Then he said to him, 'Who is the older, I or you?' He [Ṭuwais] said, 'By your life, I saw the marriage of your blessed mother to your good father.' Look [observes the narrator] at his cleverness, and the politeness of his manners, in that he did not say 'Your good mother and your blessed father.'

And [it is stated] by [Muḥammad] al-Kalbī [d. 763],² he says, "'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 720), when he was governor of al-Madīna [706-12],³ went out on a pilgrimage, and the people [of the city] went out with him. And there were amongst those who went out, Bakr ibn Ismā'il al-Anṣārī and Sa'id ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān ibn Thābit.⁴ Then when these two were returning, they passed by [the dwelling of] Ṭuwais the singer, and he invited them to sojourn with him. Then Bakr ibn-Isma'il said, 'Lead the camel to thy dwelling.' Then Sa'id ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān said to him, 'Will you alight with this mukhannath?' He [Bakr] said, 'It is only the stay of an hour, then we can depart.' And Ṭuwais suffered this remark of Sa'id and they entered his dwelling. And when he had cleansed it and tidied it, he brought them Syrian fruit and put it before them. Then Bakr ibn Ismā'il said to him, 'What is preserved of you [in singing] O Ṭuwais?'⁵ He [Ṭuwais] then said, 'All of me [in singing], O, Abū-'Amr.' And he [Bakr] said, 'Then will you not let us hear [something] from what is preserved [of your singing]?' He [Ṭuwais] said, 'Yes.' Then he entered his tent, and came out with a bag, and brought forth from it a tambourine (*duff*).⁶ Then he tapped (*naqara*)⁷ it and sang:

O, my friend, my slumber has left me.
 My eye does not sleep, or scarcely sleeps.
 Why do you blame me about a man? (p. 187)
 An intimate, my heart⁸ delights in him:
 Like the light of a full moon is his form,
 Neither a weakling nor a quarrelsome one [is he]:

1. Ṭuwais was a mukhannath, and, as such, had a bad reputation. See Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 44.

2. According to the *Aghānī*, II, 168, it was ibn al-Kalbī (d. 819) who related this story.

3. If the accepted date of Ṭuwais' death (705) is correct, the above event must have taken place earlier.

4. The grandson of the poet of the Prophet Muḥammad. According to the *Aghānī*, II, 168, the companion of Sa'id was Yazīd ibn Bakr ibn Da'b.

5. Because he was a mukhannath, Ṭuwais had been banished from al-Madīna, and probably could not follow his vocation as a minstrel. On this account his visitors must have thought that Ṭuwais had forgotten much of his singing.

6. Instruments of music were usually encased in bags and some handsome examples are described in the *Alf-Laila wa Laila* (Calcutta edit., I, 69; II, 536; IV, 326). In the *Aghānī*, II, 169, Ṭuwais is said to have carried his tambourine in his mantle.

7. This term expresses the precise dynamic stroke used in playing the tambourine, in contradistinction from the terms *ḍaraba* (to beat) and *muṣakka* (to thump) often used in reference to drums.

8. Lit. "my liver."

One of the descendants of the House of al-Mughīra,
 Not unrenowned, unspirited, nor ungenerous.
 My eye glanced [but once]. Then looked no more
 My eye at anyone but him.¹

“Then he threw the tambourine on the ground and turned to Sa‘id ibn ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān and said, ‘O Abū-‘Uthmān, do you know who is the author of this poetry?’ He said, ‘No.’ He [Ṭuwais] said, ‘Khawla bint Thābit,² your aunt, made it concerning ‘Ummāra ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīra.’ And Bakr arose and said to him, ‘If you had not said to him what you did say, he would not have listened to you. How easily you are listened to.’

“And this story reached [the governor] ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd-al-‘Azīz, and he sent for these two and questioned them when they informed him [of the circumstances]. Then he [the governor] said, ‘One is as bad as the other [in visiting a mukhannath], but the first [who entered the dwelling] is the more erring.’”³

Al-Aṣma‘ī [d. 828, related], he said, “A man of the people of al-Madīna informed me, he said, ‘Ṭuwais was singing at the wedding of a man of the Anṣār. Then an-Nu‘mān ibn Bashīr [d. 684] entered the wedding party, and Ṭuwais was singing :⁴

Was ‘Amra serious about doing without [me] ?
 Or that she shunned [me] ? Or is her affair our affair ?
 And ‘Amra is the noblest of women,
 Her cuffs breathe musk.

“And it was said to him, ‘Hush, hush, ‘Amra is the mother of an-Nu‘-mān ibn Bashīr.’ Then an-Nu‘mān said, ‘He has not spoken any harm, he only said :⁵

And ‘Amra is the noblest of women,
 Her cuffs breathe musk.”

(p. 188). Ishāq [al-Mauṣilī] said, “I said to Yūnus, ‘Who is the most beautiful of men in singing (*ghinā*)?’ He said, ‘Ibn-Muḥriz [d.c. 715].’⁶ I said, ‘And how is that?’ He said, ‘If you wish I will expound, or if you wish I will be brief.’ I said, ‘Expound.’ He said, ‘Everyone could sing [the music of ibn-Muḥriz] as he desired as it seemed to have been created from the heart of everyone.’”⁷

1. i.e., “love at first sight.”

2. [A parallel text has Fari‘a, which seems nearer the mark, as Ḥassān ibn Thābit was called Abū-Furai‘a after a daughter of his, and his mother’s name was al-Furai‘a. With the Arabs, as with others, names run in families.—Dr. Krenkow].

3. The story and verse occur in the *Aghānī*, II, 168, but they differ from this account.

4. [It is found in the *Diwān* (3, v. 1), of ibn-Qais ar-Ruqayyāt where it differs slightly from the ‘*Iqd*’ version. Dr. Krenkow].

5. Obviously, An-Nu‘mān could not have heard what had preceded.

6. For another story of ibn-Muḥriz from the ‘*Iqd*’, see my *Music : the Priceless Jewel*, p. 19.

7. See this opinion as expressed in the *Aghānī*, I, 146.

(p. 189). And there was in al-Madīna during the first days [of the caliphate] a musician named Qand,¹ and he was a freedman of Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ [d. 670-71]. And 'Ā'isha [d. 678], the Mother of the Faithful (may Allāh accept her!), was liking his company. And Sa'd thrashed him [on this account?], and 'Ā'isha swore that she would not speak to him [Sa'd] until Qand received satisfaction from him [for his thrashing]. And Sa'd entered upon him [Qand] when he was [still] sore from his thrashing, and asked his forgiveness. And so he forgave him, and 'Ā'isha spoke to him.

[The Caliph] Mu'awīya [d. 680] was making a succession between Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam [d. 685] and Sa'id ibn al-'Āṣ [d. 678-9], appointing one [of them] governor for one year over al-Madīna, and the other [nobleman] for another year. And in Marwān there was [a disposition to] severity and rudeness, and in Sa'id was gentleness of disposition, and forbearance, and indulgence. And Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, when he had been deposed from al-Madīna, met Qand the Minstrel, and in his hand was a walking-stick ('ukkāz). And when he saw him he said :²

Tell Qand to accompany the travelling women :

Perhaps he will gladden our eyes and satisfy us.

Qand said to him, "How foul you are, both as governor and deposed."

(p. 187). And there were with Ṭuwais in al-Madīna, ['Ubaidullāh] ibn Suraij [d.c. 726],³ and ad-Dalāl [Nāfidh],⁴ and Naumat ad-Ḍuhā,⁵ and they learned from him.

Then there arose after these Sa'ib Khāthir [d. 683].⁶ And he was in the company of 'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far [d. 706-9].⁷ And from him Ma'bad [d. 743] learned music (*ghinā*).⁸

Ma'bad and al-Gharīd [d.c. 716-17]⁹ were in Mecca. And to Ma'bad was most of the classical art [and to al-Gharīd was most of the popular art]. And when Sukaina bint al-Ḥassān [d. 735], peace be upon them both, arrived in Mecca, al-Gharīd and Ma'bad came to her and sang to her :—

Turn aside to us, O, lady of the litter,

Verily, unless thou dost, thou shalt go out.

1. The printed texts have Qand قند and this name occurs once in the *Aghānī*, VII, 139. It may be identical with Find فند who is frequently mentioned in the *Aghānī*, where he is said to have been a freedman of 'Ā'isha bint Sa'd ibn abī-Waqqāṣ (XVI, 59).

2. Cf. the lines in the *Aghānī*, which are attributed to ibn-Qais al-Ruqayyāt.

3. Farmer, *History*....., p. 79.

4. Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

5. The two latter with Ṭuwais, belonged to the mukhannathun.

6. The text has Salm al-Khāsir (سلم الخاسر) but as this name can only be traced to the period of Ḥārūn ar-Rāshid (d. 809) and Amīn (d. 813), I have substituted Sa'ib Khāthir (سائب خاثر) which would appear to have been the original name. See my *History*....., p. 53.

7. The text has 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far.

8. See also my *Music: the Priceless Jewel*, p. 27, for another mention of Ma'bad from the *Iqd*.

9. Farmer, *History*....., p. 80.

She said. "By Allāh, you two can only be compared with hot and cold kid, I do not know which is the more appetising."

Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm [al-Mauṣilī, d. 850] says, "al-Gharīd was present at the circumcision of one of his people. Then one of the family said to him, 'Sing.' Another said, 'He is the son of an adulteress if he sings.' Then his [al-Gharīd's] freedman said to him, 'It is so : You, by Allāh, are also the son of an adulteress, so sing.' He said, 'Is it so, Abū-'Abdal?'¹ He said, 'Yes.' He said, 'You know best.' So he sang :—

If I were to forget anything, I shall never forget a young gazelle
In Mecca, with eyes blackened with collyrium, smooth tear
[channels.]

The colour of her skin is that of Rāziqī linen, its whiteness
Suffused with the saffron mixed with musk by him who smears it.

Then the *jinn* twisted his neck and he died."²

And another than Ishāq [al-Mauṣilī] said that what he sang [on this occasion] was :—

The remnants of a dwelling of Maktūma
Appear to sight as if they were in disorder.
They have alighted near to thee :
Would that they had benefited thee when they alighted.
She looks fixedly at me as if she were to kill me ;
Yet in her eyes is no turning aside.

Next came [Mālik] ibn Abī Samḥ aṭ-Ṭā'ī [d.c. 754].³ And he was an orphan [who was reared] in the family of 'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far.⁴ And he learned singing (*ghinā*) from Ma'bad. And he was not playing the lute ('*ūd*), but was only singing extemporaneously (*murtajal*). And when he sang a vocal piece (*ṣaut*) by Ma'bad, he rectified it and said, "Such and such a poet has said : Ma'bad has spoiled it, but I have rectified it." And of his singing (*ghinā*) is :—

My companions slept, but I slept not.
The vision came suddenly upon us ;
Behold in the castle is a tender maiden :
She hath anointed mine eyes with blood.

Then appeared Ibn-Ṭunbūra.⁵ And his origin was from al-Yaman. And he was a composer of *hazaj* verses for the people, and he conditioned

1. There is a poet named al-Hakam ibn 'Abdal in the *Aghānī*, II, 144.

2. Cf. the story in the *Aghānī*, II, 143.

3. See Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, p. 84.

4. Unlike most of the other minstrels, Mālik aṭ-Ṭā'ī was a pure Arab, and could be counted among the nobility, being a Quraishite on his mother's side.

5. He is only mentioned once in the *Aghānī*, and then only *en passant* as a composer. Yet he may be identified with Nāfi' ibn Ṭunbūra.

them for singing. And of his singing is :

Many noble youths together,
I poured out for them a foaming jar,
As if I had not hunted among them with a hawk,
And had not fed falcons in their courtyard.
Let us not drink save in pleasure,
For I have seen horses drink to whistling.¹

And it is said that he was present at a gathering given by one of the nobility, when there entered upon them the governor of al-Madīna. Then it was said to him, "Sing." So he sang :

Woe is me on account of the beloved one :
Woe is me, woe is me.
The serpent has built its nest in
My little house, my little house.

Then the owner of the dwelling laughed and favoured him.

(p. 189). Ibn al-Kalbī [d. 819] relates, on the authority of his father, he says, "Ibn-'Ā'isha [d.c. 743]² was the best of mankind in singing, and the most circumspect of them, and the most illiberal of them in disposition. If it were said to him, 'Sing,' he would say, 'Is it to the like of me that this is said to me, a freedman, that I should sing this day?' Then if he sang, and it was said to him, 'You have done well,' he said, "Is it to the like of me that you say,—You have done well,—to me, a freedman? I shall sing no more this day.'

And one day, the stream of the 'Aqīq [in al-Madīna]³ was in spate, and it came down in a wonderful manner. And there did not remain in al-Madīna a secluded woman, nor a girl, nor a boy, nor an elderly person, but went out to see it. And among those who went out was ibn 'Ā'isha, the minstrel, and he had his head covered with the skirt of his mantle.

Then al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn abī-Ṭālib [d. 715],⁴ (upon whom be peace!), and he was one of those who had gone out to the 'Aqīq, gazed at him [Ibn-'Ā'isha]. And in front of him [al-Ḥasan] were two black slaves, as if they had been two masts before him, in front of his animal. Then he [al-Ḥasan] said to them, "Please Allāh, you are both free. If you do not do what I command, I shall dismember you. Go to that man who has his head covered with the skirt of his mantle and take hold of his forearms. Then if he does what I command him, it is well, but if not, then cast him into the 'Aqīq."

1. Cf. the last two lines with those in the *Alf Laila wa Laila* (Calcutta ed., I, 304), where music (*ṭarab*) occurs instead of pleasure (*lahw*).

2. Farmer, *History*, pp. 82.

3. This valley, known as the 'Aqīq, was "the pleasure-ground of al-Madīna, during the rainy season and the springtime." *Aghānī*, II, 166.

4. He was the grandson of the Caliph 'Alī and Fāṭima the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, hence the autocratic mien which he displays in this story.

So they went [to do this] whilst al-Ḥasan followed them. But ibn-‘Ā’isha did not perceive [them] until they had taken him by the armpits. Then he said, “Whoever is this?” Al-Ḥasan said, “It is I, O, ibn-‘Ā’isha.” Then he [the latter] said, “Welcome and twice welcome: Dearer than father and mother art thou.” He [al-Ḥasan] said, “Listen to what I am going to say, and realize that you are a prisoner in their hands. They are both free. If you do not sing me a hundred vocal pieces (*aṣwāt*), they will cast you into the ‘Aqīq, and they are both free. And if they do not do it to you, I shall cut off their hands.”

Then Ibn-‘Ā’isha shouted, “O woe, what an awful calamity!” He [al-Ḥasan] said, “Cease your shouting and take heed of our wishes.” He [Ibn-‘Ā’isha] said, “Choose [what you wish me to sing] and set someone to count.” And he began singing. So the people left the ‘Aqīq and came over to him. And when he had finished his hundred songs, the people exclaimed with one tongue at the same moment the *takbīr* [Allāh is Most Great], at which the [very] quarters of al-Madīna trembled.

And they [the people] said to al-Ḥasan, “Allāh bless your soul, now and hereafter, for the people of al-Madīna have never acquired joy except through you ‘People of the House.’”¹ Then al-Ḥasan said to him, “O, ibn-‘Ā’isha, I have done this to thee only on account of your refractory [disposition].” Ibn-‘Ā’isha said to him, “By Allāh, there never came upon me a greater calamity than it. It has reached the extremity of my limbs.”² And after that, whenever it was said to him, “What is the worst thing that ever came upon you?”, he said, “The day of the ‘Aqīq.”³

(p. 190). Sa‘īd ibn Muḥammad al-‘Ijlī⁴ related, on the authority of al-Aṣma‘ī. He said, “Abū-Ṭamaḥān al-Qainī, and he is Ḥanzala ibn ash-Shraqī,⁵ was an excellent poet. And in spite of that he was wicked. And he had gone to visit [the Caliph] Yazīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik [d. 724], and for days he begged permission to be given a hearing, but did not succeed. Then he said to one of the [court] minstrels, ‘Shall I give you two verses of my poetry which you could sing to the Commander of the Faithful [i.e., the Caliph], and if he asks who is the author of them, then inform him that I am at the gate? And what Allāh has in store for me [by way of a present from the Caliph] will be [divided] between you and me.’ He [the minstrel] said, ‘Agreed.’ So he gave him these two verses:

Bright clouds were almost thundering, seeing
The face of Ibn-Marwān; and their lightning flashing
Crumbs of musk in the brightness of the morning.
His side curls and parting extends with it.

So he sang them at the time of his [the Caliph’s] good humour, and he

1. Meaning the descendants of the Prophet.

2. i.e., his limbs were shaking.

3. The account in the *Aghānī*, II, 60, is much shorter.

4. Little is known of this man save that he was a pupil of al-Aṣma‘ī.

5. The text has ash-Sharafī.

was greatly delighted with them and said, 'Divinely did he speak: Who is he?' He [the minstrel] said, 'Abū Ṭamahān al-Qainim and he is at the [palace] gate, O, Commander of the Faithful.' He [the Caliph] said 'I do not know him.' Then one of his courtiers said to him, 'He is [known as] the Master of the Convent.' He [the Caliph] said, 'And what is the story of the convent?' And he [the courtier] said, 'It was said to Abū-Ṭamahān,— 'Which was the easiest of your crimes?' He [Abū-Ṭamahān] said, 'The night of the convent.' It was said to him, 'What is the night of convent?' He said, 'I alighted one night at a Christian convent, and in it I ate cooked lentils and swine's flesh, and I drank of her wine¹ and I committed adultery with her, and I stole her clothing, and I went away.'² Then [the Caliph] Yazīd laughed and ordered him a thousand pieces of silver (*darāhim*) and said, '[Say to him] Do not visit us again.' So Abū-Ṭamahān took the silver and slipped away [secretly], and [so] cheated the minstrel [of his half share]."³

(p. 188). And there was in Syria in the days of [the Caliph] al-Walīd ibn Yazīd [d. 744] a minstrel named al-Ghuzayil,⁴ and he was surnamed Abū-Kāhil.⁵ And concerning him al-Walīd ibn Yazīd was saying:

Who will let Abū-Kāhil know from me
That I am like one bereft when he is absent?

And of his singing is:

I praise the cup and him who makes it go round,
And I pull down a people who have killed me with thirst:
The cup is but the spring-rain,
Thus when we taste it not, we live not.

(p. 187). And among them [of the last musicians of the Umayyad days] was Ḥakam, al-Wādī [d.c. 798].⁶ And he was in the service of [the Caliph] al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, and he was singing his poetry. And of his singing is:

Gone from the house of my neighbours,
O, ibn-Dā'ūd, is her friendship.
The morning is nigh, or has appeared,
And she has not yet shed her garment.
Then when will the bride come forth?
Long has been her detention.
She comes forward among women,
Noblest of creatures is their kind.

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

1. This flesh and drink (*khamr*) were both forbidden to Muslims.

2. The feminine endings here seem to imply a reference to the abbess (*raṣat ad-dair*).

3. A shorter account, from another authority, is given in the *Aghānī*, XI, 126, and also in ibn-Qutaiba, *Uyūn*, IV, 107.

4. The text has al-'Azīz, but cf. the *Aghānī* VI, 139, and Farmer, *History*, p. 89.

5. The *Aghānī*, VI, has Abū-Kāmil, [but Abū-Kāhil seems to be the correct kunya as the name Abū Kāmil does not occur until the time of the 'Abbāsids. Cf. *Revue del'Academie Arabe*, XV, 51.—Dr. Krenkow

6. Farmer, *History*, pp. 112.

A YEAR IN PRE-MUTINY DELHI

(1837 A.C.)

[THIS paper is based on a volume of the *Delhi Akhbār*, which has been described in a paper read by me at the annual meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942.]

IT was in 1206 that the first Muslim king, Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibak, sat on the throne of Delhi. In 1806—just six centuries later—Delhi saw the death of the last Muslim emperor, Shāh 'Ālam, who had any real authority, however small. His successor, Muḥammad Akbar II, sat on what was still called the Peacock Throne exactly two hundred and fifty years after the accession of his great namesake, but he inherited little except a pension and a great name. The real Peacock Throne now adorned the palace of the Persian monarchs, the real empire was British, not Mughal. But when nothing is left except the empty glory of great names, they become doubly dear ; these shadows, let it be said to Akbar II's credit, he was able to pass on to the last emperor of his line, Bahādur Shāh II.

Akbar II had not been in good health for some time. On the 28th of July 1837, he had grown very ill indeed.¹ He was at the Quṭb with a small retinue, who were very concerned when the emperor lost his power of speech for a short while. The malady was *diarrhœa*, and the emperor's old age was an obstacle to his recovery. The treatment of his physician was however successful for a while, and on the 25th of August it was officially proclaimed to the world that he was again well.² The event was celebrated with some enthusiasm.³ A salute of 35 guns was fired, and His Majesty's brothers and sisters went from the fort to congratulate him. The emperor gave Rs. 5 to his barber and a gold muhur to the physician in charge of his health. His Majesty then put on his robes and precious jewels and sat in state in a chair inlaid with gold. The resident and Col. Skinner presented themselves and made a *mujrā*⁴ and enquired after the monarch's health. His Majesty replied that except for a little weakness he was quite well. The resident then gave a *nadhr* of seven *ashrafis* and Col. Skinner one of five. His Majesty gave a *khil'at*⁵ of seven pieces to the resident and one of five pieces to Col. Skinner. Then both of them

1. *Delhi Akhbār*, 28th July, 1837.

2. *Idem*, 25th August, 1837.

3. *Idem*, 1st September, 1837

4. *Mujrā* : The customary formal salutations.

5. *Khil'at* : A robe of honour.

went to Anwar Maḥal Begam and each was given a batwā¹ full of maṣālah.² All the servants, princes, and begams presented nadhrs and gave alms. His Majesty's sons and the inmates of the palace were given dresses. The dancer Kidārā was given a dushālah as well as the title of Maḥfil Afrōz Ba'ī.³ The Bakhshī said that His Majesty's subjects in the city had been praying for his health. Now that their prayers had been answered, His Majesty might ride through the city to show himself to them. His Majesty agreed.⁴

This ceremony took place on the 1st of September but by the 9th the emperor was again unwell, this time more seriously.⁵ By the 15th he was having fits of unconsciousness, and he had grown so weak that he offered his midday prayers lying in his bed. On the 22nd the disease was diagnosed as dropsy. His physicians, Ḥakīm Aḥsanullāh Khān and Ḥakīm Sharf-u'd-dīn Khān, were treating him.⁶ On the 29th the resident again paid him a visit and found him very weak. After sunset prayers on Friday, the 6th October 1837, the emperor died at the Quṭb, at the age of 82.⁷ Before his death, he said with perfect composure, "Send the seal to Mīrzā Walī 'Ahd." The news of the emperor's death was received with genuine regret by the people of Delhi. He had been a harmless, pathetic figure, more inclined towards mysticism than the affairs of this world. Rājah Sohan Lāl, the mukhtār, informed the heir-apparent and sent the chātr,⁸ māhī marātib,⁹ and other insignia of royalty to him. The new emperor sent all the requirements of the funeral with Mīrzā Alf Bēg. The funeral was a quiet affair, attended by Rājah Sohan Lāl and Muḥammad Mīr Khān. The latter was in charge of some holy relics which he was commissioned by the last emperor to put into the grave with his body. A few faithful servants also were present.¹⁰

After the death of Akbar, the mukhtār of the new emperor presented himself before the resident, who went to the fort. Mīrzā Abū Zāfar, who was 63 years old, now ascended the imperial throne. The princes gave nadhrs according to their ranks. The resident gave a ṇadhr of 101 ashrafis

1. Batwā : A small bag, made of rich cloth and brocaded with gold.

2. Maṣālah : Prepared with fragrant ingredients to chew with pān or after meals.

3. Maḥfil Afrōz Ba'ī : Literally the lady who adorns the assembly.

4. D.A., 1st September, 1837.

5. ,, 15th September, 1837.

6. ,, 22nd September, 1837.

7. ,, 6th October, 1837. The Quṭb, or the Quṭb Ṣāhib, so called because the great saint Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī lies buried there. Once this area belonged to Delhi proper, and the earliest Muslim capital was located there. It is now called Mahrauli as well. After the loss of other health resorts the Quṭb became the Versailles of Delhi, the only place left to the last Mughals where they could spend a holiday.

8. Chātr : The royal umbrella.

9. Māhī Marātib : Insignia carried in front of the nobility and royalty. The likeness of a fish (Māhi) appeared on some of these ; the dynasty of Lucknow made it their royal emblem. Māhī Marātib are mentioned by the poet Amīr Khusrāw.

10. D.A., 6th October, 1837.

to His Majesty and one of 5 ashrafīs to Mīrzā Dārā Bakht (now the heir-apparent). The new emperor's favourite poet Shaikh Ibrāhīm Dhaug presented a small poem which he had composed *ex-tempore*. The opening line of this poem is: *خسروا توه سراج الدين سراج سلطنت*.¹ From that time until late in the afternoon the artillery roared. A salute of 82 guns was fired in memory of the late emperor in accordance with the number of years of his age. After that the guns proclaimed the accession of the last Mughal emperor to the throne. In the middle of the day the emperor went to the Jāmi' Masjid and offered thanksgiving prayers. The resident, the qala'dār and the commander of the forces who gave nadhrs, were given khil'ats. The emperor assumed the title of Abūl-Muzaffar Sirāj-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Bahādur Shāh II. Mīrzā Dārā Bakht was formally appointed the heir-Apparent. Nawāb Ḥamīdullāh was appointed the new mukhtār instead of Rājah Sohan Lāl. The new mukhtār was given an elephant, a horse and a palanquin. He was also given the title of Farzand-i-La'iq Rukn-u's-Saltanat 'Azam-u'l-Umarā Ḥamīd'-ullah Dānish-u'l-mulk Mīrza Mughal Bēg Khān Nuṣrat Jang.² On this occasion the Niẓām of Ḥaidr-ābād sent two letters—one of condolence on the death of the late emperor and one of congratulation on the accession of the new. He also sent through the British resident a nadhr of 101 ashrafīs, a string of pearls, and an emerald ring. The letters were delivered on the 16th February, 1838, more than four months after the death of the old emperor,³ and the nadhr and the gifts took even longer to reach Delhi.

The old emperor had not been thrifty. He had been reduced to selling his wife's jewellery and even offices of state. He sold, for instance, a necklace which was really worth Rs. 40,000 for Rs. 30,000.⁴ This happened in June, and in a few months' time the palace was once again in an uproar, for salaries had not been disbursed for some time. Rājah Sohan Lāl, the mukhtār, claimed that he had already spent a couple of lakhs from his own pocket.⁵ All the princes clamoured for money, and the emperor every now and then lost his temper. For instance when Mīrzā Tīmūr Shāh pressed him hard for money to pay his servants, the emperor remarked, "Pay them by selling your clothes!"⁶

The new emperor's first concern was to cut down expenditure. He ordered that some of the princes and ladies should get the salaries which they had received during Shāh 'Ālam's reign. They protested but the emperor did not hear their protests. Then he searched the stores and

1. Trans. "O! Emperor! thou art the lamp of the Faith and of the Empire." This refers to the royal title of Sirāj-u'd-dīn.

2. Trans. "The noble son, the pillar of the state, the exalted among the nobles Ḥamīd-u'llah, the wisdom of the country, Mīrzā Mughal Bēg Khān, the divinely aided in battle. D.A., 6th October, 1837

3. D.A., 16th February, 1838.

4. ,, 16th June, 1837.

5. ,, 29th September, 1837.

6. ,, 21st August, 1837.

discovered money and jewels which were unknown to the previous emperor.¹ Mīrzā Tīmūr Shāh was rebuked for being a spendthrift and was asked to appoint a new mukhtār.² His Majesty then turned to Rājah Sohan Lāl, who was asked to give back some jewels which, it was found, he had taken away. He refused, advancing the plea that the late emperor had taken a loan from him. To prove this he produced a document signed by the late emperor, but Bahādur Shāh claimed that his father had been duped into signing the receipt while he was unconscious.³ This dispute was not soon settled, but Bahādur Shāh saved money by dismissing 100 domestic servants and 100 soldiers.⁴ The salaries of the staff were also reduced. The emperor next turned to the condition of the building inside the fort and very wisely ordered all the houses which had been built after Shāh Jahān's reign to be demolished.⁵ This was necessary, for a number of unseemly buildings had grown up in later days. This again caused some agitation, for some of the princes asked for compensation in money in order to build houses elsewhere; but the emperor remained firm.⁶ Orders were given to repair the Dīwān-i-Khāṣ.⁷ It was probably in connection with these repairs that it was discovered that five of the small domes of the Dīwān-i-'Ām were covered with gold and not with copper as was believed before.⁸

Anwar Maḥal Begam, who was the favourite wife of the late emperor, did not return from the Qutb. The imperial mukhtār and the princes tried their best to induce her to come to the fort but she said that she would come only on certain conditions, namely, that her salary should remain as it was under the late monarch, that she should retain control over the ladies of the palace, and that she should have a procession with her whenever she went out. These conditions were not accepted. After some time she left the Qutb, and owing to her continued opposition to the behests of the new emperor, the staff appointed to serve her was withdrawn.⁹ The palace badly needed a head. For this honour Bahādur Shāh chose his favourite wife, 'Azīz-u'n-Nisā Begam, who was now given the title of Tāj Maḥal; but in accordance with the fashion of the day, power *de jure* was divorced from power *de facto*.¹⁰ Tāj Maḥal was the head *de jure*, the nobles were asked to give nadhrs to her. The *de facto* power, however, was given to Sultān Begam, the eldest daughter of the

1. D.A., 20th October, 1837.

2. „ 20th October, 1837.

3. „ 3rd November, 1837.

4. „ 17th November, 1837.

5. „ 20th October and 10th November, 1837.

6. „ 20th October, 1837.

7. „ 29th November, 1837.

8. „ 8th December, 1837.

9. „ 10th November and 8th December 1837.

10. Tāj Maḥal: The crown consort: D.A., 1st December, 1837.

emperor. This was probably necessary in view of the very humble origin of Tāj Maḥal, whose father was a professional musician, a dom.¹

The coronation darbār was held on the 7th of January, 1838,² and the day had been declared auspicious by the astrologers. When seven gharis of the day had gone, His Majesty sat on the imitation Peacock Throne. The artillery fired a salute. The resident, the second secretary, and the qal'adār were present. They paid their respects and offered nadhrs according to their ranks. The resident gave a nadhr of Rs. 200 and seven gold mohurs of new coinage bearing the date of the first year of His Majesty's reign. He was given a khil'at of seven pieces and three jewels. The secretary and the qala'dār were each given khil'ats of six pieces and two jewels.³ The residency staff, the ṣadr-u'ṣ-ṣudūr Khān Bahādur Muftī Khalīl'ullah Khān, the ṣadr-amīns and sarishtadārs of the collectorate and the 'adālat, the kotwal, and the English staff received 35 khil'ats in all.⁴ Every one of these presented nadhrs according to their rank and in all 27 ashrafīs and Rs. 251 were presented. His Majesty's own servants also were given khil'ats, and the more important members of the retinues of the chief Begam and the heir-apparent were not forgotten. A few titles were conferred, Dhauq, the favourite poet recited a qaṣīdah which was greatly appreciated. Its opening line was.

روکش ترے رخ سے ہو کیا نور سحر رنگ شفق⁵

He was on this occasion given the title of Malik-ush-Shu'arā."⁶ Dhonkal Singh was given the title of Rā'i, Tāj Maḥal Begam's mukhtār was to be styled Afḍal-u'd-Daulah Ḥafiz-ullah Khān, and Ḥakīm Sharf-u'd-dīn Khān was given a pālki and the title of zubdat-u'l-ḥukamā.⁷ The celebration was an unqualified success and the people of Delhi, who had forgotten the glory of the past, even believed that no coronation had been celebrated with such splendour.⁸

But Delhi had witnessed yet greater pageantry. Sir Henry Fane, the commander-in-chief, visited the royal city, and presented himself before His Majesty on the 9th of December.⁹ On the previous day, His Majesty's young son, Mīrzā Fakhru'd-dīn, went in state to pay a visit to Sir Henry, and was welcomed by him and his staff. The latter came out to meet the prince on the road. Sir Henry himself came out up to the end of

1. D.A., 8th December, 1837.

2. „ 12th January, 1838.

3. Qala'dār: The commandant of the fort, now an Englishman.

4. Ṣadr-u'ṣ-ṣudūr: The chief ecclesiastical officer. Ṣadr-amīn: a judicial officer.

5. Trans. The light of the dawn or the colour of the twilight cannot compare with thy face.

6. Malik-u'ṣh-Shu'ara: Poet-laureate.

7. Afḍal-u'd-Daulah: The best in the realm.

Ḍhubdat-ul-Ḥukamā: The chosen among physicians. D.A., 19th January, 1838.

8. D.A., 12th January, 1838.

9. „ 15th December, 1837.

the carpet to meet the prince. The next day the commander-in-chief went to pay his respects to His Majesty. There was a big crowd on the road to watch the retinue. Mirzā Fakhru'd-dīn came out to meet the general. Regiments nos. 16, 38 and 48, a company of sappers and miners, and some artillery had been stationed along the road on either side. A big crowd had gathered in the fort as well. The mulāzimat, for that was the term used, passed off with dignity and in a very orderly manner.¹ All white men were standing at the foot of the Peacock Throne on which His Majesty was seated. The commander-in-chief gave a nadhr of 51 gold mohurs to His Majesty and another of 21 gold mohurs to the heir-apparent. The commander-in-chief's staff gave nadhrs of 7 or 4 ashrafīs each to the emperor and one or two ashrafīs each to the heir-apparent according to their rank. The commander-in-chief was given the following title :—

“ Zaigham-u'd-daulah, Husām-u'l-mulk Khān Daurān Khān
Sir Henry Fane Ṣāhib Bahādur, Ṣalābat Jang, General, Commander-
in-Chief of India.”²

A special khil'at was given to Sir Henry consisting of dastār-i-sarbastah, turrah, kalghī, jāmah-i-kārchobī, nīmah āstīn, kamarband and bālāband.³ In addition to the khil'at the following also were given : a goshwārah, a mālā-i-marwārīd, pālki jhālardār, an elephant with a jhūl, a horse, jarīb, māhī marātīb, a sipar, a sword, eleven pairs of kettledrums, nishān-i-aspi shutri.⁴

The members of the commander-in-chief's staff were given khil'ats of seven or six pieces, three jewels, a shield, a sword, etc., each in accordance to his rank.

1. Mulāzimat : Literally service ; this term was used originally for formal attendance at the court.

2. Translated into English it reads :—“ The lion of the state, the sword of the country, the chief of the age, the chief Sir Henry Fane, the brave, the steadfast in battle, general commander-in-chief of India.”

3. Dastār-i-sarbastah : A ready-made turban of a particular style.

Turrah : A jewelled ornament for the turban. The ornament lying by the side of the turban.

Kalghī : Another ornament for the turban made of jewels, pearls, and precious feathers.

Sarpēch : An ornament of gold or jewels generally placed in front of the turban.

Jāmah : A dress.

Kārchobī : Gold brocade.

Nīmah-āstīn : A tunic with half sleeves.

Kamarband : Belt.

Bālāband : A kind of turban.

4. Goshwārah : An ear-ring.

Mālā-i-marwārīd : A pearl of strings.

Pālki jhālardār : A palanquin covered with rich cloth having a fringe of pearls and precious stones.

Jarīb : A staff.

Sipar : A shield.

Nishān-i-aspi-shutri : Ensigns carried on horses and camels.

On the eve of the commander-in-chief's departure His Majesty sent chengiri-pāndān and khāshah¹ to His Excellency.

The most important event was the visit of Lord Auckland, the governor-general.² There had been some doubt in his mind whether he should tour this area, for there had been a famine, but ultimately he decided to come. He did not visit the emperor, for the ceremonial of paying respects to a nominal emperor did not appeal to the *de facto* ruler of the country, who represented a mighty Empire of the new age ; but that detracted very little from the interest of the crowd. The governor-general reached Delhi on Friday, the 16th of February 1838. On Saturday he went with his staff to visit the city wall and the turrets. The same day he visited the Jāmi' Masjid and the different sights of the city. In the evening he gave a dinner to Englishmen. On Monday he reviewed the troops and attended some manœuvres and a mock siege with which he was pleased. The same evening the resident gave a dinner in which 160 covers were laid, which throws some light on the European population in Delhi at that time. On Tuesday, the 11th, a general darbār was held for Indian rājahs and nawābs. The rājah of Kishangarh came first. He was given a kishī of wearing apparel, an elephant, a horse with trappings and 'itr and pān.³ At the time of the rājah's coming and going a salute of thirteen guns was fired. The nawāb of Jhajar, his son, and three other relations gave nadhrs and were awarded khil'ats, jewels, horses, etc., in accordance with their rank. The others who presented themselves gave nadhrs, and were awarded khil'ats, etc., were the rājah of Ballabgarh, the nawāb of Pataudi, the nawāb of Farrukhnagar, the nawāb of Dujānah, Lakshmi-chand Seth, the nawāb of Bahādurgarh and others. His Excellency then withdrew to another tent where the more important citizens of Delhi gave nadhrs and received khil'ats, etc. His Excellency visited the Quṭb Mīnār and other historical buildings. The same day the heir-apparent went to see him. The secretaries Mr. Macnaughton, and others went out to receive him. The artillery fired a salute. The governor-general, says the *Delhi Akhbār* rather vaguely, paid respects in accordance with the tradition. The usual presents were exchanged. On Wednesday the English residents of Delhi gave a dinner and on Thursday Col. Skinner gave the last dinner of the series. The governor-general created a good impression on the people. Though he himself did not go to see the emperor, his secretaries went and paid their respects. This happened on the 18th, but it was a tame affair in comparison with the visit of the commander-in-chief. They gave nadhrs of eleven ashrafis each. His Majesty gave them khil'ats of seven pieces, and gold brocade nīmah-āstin and three jewels to a Mr. Thorn of the governor-general's staff.

1. Chengiri-pāndān : Literally provision for betels ; generally included a gift in money as well. Khāshah : Here royal food. D.A., 15th December, 1837.

2. D.A., 23rd February, 1838.

3. Kishī : A tray. 'Itr : Attar.

On January 7th the same year, a little earlier than the visit of the governor-general, the prince of Orange came to visit Delhi. He visited the famous buildings of Delhi, but did not go to see the emperor.¹

In addition to these occasions the humdrum routine of the life of the people was broken on the occasion of festivals. The court celebrated the Hindu and Muslim festivals alike ; and both Akbar II and Bahādur Shāh II kept up this tradition. On the day of Salūnon, Rājah Bholānāth, in accordance with the tradition presented a kishti of rākhis made of pearls, and sweets to Akbar Shāh II, who had a rākhi tied on his hand and gave the usual khil'at and jewels to the rājah.² Akbar Shāh II was very fond of Sair-i-gulfaroshān, commonly called the Phūl-wālon-kā-melā, a festival equally dear to Hindus and Muslims.³ The emperor was not well, but his bed was taken out and His Majesty watched the celebration from his balcony. He himself saw the pankha and gave dushālah to Ghulām 'Alī, phūlwālā.⁴ The new emperor kept up the old tradition ; on Dīwālī he had a ceremonial bath in which water was poured on his head from an earthen vessel which had 21 holes in it.⁵ His Majesty was weighed and alms were given to the poor. Holī was the occasion of much merry-making in the city as well as in the fort. The ladies used the occasion to display their skill in throwing scented water mixed with dyes not only on one another, but also on the male population of the fort.

On the day of the Basant (23rd February 1838) it was ordered that a big tent should be put up near Asad Burj and the dancing-girls of the city and the court were required to put on basantī garments and present themselves.⁶ All the nobles were ordered to put on basantī dress. The emperor also appeared in a basantī dress. There was much dancing and music in the Muthamman Burj. Every one was given a suitable reward. In the same connection there was a ceremony in the zenana where the monarch sat with the begams and watched the dance, after which, again, rewards were given to those partaking in the ceremony.⁷ On Juma't-ul-Widā' the emperor rode in state to the Jāmi'-Masjid.⁸ The 'Īd prayers were offered in the 'Īdgāh. The emperor's procession was still a sight to see. As soon as the prayers were finished, His Majesty gave a khil'at of six pieces and three jewels to the imām. The nobles and members of His Majesty's staff all received khil'ats or presents in accordance with their rank. The princes

1. D.A., 12th January, 1838.

2. " 25th August, 1837.

3. The florist's fair : A fair still held at Mahrauli and one of the very few festivals common to Muslims, Hindus and others.

4. Pankhās : Decorative fans carried in front of the procession. D.A., 15th and 22nd November, 1837.

5. This had a magical significance ; the idea is Hindu. D.A., 30th October, 1837.

6. Basantī : Light yellow, of the colour of the sesame flower. The Basant is still celebrated by some sections of the Muslim population in Delhi, though the festival is Hindu in origin.

7. D.A., 23rd February, 1838.

8. " 29th December, 1837.

and the ladies of the court also were not forgotten. Fairly large sums were given away to the poor in alms. The royal mukhtār himself supervised the distribution and he had instruction to see that all the money was properly distributed. In the afternoon His Majesty held a darbār. He put on his robes and jewels. The nobles gave nadhrs to His Majesty, the heir-apparent and Taj Maḥal Begam. The resident and other European officers came to pay their respects. The resident gave a nadhr of 121 gold muhurs to His Majesty and one of 5 ashrafis to the heir-apparent and received a khil'at and some jewels.¹

This pageantry was all that had been left to the successors of the once mighty Mughals and it was doubly dear to them. The people of Delhi also attached great importance to it, for it enabled them to live in a kind of dream. A good many people had been obliged to leave the city in search of employment, but the majority loved their city and its environment. The court of the powerless monarch and its mock ritual enabled them to drown the feeling of despair which was slowly creeping over them regarding the future of their beloved metropolis. They required some rude awakening and the cataclysm of 1857 provided it. They had yet nineteen years of repose before them—years full of ugly rumours, disaffection, agitation, discontent, yet containing a vague hope of redemption, of revival, and of recovery. But that period is beyond the scope of this paper. Let me turn once again to 1837, but this time to the people, which always endures, and not to the nominal emperor and his court waiting like a dead yellow leaf to be blown away by the first breath of the autumn breeze.

The year 1837 brought a famine, which seems to have been widespread. From Surat, Ajmer Kota and Ludhiana in the west to Calcutta in the east, disturbing news poured in from all quarters, news of misery, starvation and death.² As early as July 1837 the effects of a drought had been felt. Akbar Shāh II ordered public prayers for rain and arranged to feed a hundred poor every day.³ The prayers seem to have been partially answered, for there was rain in Qutb Shāhib, which gladdened the heart of the old monarch. But it was not enough to avert the disaster; cases of theft in the city and robberies on the road increased in number, and the police were not able to stop them.⁴ The villagers grew desperate and attacked men of note—Europeans and Indians alike, in spite of their escorts. The situation grew worse and worse every day. Both the English and the vernacular newspapers were full of the news of dacoities; villages were looted and sometime set on fire. In Basilpur area above 52 villages

1. D.A., 5th January, 1838.

2. „ 11th August, 1837; 15th September, 1837; 22nd September, 1837; 29th September, 1837; 6th October, 1837; 13th October, 1837; 20th October, 1837; 27th October, 1837; 3rd November, 1837; 10th November, 1837; 24th November, 1837; 1st December, 1837; 8th December, 1837; 22nd December, 1837.

3. D.A., 14th July, 1837.

4. „ 13th October, 1837; 20th October, 1837; 10th November, 1837.

were looted.¹ Even the commissioner's house was attacked. The post was looted on some occasions and trade came to a standstill. The robbers did not spare the chaprasīs carrying salt and one of the party was killed near Najafgarh.² Disturbances took place in Jaipur and Bharatpur, where the rajahs force the banyas to sell the corn they had stored.³ On October 5th, the people of Delhi also grew desperate and looted shops in Chāori, Mir Khān's Bāzār, Delhi Gate and the Bāzār near Fatehpuri mosque. The situation got out of control. The boats bringing corn and merchandize were looted on the ghats. Indian soldiers were summoned to restore order. They succeeded in gaining control over the situation, but they had to be kept in readiness at different police stations. It will be interesting to mention the prices which caused these riots. Wheat rose from 20 seers for a rupee to 13 seers in the course of a few days.⁴ On the 20th more boats were looted on the Jumna.⁵ The European and Indian citizens of Delhi organized relief.⁶ The emperor fed a number of the poor every day at his own expenses, but the disaster spread.⁷ Mothers could not see their children starving and there were cases of women taking their babies in their arms and jumping into wells to commit suicide.⁸ Many people sold their children, and no measures could stop this trade in human beings. Five of such traders were caught near the fort.⁹ On petition from many people it was proclaimed that people could give their children to any one to be brought up, except to prostitutes. The children would, however, be free and not slaves.¹⁰

The period of anarchy had already undermined the capacity of the people to withstand such disaster. The jāgirdārs and petty rulers had bled the peasantry white. To take Begam Samru's estate, for instance, she had died recently and her jāgīr, consisting of five parganas, had been confiscated at her death. The area covered by her jāgīr was 339,767 acres, or just over 543,628 bighas. She had not left even one biswa of mu'āfi (rent-free) land. The income at her death was Rs. 4,81,297, paid by only 153,207 souls. This would put the revenue at roughly Rs. 3 per head. So burdensome was this exorbitant assessment that about 1/4 of the villages were unpopulated at her death, for the population had sought shelter elsewhere. One of these depopulated villages—probably one of the more fertile—had 3,139 bighas of land and the Begam expected the

1. D.A., 2nd February, 1838; 9th June, 1837; 16th June, 1837; 23rd June, 1837; 18th August, 1837; 8th September, 1837.

2. D.A., 22nd September, 1837.

3. „ 6th October, 1837.

4. „ 13th October, 1837.

5. „ 6th October, 1837.

6. „ 20th October, 1837.

7. „ 3rd February, 1838.

8. „ 3rd November, 1837.

9. „ 26th January, 1838.

10. „ 22nd December, 1837. D.A., 2nd February, 1838.

peasantry to pay Rs. 25,000 per annum for this land. This is slightly less than Rs. 8 per annum for a bigha, which would be crushing at that time, for Rs. 2 a maund was the level of prices in a famine, and the proportion of yield represented by Rs. 8 is much too high even for the most fertile bigha of land. The comment of the *Delhi Akhbār* is worth quoting here : " Thousands, nay, lacs of rupees were vested in her life simply on display in the hope of obtaining fame. She left a kingly fortune for a person who had no claim on her, though her old faithful servants are naked and starving. As long as the palace in Sardhana stands on the face of the earth, it will proclaim : ' I have been built upon the desolation and ruin of the homesteads of the ryots.' " The newspaper wisely adds, " The begam was a woman and was known to be merciful. . . . what would be the condition of the peasantry in the estates of other jāgīrdārs, whose name is never associated with mercy ? " ¹

The jāgīrdārs were extravagant, but their extravagance was not discouraged. There was pernicious system of giving presents to British officials, and the gifts were expensive. For instance, when Rājah Sarūp Singh of Jindh ascended the gaddī, he sent 40 thāns of white cloth, 10 thāns of gulbadan and kamkhwāb, 20 pairs of dushālahs, 3 jewels, 8 arms, an elephant with a silver howdah, and two horses with silver trappings as a present to the governor-general, and 20 thāns of white cloth, 5 thāns of gulbadan and kamkhwāb, 10 pairs of dushālahs, 2 jewels, 8 arms, one elephant and two horses to the lieutenant-governor of Agra. ²

These presents were not always voluntary ; for instance the nawāb of Jhajjar was informed that he should submit 51 gold mohurs on the occasion of the enthronement of Queen Victoria. ³

Whenever there is genuine misery, the disaffection against the real authority cannot but increase. The past is painted by the imagination of a people in radiant colours, and the more miserable the present is, the more radiant grow the hues of the past. Therefore, we can find even in 1837 the beginning of that discontent which was responsible for the events of 1857.

We find a great deal of agitation about imposition of revenue on hitherto rent-free lands. ⁴ This imposition was justified in many respects, and the government partly removed the sting from the measure by granting some pensions to those who were affected. ⁵ But the agitation did not subside, for the most vocal class had been affected. Much more serious than

1. D.A., 2nd June, 1837.

2. Thān : Piece.

Gulbadan : A thick silk cloth.

Kamkhwab : Gold brocade.

3. D.A., 3rd November, 1837.

4. " 30th June, 1837.

5. " 14th July, 1837.

this was the new measure of making the post a government monopoly.¹ The rates were very high, and hitherto the people has been used to much lower rates. It was considered very unjust on the part of the government to get money in this manner. The traders also were affected, and the merchants of Agra submitted a memorandum to the lieutenant-governor which was forwarded to the governor-general.² The money brokers of Farrukhabad were fined for keeping up a system of private post.³ A correspondent in the *Delhi Akhbār* of 9th June 1837 writes the following significant letter which shows the temper of thoughtful people at that time :—

“ How will the poor be able to pay for the British post ? If the government, moved by avarice, wanted to establish a monopoly of posts, it should have kept its prices lower than they are now. This would not have weighed heavily on the people and every one would have given his letters to it gladly. Begam Samru uprooted the tree of her government with avarice, what fruit did she gather ?..... The government has made no law for the benefit of the people, but the tax on *ajnās-i-parmat*, which was excused earlier has again been imposed on these poor people. The special commissioners, who have been appointed to resume the *mu’āfī* lands, are a terror. On the least excuse and the slightest pretext they confiscate land which was granted in perpetuity. Ah ! what great justice is this ! Another more wonderful news is that the members of the bureau want to take 2 per cent. on the agricultural produce of the land on the excuse that they want to repair bad roads. How strange it is that they do not heal broken hearts, but they think of repairing roads ! The government is not content with this ; they have increased the *chowkīdārī* cess. They have grabbed the *biswādārī* rights of the zamindars and in addition have increased the demand on the produce. Alas ! a hundred times alas ! what administration is this that the government has come down to these mean devices ! What a pity it is that the people who bear all these evils can say nothing, though their hearts are broken by this cruelty. O, readers of this journal and O, intelligent gentlemen ! see what is the behaviour of this government. They have not promulgated any law for the good of the oppressed people, on the other hand they have framed a law to guide these special commissioners which would put to shame Machiavelli—a famous scholar of law in Italy and a prototype of our government—who would have wondered at this new law.”⁴

I have quoted this extract at some length for it is so characteristic of this period. As a matter of fact as time passes, the criticism grows more

1. D.A., 2nd June, 1837.

2. „ 10th November, 1837.

3. Ibid.

4. „ 9th June, 1837.

and more outspoken and bitter. Gradually mischievous propaganda creeps in and clever men take full advantage of the feelings of the people. In June, 1837, owing to some contagious disease the government prohibited the ceremonial bathing in the Jumna at Govardhan on the occasion of a religious fair. The pilgrims were very angry, for they did not understand the reason.¹ A tax was levied from the pilgrims to the shrine of the goddess Sītā at Gurgaon, which brought Rs. 8,000 to the government, but was highly unpopular.² It was rumoured that the government did not want the people to follow any religion but Christianity. One reads communications like the following in the newspaper: "Had the government been really kind to its subjects, it would not have confiscated the property of the people. It really wants that the people shall be so troubled that they will either accept Christianity or leave the country."³

Mingled with facts are rumours such as these: "A man from Agra writes that an order from Calcutta says that in future all ṣadr-amīns, ṣadr-u'ṣ-ṣudūrs and munšifs will be required to appear with their beards shaved and in European costume in the courts. This one does not seem to have mischievous motives, because Meerut also is full of the above rumours. If this is true, what is the motive of the English? Is it impossible to try cases without English clothes or does the government want to spread its religion in this way? With what respect did the government treat these people to begin with? What other methods has it adopted now? All their bestowal of honour and showing of respect will end in the loss of religion some day."⁴

So strong is the disaffection against the government that almost any incident inspires criticism. A banya in Mirzapur gave Rs. 12,000 to build a bridge. At once the question comes to the mind: "But why does the government not build bridge wherever they are necessary? Why does it levy taxes if it does not undertake public works?"⁵ Unpleasant parallels are found between the British policy of expansion and incidents in foreign countries. The following shows what people thought of British diplomacy in that period: "The Shāh of Irān likes the English way of conquering new countries. He has given Mīrzā 'Abbās, the brother of Shāh Kamrān of Herat, a jāgīr just on the border of Herāt. Mīrzā 'Abbās has already begun to encroach upon Herat territory. As Kamrān Shāh is careless it is certain that Mīrzā 'Abbās will one day take the whole of Herat. It is apparent how deep is the design. The two brothers will fight and in the end the Shāh will utilize the opportunity."⁶ This shows that the people had lost all faith in the honesty and the 'bona fide' of the British adminis-

1. D.A., 16th June, 1837.

2. " 30th June, 1837. Sītā Devī: The goddess of small-pox.

3. " 8th September, 1837.

4. " 4th August, 1837.

5. " 10th October, 1837.

6. " 29th September, 1837.

tration in India, and the minds of the people were gradually but surely turning towards the desirability of a change. One should, therefore, not be surprised at the strength and ferocity of the Mutiny.

It must be admitted that the British administrative methods were not always particularly enlightened, nor such as would inspire confidence. The sight of convicts, for instance, being forced, to make roads in the middle of the day while the sun was at its hottest is not edifying. They were given three pice a day for their food ; this at a time when there was a famine. The result was that many fell ill and died of sunstroke or other diseases.¹ The method of parading criminals for public scorn has not been given up.² Nor was British justice above suspicion. The white man's prestige was a serious impediment in the path of the blind, old justice, and it is not surprising that she often stumbled and fell badly bruising her shins.³ We read of a certain captain Pargregy (?) who beat one of his kahārs so mercilessly that he died.⁴ The comfortable doctrine of an enlarged spleen had yet to be discovered ! The court martial therefore decided that the gallant captain's intention was only to punish his servant and not to kill him, whereupon he was acquitted. There was no dearth of people who thought that if the captain had been an Indian, he would have paid the extreme penalty.

In the realm of constructive work as well, the government had lagged behind. Towards the end of 1837 there were only thirty schools in the entire British possessions in India, of which six had been established within the previous twelve months. These schools were well attended, for there were 4,166 students on their rolls, of whom 3,298 were Hindus, 670 Muslims, and 198 Christians. 3,111 of these read English, 381 Sanskrit 256 Arabic, 358 Persian, and the rest vernacular languages.⁵ These schools were all in the more important towns. The entire rural population was left to its own resources.⁶

There was one thing however which reflected a great deal of credit upon the government. In the year 1837 there were 42 newspapers in the country. In addition to the local subscribers, whose number must have been much greater than those in the mofussil, there were 5,463 men who received their papers by post.⁷ The power of the press was valued and recognized by the public. When a lieutenant-governor of Agra retired, he was extolled for strengthening the press, which, it was said " has put a check on the Company's persecution, for, if any official or the court of directors does anything unjust, great agitation is caused."⁸ The press,

1. D.A., 23rd June, 1837.

2. " 17th November, 1837.

3. " 6th October, 1837.

4. Kahār : A palanquin bearer.

5. D.A., 29th December, 1837.

6. " 23rd February 1838.

7. " 25th August, 1837.

8. " 29th September, 1837.

however, only aggravated the discontent. The officials of the Company were supremely indifferent to all criticism, a great deal of which was justified. There was no attempt to take the public into confidence. Let us remember that at that time the people had not settled down with an unshakable inferiority complex, and still considered themselves capable of giving advice and occupying civil positions of responsibility. The government, not only did not give them any opportunity of giving advice in matters relating to their own welfare, but did not even publish a statement of its own expenditure and income, for which there was some demand in enlightened circles.¹ The government itself was assiduously paving the way for the Mutiny.

Let us once again return to the condition of the city of Delhi. The populace of Delhi had not been able to understand the anomaly of a nominal emperor and a strong, vigorous, and aggressive foreign government. So deeply ingrained was the prestige of the emperor in the minds of the people that whenever they had any grievance against the officials of the Company, they went sometimes in large numbers, to the emperor. The emperor very often used his influence in their favour, and thus not only gained their affection, but also a great deal of prestige which was absolutely out of proportion to his real authority. But when they found that the emperor was powerless, it only increased their despair, for they considered it unjust that the emperor's will should not prevail. They, even now, looked upon him as the legal sovereign.

Such a position was not easy to maintain. Bahādur Shāh II had absolutely no misgivings about his utter helplessness; but his staff and the princes of royal blood very often forgot that the House of Tīmūr was but a shadow without any substance. Therefore one reads of clashes between the princes and the British officials—not on any question of authority, but only about precedence and prestige. For instance, once an empty carriage of a prince was standing in the Daribah when the carriage of Mr. Elliot the kotwāl happened to pass that way. The kotwāl made some remarks which were resented and there was some fighting between the servants of the prince and those of the kotwāl. The prince complained to the emperor. His Majesty referred the entire matter to the resident. The result was that the kotwāl was asked to give an explanation.²

There was not much change in the life of the city during this year. A system of Kūchahbandī was introduced to prevent the ever-growing number of thefts owing to the famine, and the gates of all different mohallas were locked at nine o'clock.³ This caused some inconvenience to the public, and a certain amount of dislocation in trade. A girls' school

1. D.A., 17th November, 1837.

2. „ 8th September, 1837.

3. Kūchahbandī: A technical term for putting up protective walls and gates to defend a quarter, D.A., 28th July, 1837.

was added to the amenities of life.¹ Less exciting events were the examinations in the school and the college to which the parents and guardians of the students were invited ; they were delighted to see the amount of knowledge which their sons or wards had picked up.²

Delhi had a European population of about 200 souls. These people led a life of their own. A new ball room was built in 1837 in the village of Chandrāval.³ Hindū Rāo seems to have been a great social figure of these days and he certainly believed in mixing with the English for he gave a donation of Rs. 500 for the ball room.⁴ This building was completed in February 1838, for we read of a conjuror giving a performance there which was highly appreciated. The front seats were sold for Rs. 4 each and the back seats for Rs. 2 each.⁵ Christmas was celebrated with enthusiasm. The artillery fired a salute, the resident held a darbār in which the officials and others presented themselves to offer their good wishes.⁶ Life was not without some excitement either, for we read how the wife of an important civilian loved a red coat better than her husband. When the latter has gone out hunting, she went to her lover. The husband's shikār was but a ruse, for he returned sooner than his wife had expected. The sinning wife was brought back and the lover was challenged to a duel. The husband and the lover both saved their honour, for neither was hurt, and the old ladies of the station had something to talk about for some time.⁷ The most favourite recreations were hunting, riding, and polo. In the afternoons the station belles and young men, the respectable housewives and their husbands went in their coaches or buggies for a ride, or better still went boating on the river. The sight of the palaces from the river was a great temptation to take the boats right in front of the jharoka, but this was resented by the emperor who gave orders that no boats should be allowed to pass by the palace.⁸ These orders were rigorously enforced both by Akbar Shāh II and by Bahādur Shāh II. The monotony of life was also broken by nautch parties. We read of one such party given by Hindū Rāo.⁹ Col. Skinner also was fond of nautch by women and boys, to which he invited many Europeans.

Thus Delhi lived in the first year of the reign of its last emperor, happily unconscious of the day which was to sweep away all traditions of the past in the one swift whirlwind of the Mutiny and its suppression.

ISHTIAQ HUSAIN QURESHI.

1. D.A., 16th June, 1837.

2. D.A., 15th and 29th December, 1837.

3. The area near Metcalfe House and the old Secretariat ; now called the old Chandrāwal. D.A., 16th June, 1837.

4. Hindū Rāo was a relation of the royal family of Gwalior. His name is still commemorated by a quarter called Bārā Hindū Rāo and the Hindū Rāo Hospital, for the building was at one time Hindū Rāo's Palace.

5. D.A., 9th February, 1838.

6. D.A., 21st July, 1837.

7. D.A., 2nd June, 1837.

8. Jharokah : The historic window where the emperors showed themselves to the populace, and received its homage.

9. D.A., 11th August, 1837.

COSTUMES OF MAMLUK WOMEN

SARACENIC women used to wear chemises (*qumsān*), visible—to judge by literary evidence—underneath their upper garments.

This caused offence, so that when, in 751 A.H., in the heyday of Mamlūk luxury during the vizierate of Amīr Manjak, a peculiar kind of chemise called *bahtala*, with long train and sleeves three ells wide became fashionable, the vizier ordered the sleeves to be cut, imprisoned a number of transgressors and by using various other means succeeded in restraining the women from wearing them.¹ But this reform was of short duration. During the early Circassian period, when sleeves became even wider, an edict was issued by the Amīr Kumushbughā, then viceroy of Egypt during the absence of the Sultān (*nā'ib ul-ghaiba*), and promulgated in 793 A.H. in Cairo and its vicinity, forbidding the wearing of chemises with sleeves wider than 12 ells. As was often the case before, this attempt too remained ineffective. A few days after the edict was published, Mamlūks and pages of Kumushbughā patrolled the bazaars, the streets of Cairo and the neighbourhood, in order to enforce it, and cut all the superfluously long sleeves with knives.² After the Sultān's return, the women reverted to the old fashion,³ although years later ibn-Taghribirdī still saw chemises made according to Kumushbughā's order—and called after him *al-qumsān ul-Kumushbughāwiyya*—and described them as having sleeves like those worn by Bedouins.⁴ The chemise itself which, according to religious law, ought to have been long, was—at least during the 14th century—often short, reaching only to the knees.⁵ Together with the

1. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāq, II, p. 322, l. 26 ff.; Ibn-Iyās, I, p. 193, l. 26 ff.

2. For further information see ibn al-Furāt, *Tārikh*, ed. Zurayk and Izzedin, IX, pp. 267, l. 16; 268, l. 19 ff.; cf. also ibn-Taghribirdī, *an-Nujūm az-Zāhira*, ed. Popper, V, p. 541, ll. 1-5; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn ul-Muhādara*, ed. 1299, II, p. 217, l. 22 ff. (where Ketbughā is a mistake for Kumushbughā). The edict was prompted by an outrageous use of 92 ells for a chemise! Dozy, *Dictionnaire des vêtements*, p. 374, knew this story from a passage in Suyūṭī but quoted in addition a passage from ibn-Iyās which is not to be found in our printed edition.

3. Ibn al-Furāt, *op. laud.*, p. 268, l. 25.

4. Ibn-Taghribirdī, l. c., l. 5.

5. Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Kitāb al-Madkhal*, I, p. 201, l. 3.

chemise, the *mi'zar*,¹ a kind of knickers was worn, an undergarment perhaps identical in cut as well as in name with that worn by men.² For some time at least long drawers (*sarāwīl*) were also worn,³ perhaps in lieu of a chemise like gown (*thaub*).⁴ There is an explicit reference to them in the case of the first Mamlūk Sulṭāna, Shajarat ad-Durr, who, done to death by the maids of the harem, was thrown into the ditch with nothing on but chemise and drawers (*sarāwīl*). These drawers were kept tight by an expensive band (*tikka*).⁵ But it is doubtful whether the wearing of either of these two kinds of drawers was universal, although numerous arguments for and against could be invoked.⁶ The fact that lists of women's trousseaux in marriage-contracts of the Mamlūk period make no mention of drawers or—what is far more important—of the luxurious trouser-bands, may be quoted as an *argumentum ex silentio* against the assumption that drawers were very popular. But the value of this evidence is much restricted by the scarcity of such contracts. On the other hand the fact that some time later during the Circassian period the usual word for drawers was *libās*, *i.e.*, dress *kat exochen*, seems to indicate its popularity at that time.

Above these undergarments a gown (*thaub*) was worn, the most common component of young women's dresses as we can see from the above-mentioned lists of their trousseaux. Again, the prescriptions of the law were disregarded and the gown was made short, with short and wide sleeves. Ibn al-Hājj mentions this as of recent date, *i.e.*, of the early 14th century.⁷ The whole person was swathed in an ample wrap (*izār*) which covered the entire clothing. The garment was generally white for Muslims,⁸ whereas the women of the People of the Book had to wear it in

1. Dozy, *op. laud.*, p. 38 ff., with examples for men (Sulṭān Shaikh) and women. Wearing the *mi'zar* in a public bath was considered of special importance, cf., Kutubī, *Fawāt, al-Wafayāt*, 1299, I, p. 44, l. 16, (with reference to ibn-Taimiyya).

2. Arnold v. Harff, *Pilgerfahrt*, ed. Von Groote, who, to judge by a standing phrase in his vocabularies ought to know, says of Cairene women: die vrouwen dragen leder hoesen mit bruechen an (p. 106).

3. Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, ed. Ziada, I, p. 540, l. 10; Frescobaldi, *Viaggio in Egitto e Terra Santa*, Roma, 1818, p. 95.

4. Ibn al-Hājj, *op. laud.*, I, p. 201, l. 5.

5. Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, I, p. 404, l. 3 f.; ibn-Iyās, I, p. 92, l. 11 f., explains that it was of red silk, with pearl and a vesicle of musk.

6. Cf., *e.g.*, a story about a man disguised as a woman who wears no drawers (*sarāwīl*), Usāma, *Kitāb al-I'tibār*, ed. Hitti, p. 43, l. penult.; an indirect proof that women wore no knickers may be found in ibn al-Hājj, *op. laud.*, I, p. 201, l. 3-4; l. 5. So far as men are concerned the position is even clearer: On the one hand al-Malik al-Mu'izz in 653 A.H. forbade men to go out without trousers (*sarāwīl*) (Maqrizī, *Sulūk*, I, p. 397, ll. 3-6), on the other the Ottoman conquest of Syria, the defterdār of Damascus, had to issue a special edict immediately afterwards forbidding men to appear without trousers (*sarāwīl*) outside their own houses. The population was most unwilling (ibn-Ṭulūn, *Das Tübinger Fragment der Chronik*, ed. R. Hartmann, p. 48, l. 12 ff. under the events of the last day of Rabi' I, 923 A.H.).

7. *Op. laud.*, p. 203, ll. 1-5.

8. A. v. Harff, *l.c.*; Bernard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam*, Speier, 1490, I. II (= Davies, *Bernard von Breydenbach and his Journey to the Holy Land*, pl. 34a).

distinctive colours,¹ Christians in blue, Jewesses in yellow, and Samaritans in red. It was fastened by a girdle (*zunnār*), alleged to have been invented by Mutayyam, a favourite at the court of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim.² As headgear they used a piece of cloth (*iṣāba*) wound turban-like round that part of the wrap (*izār*) which covered the hair similar in fashion perhaps to that of Bedouin women today,³ except that it was sometimes richly embroidered and adorned with precious stones.⁴ Women's turbans were the subject of much controversy, and although it was often denied that they ever used them⁵ "the vigour with which theologians attack women who wear turbans. . . . shows only too clearly the existence of such practices."⁶ The word *'imāma*, turban *par excellence*, does occur in descriptions of turbans of women, as, e.g., in the edict of Muharram 662 A.H., forbidding women to wear turbans,⁷ or by ibn-ul-Ḥājj,⁸ who mentions with disgust a turban resembling the double hemp of the dromedary. During the second half of the 15th century, this unsightly thing disappeared and a tall *tartūr*, covered by the outer wrap, served as headgear. As Arnold von Harff described it, "women wear a high thing on their head, in the shape of a goblet, wound with expensive

1. Nuwairī, s.a. 700, cf. ibn-Taghrībirdī, *op. laud.*, VII, op. 722, l. 2 ff. Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, XIII, p. 378, l. ult. 379, ll. 1, 3-4; Suyūṭī, *op. laud.*, II, p. 214, l. 11 ff.; Dozy, *op. laud.* p. 28; Tritton *the Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects*, London, 1930, p. 123.

2. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, Būlāq 1285, Vol. VII, p. 35, l. 10 f. With regard to the question whether this girdle was to be worn by the women of the People of the Book above or underneath the wrap there was no unanimity among the guardians of the law, cf. Nuwairī quoted by Dozy, *op. laud.*, p. 28, and Belin, 'Fetoua relatif a la condition des Zimmis.' *Journal Asiatique*, ser. IV, t. 18, 1851, p. 505; a fact that makes one feel that this little problem was purely academic and of no importance in everyday sartorial life.

3. Cf. among numerous other pictures: Scholten, *Palestine Illustrated*, I, p. 142, fig. 308; Musil, *the Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*, 1928, p. 123; fig. 34.

4. Several Arab chroniclers relate among the events of the year 787 A.H. a story of which the essential part is that a woman was alleged to have seen the Prophet in a dream, who forbade the wearing of the shash, so e.g., 'Ainī, *Tā'rikh al-Badr*, s.a. (MS., British Museum, fol. 123r, l. 16) ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *adh-Dhail*, s.a. Rajab 787 (MS., Paris, 1599, fol. 10r, l. 20 ff.) quoting ibn-Duqmāq عصات تسمى الشاشات (Egyptian fashion only). Dozy, *op. laud.*, p. 239, quoted the same story from the Leyden manuscript of ibn-Iyās, but in our printed edition the whole passage is omitted.

5. V. Harff, p. 106, l. 24/5; similarly Dozy, *op. laud.*, p. 311, who in this case quoted only two very late travellers, categorically stated that the turban was worn by men and never by women.

6. Björkman, *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v. turban (p. 889).

7. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, p. 503, l. 9.

8. *Op. laud.*, p. 201 (bottom). Ibn al-Ḥājj's compatriot 'Alī b. Maimūn al-Maghribī, in describing this headgear used the same expression: على روسهن كاسمة البخت. By a curious slip, Goldziher (*Zeitschrift d. Deut. Morgenland. Gesellschaft*, XXVIII, 1874, p. 320, n. 1) quoted this passage from 'Alī b. Maimūn's *Ghurbat ul-Islām* without realising that it is a paraphrase of a *ḥadīth*, cf. Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*; *Kitāb al-Libās*, last but one *bāb* (Nawawī's commentary, Vol. IV, p. 458, explains: ومعنى روسهن كاسمة البخت: أى يكبرنها و يعظمها بلف عمامة أو عصابة أو نحوها, thus adding a further example of the word *'imāma* being used for a woman's head-dress.

cloths and ornaments,"¹ but on the accompanying picture nothing of the latter is to be seen.² In Rajab 876 A.H. the Sultān Qāyṭbāy published an order in Cairo that no woman should wear a crested bonnet (*'iṣāba muq-anza'a*) and a silken *sarāqūsh*,³ further that the "paper" of the *'iṣāba* should be a third of an ell long and bear the stamp (*khatm*) of the Sultān on each side. Appropriate orders were given to dealers in "papers of women," and agents of the then police inspector (*muḥtasib*) Yashbak al-Jamālī went round the bazaars, and on finding a woman wearing either of these types of headgear, they would beat her and pillory her with the *'iṣāba* hanging down from her neck. Women got flurried and went out bareheaded, or without an *'iṣāba*, or, much against their will, with a long *'iṣāba* as ordered by the Sultān, but they would wear the prescribed headgear inside their houses. After a while things quietened down and the Cairene ladies wore what they liked, as before.⁴

Nāṣir ud-dīn b. Shibl, in 830 appointed police inspector, forbade women the wearing of *tāqīyya*-caps.⁵ Perhaps we shall not go wrong in assuming that during the early 9th century of the Hijra these caps were about two-thirds of an ell high, with tops shaped like domes padded with paper and trimmed with beaver-fur about an eighth of an ell wide.⁶

Their shoes were identical in shape with the light and fine boots worn by men (*khuff*). They were usually made of coloured leather.⁷ Over them was worn the *sarmūza*, a kind of low shoe (*na'l*) removed when entering a house. All three kinds were sold in Cairo in a special bazaar (*sūq al-akhfāfiyīn*) founded some time after 780 A.H.⁸ A slipper, worn in the street as well, was the *madās*, mentioned occasionally as being used as a weapon when the populace wanted to vent their wrath on a victim who fell into their hands.⁹

1. *Op. laud.*, p. 106: want die vrouwen dragen eyn hoych dynck off yerem heufft in aller gesteltnysse wie eyn kelick, dat gar mit koestlichen duechen ind tzierecten vmb wonden is.

2. *Op. laud.*, p. 107. Exactly the same headgear is to be seen on the picture of Carpaccio, Mansuett and Bellini, but also without any ornaments.

3. This is not the right place to discuss fully this headgear which in the second half of the 13th century was typical of Tartar male dress and later on became, as the edict of Qāyṭbāy shows, quite an ordinary headgear for Mamlūk women. Suffice it to say that the definition in *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* to wit, that the *sarāqūsh* was a woman's headgear, or, at least, a woman's headgear as well as a man's, is proved to be correct against Quatremère (*Sultans Mamlouks* I, p. 236, n. 110) and Dozy, *op. laud.*, p. 379, n. 1.

4. Ibn-Iyās ed. Kahle and M. Mustafa, III, p. 64, ll. 8-22.

5. Al-Asadī, ap. ibn Tūlūn, *Rasā'il Tā'riḥiyya*, IV, *al-Lam'āt al-Barqīyya*, p. 63, l. 6 ff., for which reference I am obliged to Prof. J. Sauvaget, Paris.

6. This is the description of a *tāqīyya* of a man, given by Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat*, II, p. 104, l. 11; but our author condemns this fashion as making men look like women: وهم على استعمال هذا الزي إلى اليوم و هو من: اسمع ماغانوه ويشبه الرجال في لبس ذلك بالنساء.

7. Cf. also v. Harff, *op. laud.*, p. 106; but Frescobaldi, p. 95, mentions only white ones (*stivaletti bianchi*)

8. Maqrīzī, *op. laud.*, II, 105, 1.

9. Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I, p. 802, l. 13 (cf. also Quatremère, *op. laud.*, II b, p. 13 and n. 19); ibn-Taghrī-birdī, *op. laud.*, ed. Cairo, VIII, p. 46, l. 8. Cf. also a similar although earlier, incident in ibn ar-Rāhib, ed. Cheikho, Beirut, 1903, p. 87, l. 11 (where the plural *امدسة* instead of the more common *مداسات* is used).

In this connection the wooden clogs (*qabāqib*) should be mentioned. Sometimes richly decorated, they played a sad role in the history of Mamlūk women—the earliest occasion being when Queen Shajarat ad-Durr was beaten to death with them.¹

Prostitutes could be recognised by their special apparel, the most conspicuous parts of which were apparently red trousers and a peculiar kind of wrap, (*mulā'a*).²

It goes without saying that town women went about veiled. Various forms of veils (*miqna'a*, *qinā'*, *niqāb*) existed, mainly of the following types: (a) a veil of black net covering the entire face,³ (b) like (a) but leaving two holes for the eyes,⁴ (c) a white or black face-veil (*burqu'*) covering the face up to the eyes.⁵ To appear in public without the veil was a sign of great distress.⁶

Boys and girls wore clothes of the same cut as their elders, except that instead of the veil the girls wore small caps (*al-kawāfi waṭ-ṭawāqī*), for which there was a special market in Cairo (*sūq ul-bakhāniqiyyīn*).⁷

The all-covering wrap was no hindrance to fashion. It developed nevertheless, and although it found no historian of its own, nor Arab poet, like the Persian Maḥmūd Qārī, to sing its praise, it angered the men of the law and the police inspectors, from whose hand-books we learn something about the trends prevailing in those days. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Abdarī, better known as Ibn al-Ḥājj, who lived in Egypt during the early 14th century, protested against the clothes of women being made short and tight-fitting, the latter especially in view of the obvious manner in which they moulded the figure.⁸ He complains that the long drawers (*sarāwīl*) are worn much below the waist-line instead of starting from it, as prescribed by the law.⁹ Incidentally we hear that these drawers were mainly worn out of doors, and were discarded at home.¹⁰

1. Cf. references mentioned in note 5, p. 2, of this article.

2. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 96, ll. 15-16. Cf. also Wiet, *L'Egypt Arabe*, p. 494.

3. Frescobaldi, *l.c.*, in dealing with types, (a) and (c) describes the former as pertaining to the nobility; "e le più nobili portano una stamigna nera dinanzi agli occhi;" cf. also v. Harff, *op. laud.*, p. 106 f. v. Breydenbach, *l.c.*

4. Joos van Ghistele, *Tvoyage*, p. 23, cf. Dozy, *op. laud.*, p. 424. To this kind Dozy applies the term *niqāb*.

5. Frescobaldi, *l.c.*, and Mamlūk miniatures.

6. On Ghāzān's approach to Damascus in Rabī' II, 699 A.H., women left their houses unveiled (Zettersteen, *Bieträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, p. 59, l. 12; Yūnīnī, s.a., MS. Topkapu Saray Müzesi, no. 2907 E., Vol. II, fol. 154r bot.); when the Qalā'ūnid princes Ḥājj and Ḥusain were suspected of revolt and summoned to their brother, the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha'bān, their mothers appealed on their behalf, appearing unveiled (*ibn-Duqmāq, al-Jauhar ath-Thamin*, MS. Istanbul, As'ad Eff. 2243, fol. 72r) and often elsewhere.

7. Maqrīzī, *op. laud.*, *supra*, II, p. 104, l. 3.

8. *Op. laud.*, I, p. 200, l. penult, p. 201, l. 2.

9. *Op. laud.*, p. 201, l. 6 f.

10. *Op. laud.*, II, l. 17 f.

It would be a mistake to think that these garments were either simple or cheap. If we are to believe the words of Maqrīzī, who as inspector of police (*muhtasib*) was in charge of the morals of Cairene women and therefore well informed, there was a growing tendency to luxury. Whereas under the Bahrī Mamlūks, only Sultāns and their wives and the most important amīrs used to wear costly furs, under the Circassians, even the soldiers, scribes, and common people, and every woman of the upper classes wore imported furs.¹ Similarly, at a time when there was a general dearth of precious metal in the country and the wearing of gold and silver dresses had to be abandoned, they wore caps (*tawāqī*) luxuriously ornamented with gold and silver.² Sumptuary laws were passed time and again, like those of Manjak mentioned above, who forbade shoemakers to make expensive shoes (*al-akhfāf al-muthammana*) and announced in the bazaars that whoever sold silk *izārs*, will have his property confiscated by the Sultān—but with only ephemeral results.³

We are indebted to Maqrīzī for a few details about these excessive prices, *e.g.*, that about the middle of the 8th century A.H. a chemise called *bahtalā* was sold for 1,000 dirhams and more, a wrap (*izār*) went as high as 1,000 dirhams, shoes or boots (*al-khuff wa'ssarmūza*) might cost 100 to 500 dirhams a pair,⁴ and a particularly fine pair of drawers (*sarāwīl*) of the wife of the Amir Aqbughā 'Abd ul-Wāhid 200,000 dirhams or approximately 10,000 dinars.⁵ But the most striking example of extravagance in women's dress is the story of a wife of the Sultān Barsbāy who managed to spend 30,000 dinars on a single dress, made for the circumcision of her son and Barsbāy's successor, al-Malik al-'Azīz Yūsuf. What a pity that the sole record of its splendour is the angry outburst of a *faqīh*!⁶

L. A. MAYER.

1. Maqrīzī, *op. laud.*, II, 103, l. 31 ff.

2. *Op. laud.*, II, 104, l. 15 f.

3. *Op. laud.*, II, 322, l. 28 f.

4. *Op. laud.*, II, 322, l. 25 ff.

5. *Op. laud.*, II, 384, l. 34.

6. Ibn-Taghribirdī, *op. laud.*, VI, p. 739. ll. 2-5; Wiet, 'L' Historian Abu'l-Mahāsīn' (in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, t. XII, 929-30, p. 100).

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

(Continued from Issue No. 3, July 1942)

نهان

نهان : “Lost to view or memory, forgotten.” (Sh. N., IV, 1770).

چنین داد پاسخ که هر کو جهان بفرزند ماند نگرود نهان

He thus gave answer, “Whoever leaves a son to succeed him in the world is not lost to memory.”

[Nūshīrvān's answer to one of the questions of a Mūbid].

در نهان — (Sh. N., III, 1408).

هر آنرا که خواهد بر آرد بلند هم او را سپارد بخاک نژند
ماند جز از نام او در جهان عمد رنج با او شود در نهان

Whomever (fortune) wills to exalt, him also it consigns to the gloomy earth (at last).

Naught but his name remains in the world ; all his toil is with him lost to view.

[From the records of Ardashīr-e Bābakān].

نهفت

نهفت : “To be disregarded or ignored.” (Sh. N., IV, 1928).

جهاندار خسرو بموسیل گفت که رنج تو کی ماند اندر نهفت
بکوشیم تا روز تو به شود همان نامت از مهتران مه شود

The world-possessor, Khusrau, said to Mausīl, “How should your toil and trouble be ignored ?

I will endeavour to improve your fortunes ; to make your fame excel that of the great.”

نهفتن : “ To disregard or ignore.” (Sh. N., IV, 1960).

چنین داد پاسخ که فرمان ما نوزید و نهفت بیان ما

He thus gave answer, “ He has not obeyed my command and has disregarded fealty to me.”

—“ To nullify.” (Sh. N., I, 415).

گرافرا سیاب این سخنها که گفت بیجان شکستن بخوهد نهفت
هم از جنگ جستن نگشتم سیر بجایست شمشیر و چنگال شیر

(But) if Afrāsiyāb by breaking faith shall nullify the words he has spoken,

No more are we yet tired of making war—in place will (then) be sword and lion’s claws.

نهیب

نهیب (A. nahīb) : “ Plundering.”

نهیب (P. nihīb ; archaic, nihēb) : “ Fear.”

[Steingass confuses nahīb and nihīb (nihēb) together, and marks them both as corrupt Arabic].

نیاز : “ Remonstrance.” (M., II, 462).

مودن آمد زان یکی لفظی بجست کای مودن بانگ کردی وقت هست
گفت آن هندوی دیگر از نیاز هی سخن گفتی و باطل شد نماز

The caller to prayer came, and an expression escaped one of them : he said, “ O crier, have you called to prayer ? Is it time ?”

Another of the Indians said in remonstrance, “ See now ! You have spoken, and your prayer has become invalid.”

—“ Eager desire.” (M., II, 427).

گفت دادم آه و پذیردم نماز اوستد آن آه را با صد نیاز

He answered, “ I give you the sigh and accept the prayers.” The other took that sigh with all eager desire.

—A “humble and regretful attitude.” (M., II, 427).

آن غبین و درد بودی صد نماز کو نماز و کو حریق آن نیاز

(But) that disappointment and pain would have been as hundred prayers :—how (indeed) can prayer and the fire of that humble and regretful attitude (before God) be compared ?

[The story is of one who has missed the prayers and exchanges his sigh of regret for the prayers of another who has been in time for them].

نیز : “In future.” (*Pāssim*).

نیست (archaic, *nēst*, not *nīst*).

نیکو

نیکو کردن : “To set right.” (*Sh. N.*, I, 461).

همه راز این کار با من بگوی که من باشمت زین غمان چاره جوی
بیایم همه کار نیکو کنم همه شاه را زان بی آهو کنم

Tell me all the secrets of this affair, and then I will find a remedy for your troubles.

I will come and set all things right ; I will render the king innocuous.

[*Siyāvāsh* is sympathising with *Garsīvaz*, *Afrāsiyāb*'s brother, in his supposed trouble].

و

واقعہ : “A dream.”

والا (*va illā*) : “Nay, indeed.” (*D. Sh.*, p. 171).

مگر من تحویلدار و خزانه چی سلطانم بدین زرتا جواب محاسبه بگویم و الا که او احسانی بمن نمود که یک کس بودم و من ہزار کس این احسان قسمت نمودم .

Am I the *Sultān*'s cash-keeper and treasurer as regards this gold that I should be responsible in the auditing ? Nay, indeed ; he has bestowed bounty on me, who was only one person, and I have distributed this bounty among a thousand persons.

نمودن : “To point out.” (M., 235-6).

کشته بر جست و بگفت اسرار را و نمود آن زمره خونخوار را

The slain man sprang up, and told the secret ; he pointed out the blood-thirsty set.

[Cf. the Qur'ān, II, 67-8].

وجه pl. of وجه (vajh).

وجه : “ Means,” or “ money ” (for expenses). (M., II, 486).

گفت و الله نیست یا وجه العرب در همه ملکم وجوه قوت شب

(The sage) exclaimed, “ By Allāh, O Arab chief, in my possessions there is not money for the expenses of the night's food.

وجه (vajh) : “ Means ” (of using or profiting by). (M., II, 80).

ای بساکس همچو آن شیر ژیان صیدخود ناخورده رفته از جهان
قسمش گاهی نه و حرصش چه کوه وجه نی و کرده تحصیل وجوه

How many a person, like that furious lion, has left the world without having eaten his prey !

His allotted portion is not (even) a straw, and his cupidity is like a mountain : he has acquired means, (but) he has no means (of using or profiting by them).

وحشت : “ Ill-breeding, uncouthness.” (M., II, 390).

مدح حاضر وحشتت از بهر این نام موسی می برم ما صد چنین

To praise one who is present is ill-breeding, so for (reason) I use the name of Moses, whilst having the intention (of praising you).

[i.e., of praising Muḥammad, whom the author now proceeds to address directly].

—“ Ill-feeling, animosity.” (Ch. M., p. 164).

در سنه ۳۳۳ امیر نوح بن نصر بن احمد سامانی او را از حکومت خراسان معزول نمود و بدین سبب فیما بین ابوعلی و امیر نوح وحشتی دست داد و بتدریج مستحکم گشت.

In the year 944 the Amīr Nūḥ b. Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Samanide divested him of the government of Khurāsān ; and for this reason some ill-feeling was set up between Abū-'Alī and the Amīr Nūḥ, which was gradually confirmed.

[The deposed governor, Abū-'Alī of the house of Muḥtāj, was hereditary ruler of Chaghāniyān in Transoxiana].

—“Dullness, apathy.” (H. P., p. 108).

تا کند و وحشتی و بیکاری شاه را نیست با کس آزادی

As long as king (Bahrām) is so apathetic and idle, he will have no trouble with any one.

ورنه (for واگرنه): “And indeed, for indeed.” (*Passim*).

وریب (archaic *vrēb*).

بروریب: “Obliquely.” (M., II, 291).

یک قدم چون رخ زبالا تا نشیب یک قدم چون پیل رفته بروریب

One step like the castle straight along; one step taken obliquely like the bishop.

وریغ (“*Varēgh*,” not “*Varīgh*.” Rhymes with [archaic] “*mēgh*”): “Name of a place in Rūm.” (*Sh. N.*, IV, 1910).

وزان دیر چون برق رخشان زمیغ بیامد سوی شارسان وریغ

Then from that monastery like lightning flashing from the cloud he went on to the city of *Varēgh*.

وصل (*vaṣl*).

وصل بودن (with با): “To be grafted” (on to). (M., II, 418).

تخم تو بد بوده است و اصل تو با درخت خوش نبوده وصل تو

Your germ and root were bad, and you have not been grafted on to an excellent tree.

وصلت

وصلت کردن (with با): “To be grafted” (on to). (M., II, 418).

شاخ تلخ ار با خوشی وصل کند آن خوشی اندر نهالش بر زند

If a bitter branch be grafted on to a sweet (branch), that sweetness will have an effect upon its nature.

وضع (*vaḍ'*).

وضعی (*vaḍ'i*): “Literal, definitional” (meaning of a word). (Garein de Tassy: *La Philosophie religieuse d'après le Manṭiqu'ū-t-Tair*).

وفا

وفا : " Kindness." (M., II, 309).

ای ز تو مر آسمانها را صفا ای جفاى تو نکو تر از وفا

O, you from whom the heavens derive purity and delight ? O, you whose harshness is better than the kindness (of others) !

[An address to Muḥammad].

وفاگرفتن (with دا) : " To bring kindness to bear " (upon). (M., III, 70).

او بر آرد از کدورتها صفا مر جفاهاى ترا گیرد وفا

From worry He makes calmness and peace arise ; He brings kindness to bear upon your acts of harshness.

[The T. Com. interprets this " kindness " from the text, *فأولئك يبدل الله* " Those whose sins God changes to good acts." (Qur'ān, XXV, 70).]

وهم

وهم : Psychologically signifies " Conception."

وهمی : " Conceptual, ideal."

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هری (Hirē, not Hirī) : " Herat." (Sh. N., IV, 1816).

چنان باز گردی زدشت هری که بر تو بگریند هر مهتری

You will return from the plain of Herat in such wise that every chief will weep for you.

[There are other examples of the " majhūl " rhyming in Sh. N., IV, 1817 & 1818 and in Ch. M., p. 127].

هزل (hazl) : " Trifling." (M., II, 458).

سیاتم شد همه طاعات شکر هزل شد فانی و جد اثبات شکر

My sins have become altogether acts of piety—thanks (be to God) ! Trifling has disappeared, and earnestness has become established—thanks (be to God) !

هزیمت

هزیمت شدن : "To meet with defeat, to be routed." (Sh. N., IV, 1825).

پیر از آب شد دیده ساوه شاه بدان تا چرا شد هزیمت سپاه

The eyes of king Sāva were full of tears as he wondered why (his) army had met with defeat.

هم : "Only." (M., II, 361).

این قضا را هم قضا داند علیچ عقل خلقان در قضا گیجست گیج

Only a decree (of God) can remedy this decree—the intellect of men (indeed) is utterly bewildered at God's decrees.

[i.e., it is only God who can remedy one decree of His by another].

ها نا که (as همان که or همچنان که) : "Such as." (Sh. N., IV, 1861).

ز شهرت یکی بسته زندانیم بگوهر ها نا که خود دانیم
مرا گر بنخواهی تو از شهر یار دوان با تو آیم درین کارزار

I am a prisoner in bounds, a fellow-citizen of yours, in nature such as you yourself well know.

If you petition the king for me, I will accompany you with alacrity on this campaign.

همت

همت داشتن (with سوی in H.P., p. 74) : "To set one's mind earnestly" (upon).

هر کرا این نگارمی باید نه یکی جان هزارمی باید
همتش سوی راه باید داشت چار شرطش نگاه باید داشت

Whoever wishes for this beautiful one, must have not only one but thousand lines ;

Must set his mind earnestly upon the road, and must observe four conditions.

همت بر گاشتن (with در in M., II, 238) : "To set one's mind earnestly" (too or upon). (See pp. 236, 238).

هر سوال شیخ را داد او جواب چون جوابات خضر خوب و صواب

از خضر درویش هم میراث داشت در جواب شیخ همت برگاشت

To every question of the Shaikh he gave an answer,—good and just like the answers of Khidār.

The Faqīr also inherited from Khidār, and he set his mind earnestly to answering the Shaikh.

همسخن (with با) : “ In communion, associated ” (with). (M., II, 66).

چون ترا ذکر و دعا دستور شد زان دعا کردن دلت مغرور شد
همسخن دیدی تو خود را با خدا ای بساکس زین گمان افتد جدا

Since you have the privilege and custom of praise and prayer, your heart has become deluded by pride on account of that prayer.

You have considered yourself in communion with God—How many a one falls apart (from Him) through this opinion !

هوش

داشتن : “ To take heed, to bear in mind.” (M. II, 55).

اصل کینه دوزخست و کین تو جزو آن کل است و خصم دین تو
چون تو جزو دوزخی پس هوش دار جزو سوی کل خود گیرد قرار

The origin of malice is hell, and your malice is a part of that whole, and an enemy to your religion.

If you are a part of hell, then bear in mind (that) the part settles towards its whole.

—“ To pay attention to, to observe.” (M., II, 505).

آن یکی گفتش ادب را هوش دار خرد نبود اینچنین ظن بر کبار

One (of the Shaikh's disciples) said to him, “ Observe propriety ; so evil a thought of the great is no small matter.”

[“ Said to him ; ” i.e., to the person who had vilified the Shaikh].

—“ To have or retain life, to live.” (Sh. N., III, 1461).

بدان را نمانم که دارند هوش اگر دست یازند بد را بکوش

I will not let the wicked live if they aim at persistence in wickedness.

[From words of Yazdagird I, on his accession to the throne].

ی

یاء (In Persian pronounced by “imāla,” “yē”) : “The name of the letter ی (y). It is described in ضبط ‘fixing the right spelling’ as آخر الحروف “the last of the letter.” (Ch. M., p. 194).

البيروني يفتح الباء الموحده وسكون الباء آخر الحروف وضم الراء بعدها الواو وفي آخرها نون هذه النسبة الى خارج خوارزم فان بها من يكون من خارج البلد ولا يكون من نفسها يقال له فلان بيروني است

Bairūnī, with “fatha” of the “b,” and “sukūn” of the “y” the last of the letters, and “ḍamma” of the “r” after which “w,” and finally “n”: a word relating to the outskirts of Khawārazm (bairūn, the A. form of the P. bērūn); from which a person belonging to the outskirts of the town, and not to the town itself, is called “a person of the outskirts,” (bērūnī).”

An explanation of the name “Bērūnī,” given to the chronologer and astronomer Abū-Raiḥān.

“Ai” in Arabic represent the Persian archaic “ē”].

يا: In the 2nd person, sing. of the past conditional; there should be two “yēs” although the grammar ignores this. Many examples occur, of which the following is one. (M., II, 140).

گفتی در باطنش دریاستی جمله دریا گوهر گویاستی

Thou wouldst have said there was a sea in his mind, (and that) the whole sea was eloquent pearls.

[“Thou wouldst have said,” گفتی (guftiyī), is in T. Com., *contramet*, given as گفتی (gufti’i)].

The conditional “yā” may also be suffixed to the third person of the present (ā’aist).

An example of this occurs in the preceding quotation in the word استی (asti), at the end of each hemistich.

یاد

یاد آمدن : “To be mindful of, to be thinking of.” (Sh. N., II, 527).

کنون دل بسوگند گستاخ کن یخنجر ورا گوش سوراخ کن
چواز خنجرت خون چکد بر زمین هم از سهر یاد آیدت هم زکین

Make your mind easy now as to your oath : pierce his ear with your dagger.

When his blood drops on the ground from your dagger, you may be mindful of kindness as well as of hostility.

[See note under گستاخ کردن].

یاد دادن : "To recall;" e.g., "to recall oneself to a person's mind."
خود را بر خاطر کسی یاد دادن (L.A., II, 4).

بنزدیک ابو عبدالله محمد بن احمد جهانی نویسد این دو بیت و خود را بر خاطر او یاد دهد

He wrote these two distichs (and sent them) to Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Jahānī, recalling himself to his mind.

[The poet was Shahīd of Balkh].

یاد کردن (with accus., از or بر of the thing and به of the person):
"To speak" (of to a person), "to mention" (to). (Sh. N., IV, 1902, and 1840) (with بر):

و گر خود برانی که گوئی بدل راه کژی نجوئی همی
ز بند این دو پای من آزاد کن نخستین بخسرو برین یاد کن

And if you really mean what you say, and seek not the path of falseness in your heart,

Free my two feet from fetters, and speak of this (matter) to Khusrau (Parviz) at once.

—(with accus.)

دو برد یمانی بیک سو نهاد دو موزه بنامه نکرد ایچ یاد

The two bales of striped cloth of Yaman he put aside; nor did he mention at all in the list the two pairs of boots.

[Bahrām-e Chūbīn in sending treasure and booty to king Hurmuzd reserves some for himself.

The boots, by the way, are richly adorned with jewels].

— "To speak, to utter, to express," (e.g., thanks, شکر). (M., II, 437).

شکرهای آن جماعت یاد کرد در اجابت قاصدان را شاد کرد

(The Prophet) expressed thanks to that company; he rejoiced the messengers by acquiescence.

["That Company"; i.e., those who were setting up another mosque in order to produce dissension].

——with بلقب (ba-laqab-e) یاد کردن means “to give the title of, to entitle.” (L. A., I, 325).

و چون وی از غلامان غوریه بود و سلاطین غور را بلقب قسیم امیر المومنین یاد می کرده اند
لهذا از و به قسیمه^۱ تعبیر نموده اند.

And since (Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Qabhāja) was a slave of one of the kings of Ghor, and they gave the title of “Co-partner of the Khalif” to the Sultāns of Ghor, he (also) has been designated قسیمه^۱ “his co-partner.”

یادگار : “An inscription to serve as a memorial of existing conditions.” (Sh. N., IV, 1916).

یکی عهد خواهیم کنون استوار سزاوار مهری برو یادگار
که مازین پس از کین ایرج سخن نرانیم زان روزگار کهن

I would now have a stable agreement, with a fitting seal bearing a memorial inscription.

That henceforth we speak no more of vengeance due for (the death of) Iraj—(that we speak not) of those ancient times.

——“A thought significant of a person’s mind, a natural thought.” (Sh. N., IV, 2036).

سخننا نه از یادگار تو بود که گفتار آموزگار تو بود

The words were not of your own natural thought, but rather the prompting of your adviser.

یازیدن (with به): “To aim” (at), “to wish” (for), “to think” (of). (Sh. N., II, 515).

ازین آگهی یابد افراسیاب نسازد بخورد و نیازد بخواب
بیاید بکردار دیو سفید دل ازجان شیرین شود نا امید

Afrāsiyāb will get acquainted with this (if we delay);—he will not look at food or think of sleep;

He will come like the White Demon, and our hearts must (then) despair of sweet life.

یافتن (idiomatic): “To find, to think of, to appreciate the effect of.” (Sh. N., II, 502).

ز رستم پرسید پر مایه طوس که چون یافت فیل از تک گور کوس

The most excellent Tūs asked Rustam, “What did the elephant think of the shock of the onager’s rush?”

[By the "elephant" Rustam is meant].

یال

یال بر آگندن : "To get big and strong." (Sh. N., III, 1464).

همی داشتندش چنین چارسال چو شد سیر شیر و بر آگند یال
بدشواری از شیر گردید باز همی داشتندش پیر بر بناز

They kept him thus for four years. When he had had milk in abundance and had got big and strong,

He was with difficulty weaned ; they kept him (still) indulgently on the breast.

[The text has پیر بر نیاز which, I think, is a mistake].

یال بر آوردن : "To display one's power, to make a parade." (Cf. یال بستن). (Sh. N., IV, 2054).

همی گفت شاهى كنى يك زمان نشینی تو بر تخت زر شاد مان
به از بندگی تو ختن شصت سال بر آئنده گنج و بر آورده یال

He said, "To be a king for a (short) while, to sit joyful on a golden throne

Is better for you than to be a subject for sixty, heaping up treasure and making a parade."

یکتن : "Alone, by oneself." (Sh. N., I, 398).

بیامد یکی مرد پر خاش جوی بدین لشکر گشن بنهاد روی
توگفتی زمستی کنون خاستست که این جنگ را یکتن آراستست

A man (then) came, an ardent warrior, who turned his face towards this numerous army ;

As though just risen from a drunken state, he, by himself, prepared to battle with it.

[The "warrior," was Rustam. The "drunken state" is that of him who by drinking becomes شیر گیر "ready to take lions"].

—"as one body," (Sh. N., II, 500).

چنین گفت با لشکر افراسیاب که بیدار بخت اندر آمد بخواب
اگر سستی آرید یکتن بینگ نماند مرا جایگاه درنگ

Thus spoke Afrāsiyāb to the army, "Our wakeful fortune has now gone to sleep.

If as one body you show slackness in the fight, I shall no longer have reason for delay."

یکتنه : "As one body." (Sh. N., IV, 1817).

بیا راست با میسره میمنه سپاهی همه یکدل و یکتنه

He placed the left wing and the right in order—the army one in heart and as one body.

یکی

بسیاری از ایشان از جمله مجمع الفصحاء او را با تغانشاه بن موید آی ابه (سنه ۵۶۹ - ۵۸۱) که
بعد از سلطان سنجر بر خراسان استیلاء یافت یکی فرض کرده اند و آن سهو واضح است .

Many (of the biographers)—among them (the author of) the *Majma' ul-Fuṣaḥa*—have taken him for Ṭughānshāh b. Mu'aiyad Āy Aba (1173-85), who after Sultān Sanjar gained predominance over Khurāsān. This, however, is evidently erroneous.

[The person taken for Ṭughānshāh b. Mu'aiyad was Ṭughānshāh b. Alp Arslān the Saljūquide, who during his father's sovereignty was governor of Khurāsān].

یکی (archaic, "yakē") : "Just, a little." (M., II, 131).

گازری گر خشم گیرد ز آفتاب ماهی گر خشم میگیرد ز آب
تو یکی بنگر کرا دارد زیان عاقبت که بود سیاه اختر از آن

If a bleacher be angry with the sun ; if a fish be angry with the water ; —just see whom (that anger) injures, who at last is ill-starred through it.

C. E. WILSON.

(Concluded).

ON THE MARGIN :

I

A Sketch of the Idea of Education in Islam

THE importance of education in any civilization needs no emphasis. Although there is no scarcity of material concerning Muslim education in the past, yet it has not so far received the appreciation it deserves. Since the publication of Zarnuji's treatise on the education of the student رسالة تعليم المتعلم, orientalists have begun to realise the value of Muslim principles of education. A number of scholars of East and West have edited classical works, written dissertations, and read papers on the Muslim theory and practice of education. The question of Muslim education in India which brought about a controversy between Hindus and Muslims gave a fresh impetus to the Indian scholars, and they have published some useful works on this subject both in Urdu and English languages. The present article comes under the same category. It points out a particular feature of Islamic concept of education. The existing educational systems of the world may be classed as utilitarian from a purely materialistic point of view ; but the Islamic system aims at cultivating the mind with a view to employ all its faculties in the holy service of God. This method of education from Islamic point of view demands a much more thorough study than what has been presented here. Although this article like its predecessors leaves much to be desired, yet we publish it in the hope that it may stimulate the activities of other workers in this field of research and help them to throw further light on the subject.

Ed., I. C.

THE problem of education remains still unsolved, at least in this country, though it has engaged the attention of ruler and ruled alike for a considerable time now. The practical result of the system of education evolved by the government of this country, when all is said, remains, according to the opinion of those who can judge best, highly unsatisfactory. The newly established provincial governments are trying to solve the problem of education in their own peculiar ways. We are, however, not concerned here with provinces or countries. We intend to discuss the problem from a general point of view, that is, to consider education as a human problem, or a thing indispensable to man's success as man, irrespective of caste, creed, race, and language.

The general view of education held by the government, at any rate in practice if not in theory, seems to be that education is a means of producing a special class of labourers who may be exploited to run the machinery of government. Such a view, besides being a narrow one, cannot conduce to general contentedness or satisfaction, as naturally everyone so produced will look to government to give him employment. And as the number multiplies, the government is likely to be hard put to it in the long run. Nor would the so-called technical education and coaching for various professions and crafts help the government out of the tangle

so long as the general trend of education remains, as it is, directed to developing the spirit of self-aggrandisement at the expense of the nobler traits of human character. In the ruthless competition that results, the lucrative positions under government are held fast by those who, by hook or by crook, happen to get them in their clutches. They take care that nothing substantial leaks out to others, and these, if they do succeed in ousting the former incumbents, will in their turn heed none but themselves. Thus education becomes the means of perpetuating a frenzied seesaw between the two groups, the fortunate and the unfortunate of the educated members of society, while the rest are allowed to shift as they can on the principle of *laissez-faire* and under the sway of unbridled passions.

The correct view of education, however, seems to be that so far as man is concerned, education is a natural necessity, and so nature has provided for every human being sufficient means of becoming educated. This means consists in the simultaneous and proportionate working of perception, interest, thought, and will. A man placed under circumstances that help him in free exercise of the above faculties of his mind, without having to encounter any obstacle or hindrance from outside, will be automatically educated on the right lines. But obstacles there must be. These obstacles present themselves mostly in the form of either active influences or passive impressions of an unfavourable kind. The utility of any given educational system will, therefore, depend upon the extent to which it succeeds in preventing obstacles and removing parasitical growths.

Education, thus, is the natural process of mind development which obviously starts with the first act of perceiving that sets the machinery of the mind in motion, and is carried on so long as the power of perceiving works. This process is profoundly modified by the effect of the environment, whether natural or artificial. The latter may mend or mar the natural process. At any rate, it gives a definite shape to the activities of mind, which may not be natural. Of these environments, society is by far the most potent factor.

It is at the faculties of mind that education should primarily aim. But, although we may conceive of these faculties as separate entities, they cannot be separated from one another in the actual working of mind. The mind is a complex whole, and when it acts, all of its powers, more or less, come into play at once. They are developed by exercise, repeated employment, that is, and when they are sufficiently developed and organised, man may be called educated, which means that he has formed some fixed habits of employing the powers of his mind. If the process of habit-forming takes the right line, the result will be good habits, but if, through some uncongenial influences, it takes a wrong turn, the habits formed will be of the opposite nature.

Subtle metaphysical discussions need not detain us here from our main object. We are not here pursuing an investigation of the real nature of mind and soul. These subjects have been under discussion among metaphy-

sicians and psychologists for a considerable time, and are still eagerly pursued by the experts who have time and money to spare for the purpose. Our object here is simply to discuss how mind, which has the final say in the matter of man's conduct, can be trained so as to guide man to form correct habits. Correct habits cannot be formed unless those factors of mind that are summed up under the term feeling are taken care of properly. It is almost a truism now that we should be able to direct our attentions and interests, our desires and aspirations, our hopes and fears, our sympathies and antipathies, and our cares and anxieties into the proper channel, and have them under control before we can expect that our rationality will have full freedom to work. This then should be the primary aim of education.

The problem of education to the best of our knowledge has never been detached from considerations of national, tribal, or family connections, which are sure to impart to it a narrow and artificial outlook, except by Islam. The Islamic idea of education is based entirely upon the requirements of humanity apart from the question of nationalism or tribalism. Islam seeks to make man a real human being capable of performing what he should perform in order to secure the welfare of man as an individual as well of the race. I know no other system of education which aims at that object as its final goal. Naturally such a system should claim our attention first.

ISLAMIC THEORY OF EDUCATION

THE Islamic theory of education is very simple. It starts from certain facts which may be briefly stated as follows :—It is generally admitted that man is composed of two parts, the material and the immaterial, which are respectively called body and soul. The term mind is also applied to soul. True Islamic thinkers, however, after a careful perusal and scrutiny of the basic Islamic literature, have come to the conclusion that the essence of man may be resolved into three distinct parts, of which the central part is the real human soul, the upper part is the celestial soul, and the lower part is the terrestrial soul. The last one emanating, as it does, from material sources, is, with necessary adjustments, common to all animals and material objects and is in man allied with the spirit of darkness. The higher one is connected with the permanent source of divine light and, consequently, with all that is good for man. This composite nature of his essence is the characteristic of man. The essence of every other object in the world is either wholly celestial or wholly terrestrial, and therefore it has only one simple soul. It is the soul which occupies the central position that is the mysterious ego of man, with all its wonderful powers of head and heart.

The lower soul, which is the seat of all animal instincts and carnal cravings, wants to keep man a slave to animalism, nay, even to make him

go lower than mere animals inasmuch as the powers of man, applied to animalism, are capable of helping him to gratify his lust with the force and ingenuity that mere animals cannot afford.

The central soul may listen either to the lower soul or to the higher one. It is this soul which, once evolved, will exist for ever. After leaving this carnal cover, called the body, it will have another cover, midway between the material and the immaterial, which will be either dark or bright according as it was dominated in the mundane life by the lower or the higher soul. The dark cover will automatically drag the human soul to the realm of torture while the bright one will lead it to the place of everlasting bliss and happiness. To reach that place means the salvation of man. This central soul, in short, is the real man, the culture of which is the chief aim of Islamic education. It purposes to awaken this soul to a sense of its real position and the necessity for the attainment of Islamic culture. This culture, when attained, will make man habitually to turn to the higher soul for guidance. It will teach him how to exploit the lower soul's powers according to the upper one's directions, and, thus securing harmony between the two to direct their combined efforts to the attainment of the salvation of man.

Muslim psychologists further maintain that the human soul is painfully aware of its insufficiency even in the most vital matters. Hence its occasional or permanent subjection to the feeling of inferiority. This feeling is to become the rich soil in which the seed of man's uplift and future happiness is to be sown : by tactful handling it is to become the source of his healthy activity. It is this feeling which compels man to turn for help, according to the force of his environment, either to the lower soul with all the powers of darkness connected with it, or to the higher soul connected with the divine light and ready to guide aright those who seek guidance from it. These are the only two ways in which the feeling of inferiority in man is to be overcome, as overcome it must be if man is to work at all in this world. This feeling, in short, will make or mar a man's career, in the Islamic sense of these words.

Various systems of education show various attitudes towards the inferiority feeling in man. Some want to neglect it altogether, others seek to suppress it, while others again wish to exploit it. Those who want to neglect it leave their wards permanently open to sporadic attacks of this pertinacious feeling without providing a proper remedy against it. These attacks tend to become, by and by, more frequent and too strong to be counteracted. Finally it may become a permanent trait of the national character, gradually lowering the morale of the whole nation and ultimately resulting in the downfall of humanity itself.

The educational system, whose aim is to suppress the inferiority feeling altogether, compels man to resort to some laboured and artificial means of keeping it in check, neglecting the Islamic point of view *in toto*. Men

brought up in this way are the chief cause of trouble in the world. Among these men you will find tyrants, despots, and bullies ; men fond of opulence, pomp, and show, whose sole aim is to overawe and subjugate others and keep them subjugated. They may succeed ultimately in destroying this feeling in themselves. Then they become a veritable danger to the world. They are likely to become incarnate fiends, because they recognise no power superior to their own, and, actuated by a self-aggrandisement complex, proceed to mould the world according to their own perverted will.

There is yet another system of education which wants to exploit the inferiority feeling in man. That system aims at neglecting that feeling in some and suppressing it in others, as its object is to create two classes of men, the ruler and the ruled. The system follows two parallel branches running side by side. As it is the combination of the two former systems we need not comment upon it, because the evil effects of both of its components will be visible on the very face of society, which, as a result of this sustained effort, will be split into at least two water-tight compartments, the occupants of one of which will be hardly better than so many idiots, while the occupants of the other will be on the verge of becoming incarnate fiends.

The attitude of the Islamic system of education towards the inferiority feeling in man is quite different. It requires of all men, without making any distinction between man and man, first of all to comprehend the real significance of that natural feeling. The real significance of it is certainly to direct man to find out some really powerful being in order to rely on him for the supply of power in which he himself is eminently deficient. He is to acknowledge frankly before this powerful Being that he is in need of His constant support. He is to confess his weakness and inferiority, to humble himself, and to pour out his heart before Him. The moment he forms the correct idea of this powerful Being and learns how to worship Him properly, he overcomes his inferiority feeling in a wonderfully easy way. The sum and substance of Islamic teaching is that man should overcome his inferiority feeling only in this way and in no other way, because, as we said before, every other way is fraught with danger. The Islamic way tells man to assure himself that he is inferior to one Being only, to whom the whole universe pays homage. Consequently he should feel inferior to nothing else. Indeed why should he ? He may argue thus : " I am certainly not inferior to any one of my own race. I am as human as he is. He is subject to the same infirmities as I am. He is born in the same way as I am. There is no such thing on the earth as high birth or low birth. Power, pelf, affluence, and position are only ephemeral things which may come to any under particular circumstances through chance, iniquity, or the observance of certain rules of conduct. None of them, not even all of them combined together, can be a cause of superiority in any body. By nature all men are equal. All are equally powerless before the Supreme Being. And when I am not inferior to any of my own race, which is the

noblest of all creatures, certainly I cannot be inferior to any other creature in the world. So I am inferior only to one Being, who is Omnipotent and Omniscient. Let me do homage to Him alone." This is the course suggested by the higher soul of man which receives inspiration through divine light.

This fundamental principle recognised by the Islamic theory of education, namely, that man should turn for guidance to his higher soul which is the recipient of divine inspiration, naturally leads to another consideration. We should find next a proper and uniform method of establishing our conscious connection with the Supreme Being Who inspires our higher souls, and should know how to pay homage to Him so as to ensure that He will be pleased with us. This obviously requires guidance from some one who has actually succeeded in establishing his connection with the Supreme Being and also in discovering the proper method of paying homage to Him. The discovery of such a man, if such a man could be found, would certainly obviate all our difficulties in the matter. Fortunately the discovery has been made by Islam. Such a man according to Islam is Muhammad (peace be on him!). There remains now nothing to complete the education of man except to learn the method from this gifted man and make it a source of real personal power by practising it according to the instructions of the great master.

Islamic education, therefore, is nothing but a peculiar method of self-education discovered and started by Muhammad (peace be on him !), when he was impelled by his higher soul to search for the Perfect Being. According to this method every one is to search out the Perfect Being for himself as the prophet did. The process, to which we shall return anon, has become easier now that the prophet has paved the way for every one. He has not only succeeded in discovering a sound method of self-education but has also known and demonstrated to the world that the way he has found out is the only way of real success for man. Every one may now take the idea of the Perfect Being from him on trust, and then by performing a few exercises prescribed by him and explained both theoretically and practically, he may realize that idea for himself. His system is fully expatiated upon and explained in that wonderful book called the Holy Qur'an, and was completely established in his lifetime by his own precept, practice, and example. This system invites man, and undertakes to guide him, to ways and means by which he can make up the deficiency of his mind by establishing a firm connection with the Master Mind and forming as pure a conception of him as is humanly possible. From there it proceeds further to tell man how to complete his own education on that basis and prepare himself for the struggle of life. To sum up, the prophet's life carefully studied cannot but lead one to the above theory of education, which means man's self-education of the training of his mind based upon his realization of his helplessness, this leading him to take refuge in establishing firm connection with the Supreme Being.

OUTLINES OF THE ISLAMIC COURSE OF SELF-EDUCATION AND MIND TRAINING

WE have already seen that education in Islam means self-education or mind training. The best time for preparing man for self-education is early life. At least a beginning may be made then. The mind of the child can be easily prepared, through the influence of home and Islamic society at large, to undertake its self-education as early as possible. But obviously any man at any time may undertake his self-education, even though he has not had the advantage of the desired parental care in his childhood. Anyway, a man who wishes to take the Islamic course of self-education has to begin thus : He should, by auto-suggestion if necessary, create the belief that there is only one being in existence, though he cannot see him, to whom he is to turn for help. He is always by his side ready to respond. His august name is ALLĀH. Then he should say to himself, "ALLĀH is the veritable reality. I cannot see Him, just as I cannot see my soul. Yet my soul is a reality, and Allāh is much more real than my soul. I accept Him as my sole Lord on the authority of Muḥammad (peace be on him!), who was a selfless man and the Apostle of Almighty Allāh. I should obey Muḥammad (peace be on him!) because my Lord Allāh, the Exalted, wishes me to do so, and that simply because my welfare lies that way. Muḥammad (peace be on him!) says nothing from himself. He gives me the Qur'an, the Book of Allāh, the Exalted, and invites me to accept it as my guide just as he himself has accepted it as his guide. I must understand the Qur'an under the light of Muḥammad's guidance (peace be on him!). Whatever he says I must believe in, because he is thoroughly sincere and trustworthy."

He should make these suggestions to himself very vigorously, inwardly always and aloud on suitable occasions, and at the same time should implement his suggestions by taking in hand the practical programme of certain exercises laid down by Islam. This programme includes attendance at the appointed prayers five times daily, payment of financial dues to the exchequer according to the Islamic system of revenue, fasting in the month of Ramaḍān, and performance of pilgrimage to the holy places of Islam. This programme is to be fulfilled consciously and conscientiously. He will find in it the most suitable opportunities for repeating to himself the above suggestions. The arrangement of the above practices shows that the man who practises them is to continue his practices throughout life and simultaneously to take part in all the normal activities of life, provided only that those activities do not in any way hinder him from the pursuit of the prescribed practices. The suggestions prescribed for him are sure to give him in due course perfect faith in Allāh and in the prophethood of Muḥammad (peace be on him!), and ultimately his reason will entirely support the beliefs which in the beginning he took on trust. When his reason falls in with his belief, he is entitled to call himself a true Muslim. By this time he will have developed a conscience which pays no

heed to artificial conventions and customs and the so-called law made by man. This conscience will be entirely moulded on, and thoroughly conscious of the divine law, which is the only natural law that man should obey. When this conscience begins to function, man is said to have acquired *Taqwā*. He will now take special pleasure, and find an entirely novel significance in the practices prescribed by Islam and will be able to perform them with gusto and zest. He will begin to improve spiritually, and will be able to smile placidly on petty factions and quarrels, clashes of interests and passions, jealousies and heart-burnings, wars and battles, hubbubs and confusions, raging around him. His conduct will be the standard to which all must turn if they want to avoid worries and troubles. In short he will be the torch-bearer of peace and tranquillity.

RATIONALE OF THE ISLAMIC METHOD OF MIND TRAINING

THE key-note of the Islamic teachings is constant purification of mind and body, especially the former. The founder of Islam lays great stress upon one thing. He appears to say it is chiefly the mind of man that should be taken care of. Action will automatically be corrected when the attitude of mind towards the main problem of life is corrected. The first thing that man should realize is that the objective world, including man's activities and other things which man recognises as the non-ego, is in a way subject to the human mind, which is, by the by, a thing full of mystery. When all is said, the Islamic point of view seems to be well confirmed by psychological investigations. Islam holds that every human being is, to a considerable extent, maker of his own destiny. It is his mind that makes or mars his world for him. So Islam seeks that every human mind should strive to make its own world according to a particularly homogeneous concept of life. The question of determining in the abstract the nature of right and wrong is controversial in the extreme. It can lead us nowhere. We are only to consider which of the various systems of human conduct promises more success to the human race as a whole, and at the same time makes the individual man the monarch of his destiny, a thoroughly responsible being, and gives him the utmost liberty and independence compatible with his gregarious tendencies. When we see that those who, at the advent of Islam, decided to adopt its principles as the basis of their conduct, at the suggestion of a selfless man from among themselves, rose suddenly from the most wretched condition to the pinnacle of honour and success, we may reasonably decide also to follow the teachings of the same man with a resolute will and expect confidently the same result. The Islamic principles, in the nature of the case, cannot be confined to one place or one people. They constitute a wholesome system of human conduct which an entirely selfless man has placed before the whole human race to be its guide to everlasting happiness. A very long list of the names of those who have actually experimented with it and certified it to be the genuine source

of human power, success, and happiness, has not been appended to the system.

No one, I think, can deny or belittle the influence of belief on human action. Belief is the point on which man's mind seeks to rely when it wants to urge him to action. One can safely assert that there can be no action on the part of man, unless, immediately preceding it, he has some sort of belief to prompt him to do it. Islam realizes this fact and sets itself to find out a set of rational beliefs, which pure reason cannot reject, though the prejudiced reason cannot see them at first. To these beliefs man's mind spontaneously turns as soon as it gathers purity and strength enough to shake off all external influences. It, therefore, happens, almost always, that the man who takes Islamic principles first on trust cannot reject them afterwards when his reason becomes purer by performing Islamic practices consciously. It is, therefore, true also that a Muslim is never in need of a casual, laboured, belief such as a propagandist may seek to create in order to persuade men to do a certain act useful, for the time being, for a certain purpose of his own. The beliefs of a Muslim are permanently based on carefully considered principles thoroughly tested and sanctioned by the purified human reason, and are in their turn quite sufficient to become the basis of all rational and honest human action. There is not the ghost of a chance for any propagandist to succeed among the true followers of Islam. They will never swerve an inch from their accredited principles. At the same time they cannot but be thoroughly practical because their beliefs are already with them.

Islam begins with the assurance that man by nature is the noblest creature in the world. He, or those in charge of him during his childhood, should take care not to allow him to debase the inherent nobility of his nature by his own foolish sins of omission and commission. The part of his noble self, called conscience, should be trained to see that his conscious life retains its intimate connection with noble ideas only. These noble ideas lie hidden in his unconscious mind among the jumble of all sorts of ideas, bad and good, noble and ignoble. The conscience of man should have a standard, quite independent of all the workings of the human mind, by which it can test the goodness and badness, the noble and ignoble nature of every idea that forces itself upon the conscious mind of man. Islam at the very outset recognized, as the psychologists have recently begun to argue, that there exists a jumbled mass of ideas in the unconscious mind of man and that the function of the conscience is to check those ideas which go against the accepted standard of society. Islam, however, lays stress on this, that conscience in performing that function should not look to artificial laws, conventions, and customs. Islam pronounces that there are laws of human conduct as independent of selfish human nature as the laws of the physical world. The conscience of man should pay heed to those laws only and suppress only those ideas that do not conform to them. These laws are the principles of Islam, discovered by the genius and

spiritual effort of man, just as the laws of the physical world are discovered by the genius and effort of man. In the latter case you call the discoverers scientists, in the former they are called prophets.

CONCLUSION

IN conclusion, let us summarize the above statement as follows:—

1. The activity of man's mind will make or mar his world for him, and his world is nothing but his ideas.
2. There are ideas that are useful to man and ideas that are harmful to him.
3. The connection with useful ideas can be created and retained best by methods formulated by the founder of Islam, after he himself had carefully experimented with them and obtained the most salutary results imaginable. These methods should form the basis of Islamic education. We have tried to discuss them in this discourse. The most salient points in them may, however, be advantageously summed up here.

Man should realize that his mind, which has so tremendous an effect on his life and activities, is not entirely self-determining. It finds itself placed in a wonderfully organized cosmos that shows every sign of being pre-determined and controlled by a perfectly intelligent, entirely conscious, and wholly self-determining mind. The human mind finds that it forms a part of that cosmos and is therefore under the control of the Supreme Mind, and is consequently surrounded by ingenious but inexorable physical, and as Islam holds, also moral laws, that work independently of the human mind. All this should make the human mind fully conscious of its weakness. This consciousness when awakened is sure to become an unlimited source of power and happiness for man, if handled according to the Islamic method. It is at this result that the Islamic education aims. It is after the awakening of this consciousness that the guidance of the Holy Qur'ān is really helpful. The Qur'ān welcomes the awakening of this feeling of weakness in man and avers it to be quite natural. At the same time Islam warns man against the possibility of being misled by this very feeling, as it is apt to lead man to superstition and fetish-worship. The human mind, which feels superior to everything that it usually perceives, should not look for help to anything that falls short of perfection. It is indeed perfection that it lacks, and it is for perfection that man's mind yearns. He should not stoop to pick up at random anything that comes in his way and seems to possess a semblance of perfection, and bow his head in submission to it. Such things will always prove to be illusory in the end, and their perfection only imaginary. The Qur'ān lays down that man will never get real peace of mind and true happiness unless the void that exists in his mind is filled up with the idea of perfection, or you may call it the Perfect Being which has real and absolute power. With this idea of the Perfect

Being he should establish firm and indissoluble personal connection by the side of which every other connection must dwindle almost to nothing. Obviously the Perfect Being, of necessity, can be but one and no more. It cannot be perceived by the senses, it can be conceived by the mind only. The idea of the Perfect can be grasped by the mind of man without much difficulty. It can also be easily discovered by the same mind that it has a natural yearning towards perfection, so much so that even the faintest semblance of perfection may entice him away to pay homage to it, and even to worship it. This yearning, as we said before, arises primarily from the sense of its own imperfection inherent in the human mind, which feels a vague presentiment that unless something more powerful supports it, it cannot hold its own. This presentiment, we may repeat, can be both dangerous and salutary, inasmuch as it may either cause man to fall into the clutches of the pseudo-perfect, which is sure to ruin him, or may lead him to establish his connection with the real Perfect, which connection, if realized, will certainly mean self-realization for man, as it will certainly fill the void so painfully felt by his conscious mind. Islam aims at giving man not a relatively Perfect Being but the absolutely PERFECT BEING to rely upon.

M. A. TAWFIQ.

II

Intercalation in the Qur'ān and the Hadith

IN the April 1943 issue of the *Islamic Culture*, there was a learned article on the Jalālī calendar. So far as the main theme of that investigation is concerned, I have nothing particular to add, except perhaps the hope that the first-hand sources of the Jalālī formulæ may yet be discovered that would corroborate the meaning given them by the learned author. There was in the article one passing remark, however, which has occasioned these lines.

The author has suggested in the very beginning that intercalation was of too purely a secular nature to have elicited any direction on the part of the Prophet. Had there been complete silence on the subject in the Qur'ān and the Hadīth, it could not have reflected in the least on the Prophet, since he did not come as an astronomer. But the Qur'ānic references were of too comprehensive a nature to leave it undiscussed. So apart from the numerous mentions of the stages of the moon "for the reckoning of years and time,"¹ there are clear indications of the tropical year and intercalation even in the Qur'ān. A brief notice would be of interest.

1. The sun and the moon are made punctual (حسبان) (Qur'ān 6 : 96, 55 : 5).

1. لتعلموا عدد السنين والحساب , Qur'ān, 10 : 5, 17 : 12.

2. And the sun runneth on its resting place (orbit). That is the measuring of the Mighty, the Wise. And for the moon We have appointed mansions till she return like an old shrivelled palm-leaf. It is not for the sun to overtake the moon, nor doth the night outstrip the day. They (*i.e.*, the sun and moon) float each in an orbit. (Idem, 36 : 37-39).

And as for intercalations :—

1. And they tarried in their Cave three hundred years and added nine (Idem, 18: 26)—On the high authority of the caliph 'Alīy, this expression has been explained to mean that the People of the Cave tarried for 300 solar or tropical years, in which 9 lunar years had to be intercalated. Leaving aside fractions, this is all right.

2. Lo ! the number of months with Allāh is twelve months by Allāh's ordinance in the day that He created heavens and the earth. Four of them are sacred : that is the right religion. So wrong not yourselves in them. And wage war on all the idolaters as they are waging war on all of you. And know that Allāh is with those who fear (Him). Postponement (of a sacred month for the purpose of intercalation)¹ is only an excess of disbelief whereby those who disbelieve are misled ; they allow it one year and forbid it (another) year, that they may make up the number of months which Allāh has forbidden, and thus permit what Allāh had prohibited. The evil of their deeds is made fair-seeming unto them. Allāh guideth not the disbelieving folk. (Idem, 9 : 36-37).

This clear verse was expressly revealed for abrogating the system of intercalation which was prevalent in Arabia, at least in Hījāz. According

1. One word of warning seems called for. The "postponement" mentioned in the Qur'ān, and repeated in the oration of the Prophet during the so-called Farewell Pilgrimage, has sometimes been taken to mean changing the order of the months simply for the sake of breaking the tiresome continuity of the long period of the consecutive three months of the Truce of God. The sense of honour was too strong among the Arabs to leave ground for such a flagrant corruption at the sacred and solemn occasion as the Hājī. (The proclamation of the "postponement" took place in front of the Ka'bah.) No reference in Arab satirical poetry is traceable regarding this evil, in spite of the fact that there were many enemies of the family of the "Lord of the Calendar." On the other hand, we have reference to this in the Fakhr-poetry (ومنا منسى الشهرور [كذا] القلمس), (cf. *Tafsīr* of Tabarīy, X, 93). The fact seems to have been that the intercalation being the monopoly of the family of Qalanmases, its secrets were jealously guarded, and the generality did not know the secular reasons of postponing one month every third year. The simple commoners among the bedouins of the days of Jāhiliyah had their own norms of morality and superstition, and could attribute this practice to nothing except the breaking the tiresome continuity of the sacred months for the purpose of breaking it and allowing the "respectable" profession of plunder. When several centuries had passed to the abolition of intercalation in Islam, the generations of Muslim savants, born and brought up in towns and military camps, had no contact with agriculture whatsoever and were in fact custodians of the traditions of their own bedouin forefathers, continued to believe in the same way as their pre-Islamic forebears. They were even gratified to find therein another benefit of Islam to eulogize. Of course even in those early days there were honourable exceptions to this simple naïvety, Mas'ūdīy and Bērūnīy for instance.

to *al-Muḥabbar* of Ibn-Ḥabīb (p. 157), the Arabs adopted it in the time of Ḥudhaifah al-Kinānī, who became the hereditary lord of intercalation. The post continued in his descendants for six more generations when Islām came and abolished it in the year 10 of Hījra at a time when both the intercalary and the pure lunar systems of calendar tallied as to months ; and we have express data that at the time of the expedition of Ḥudaibīyah (anno 6 H.), the Meccan Dhul-Qa'dah was the same month as the non-intercalary Ramaḍān of Madīnah, and at the time of Abū-Bakr's emirate of Ḥajj-ceremony (in the year 9 H.) the Meccan Dhul-Hijjah was the same as the Madinite Dhul-Qa'dah. From this we may easily infer that the Arabs practised intercalation for about 216 years before it was forbidden by the Prophet.

I shall quote here the passage concerned of the Farewell Oration of the Prophet, during his last pilgrimage, from Mount Raḥmah (9th Dhul-Hijja anno 10 H.), in which the Prophet declared the abolition of the intercalation from the Islamic calendar :—¹

“People ! Lo ! the postponement (of a month for intercalation) is only an excess of disbelief whereby those who disbelieve are misled ; they allow it one year and forbid it (another) year, that they may make up the number of the months which Allāh had forbidden and thus permit what Allāh had prohibited and prohibit what Allāh had permitted. And lo ! the time had now turned round to the same position as on the day when Allāh had created the heavens and the earth. And lo ! the number of months with Allāh is twelve months by Allāh's ordinance in the day that He created the heavens and the earth. Four of them are sacred, three consecutive and one individual *viz.*, Dhul-Qa'dah, Dhul-Hijjah and Muḥarram, and Rajab of the tribes of Muḍar which is between the months of Jumādā (al-Ākhirah) and Sha'bān—Hearken! Have I conveyed? O, Allāh, be witness.” (*al-Wathā'iq as-Siyāsīyah*, No. 287 b).

The reasons for the abolition of intercalation on the part of the Prophet were manifold. For instance the para-military training of the people to fast one whole month every year and continue carrying on all avocations during the day without eating and drinking and even carrying it late into the night through *tarāwīḥ* prayers could not have given experience of all the seasons of the years without a purely lunar year. The same is true of the marching, camping, and parading of Ḥajj in a barren country. It also increased the rate of the surplus-property tax of *Zakāt* by making it payable ten days earlier every year, without anybody's being inconvenienced or over-burdened thereby. The land-tax was however of a different category. I have found evidence that in the time of the Prophet the land-tax, collected in kind in a certain ratio, was entirely separated from the

1. It may be added here that the Hījra era is reputed to have been started by the Caliph 'Umar, but a Ḥadīth informs us that the Prophet during his lifetime had adopted the hijra era in one of his documents. See *at-Tartīb al-Idārīyah* by Kattānī, I, 180.—Ed., I.C.

lunar calendar and made payable at the time of harvest ; that is, according to the tropical year only. So Ibn-Sa'd and other Muslim historians have recorded the treaties concluded between the Prophet and the people of Bahrain at the time of the latter's conversion to Islam. The *Zakāt* was imposed upon them (vide *Wasīlat al-Muta'abbidīn* by 'Umar al-Mauṣilīy, MS. Bānkīpore, fol. 31b-32a), and was explained later (vide, *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn-Sa'd, 1/2, p. 32-33) in the following terms :—

And it is conceded them that they will not be prevented from the road of victuals (to export), and they will not be debarred from the places where rain has fallen (to carry there herds and flocks), and they will not be prevented from culling the fruits at the time of their maturity.

ولهم أن لا يحبسوا عن طريق الميرة ولا يمنعوا
صوب القطر، ولا يجرسوا حريم (؟ حريم)
الثار عند بلوغه .

The context shows that it meant that they had not to wait the arrival of tax-collectors for handing them over the portion of grains, of live-stock, and of produce of fruits (like date and grape). The concession was that the government placed full confidence in their verbal assurance as to the exact amount due to the government without ascertaining directly from the harvest and flocks and fruits culled. As the tax was in kind and not in cash amount, the dual system of calendar worked smoothly, at least during the time of the Orthodox Caliphs. It seems that later, during the 'Abbāsīd regime, a certain lunar month was fixed for collecting taxes, even land-taxes, and naturally it soon gave trouble, and the central government had to take necessary measures to relieve the agriculturists from inconvenience. But I am not concerned with it here.

M. ḤAMĪDULLĀH.

III

Addendum

Mr. D. M. Dunlop (of Glasgow) has drawn our attention to the following omissions which occurred in *Islamic Culture* for April, 1942 :

“On p. 146 Abul-Qāsim Ṣa'id ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭulaitulī should be read Abdul-Qāsim Ṣa'id. See my notes on the *Dhunnunids* in *JRAS.* 1943, not yet published. On pp. 187-88 Sayyed Sulaimān Nadavi appears to say that the Bering Sea was known by that name to Abul-Fidā'. This is not possible, for Bering lived 1681-1741 A.D. The passage cited from Abul-Fidā' refers to the Sea of Warang, now the Baltic. Further, Sayyed Sulaimān refers to the “biography” of Nāṣīrud-Dīn-Ṭuṣī. The text which he translates, however, has التذكرة which is not a biography, but a work on astronomy, as is correctly stated on p. 141.”

ED., I. C.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Celebration of Iqbāl Day.

SEVEN years back a society with the name of *Bazm-e Iqbāl* was founded. It came forward with the aim of introducing Iqbāl's message in its true spirit to the man in the street. With this object in view they had established a study circle where lovers of Iqbāl's philosophy and poetry gathered to analyse the dynamic forces which inspired the soul of Iqbāl. In order to achieve this goal, members of the society hold meetings every month and discuss different aspects of Iqbāl's poetic genius. The activities of this society have developed this year in further direction of organizing an Iqbāl Day. On this occasion an essay competition was held and prizes were awarded for the following articles :—

Iqbāl and his Life, by Mr. Syed Muḥammad Yūsuf.

Freedom of Women in the Eye of Iqbāl, by Mr. Fakhruḥ Ḥasan.

The Poetry of Iqbāl, by Mr. Ḥakim Syed 'Alī Ṣābirīy.

Iqbāl's Call of Struggle for Existence by Mr. Muḥammad 'Abdul-Karim.

Opening the session of the Iqbāl Day, Nawab Ḥasan Yar Jung Bahadur introduced the society and welcomed the guests and the presidential address was delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, Finance Member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. Dealing with the nature of Iqbāl's philosophy, the Finance Member pointed out that Iqbāl was a type of the philosopher whose philosophy was tinged with Ṣūfism. He is greatly influenced by the German poet Goethe and the German philosopher Niethzsche. But the difference between the European thinkers and this poet of Islam is, he said, that in Europe patriotism is raised to the status of a religion, whereas to Islam love of motherland is undoubtedly as dear as faith yet no Muslim could make his country an idol and worship it. Whoever enters the hold of Islam, be he a Roman or Indian, Turk or Iranian, surrenders himself to the will of Allāh and indulges into the service of humanity disregarding all prejudices of colour, caste and country. The Hon'ble member drew attention of the young generation in particular to that message of Iqbāl which lays emphasis on self-realization and invites young men to think in terms of universal truth taught by

Islam and to act upon them. Besides a number of original poems and discourses on Iqbāl which were brought to the notice of the audience, the following literary contributions were of special interest in this session :—

1. Life of Muslims and Iqbāl, by Dr. Mīr Valī'uddīn (of Osmania University).
2. The Spirit of Poetry and Iqbāl, by Maulvī Anwar Khān (Jāmi'a Milliya, Delhi).
3. Iqbāl's Abode (Residence) in London, by Mr. Roy Sri Kishan Barrister.
4. Iqbāl and Fine Arts, by Mr. S. M. Akbar Wafāqānī.

The success of Iqbāl Day may be determined by the zeal and enthusiasm with which it was received by the public, and by the fact that since the session is over a number of articles such as Iqbāl's Islamic poetry the mirror of Iqbāl's thought, Iqbāl's views on Western civilization, Iqbāl's poetry and philosophy, etc., have appeared in the daily newspapers and have become interesting topics of different literary circles.

The Convocation of the Osmania University.

THE annual conferment of degrees was as usual held in the Osmania University. It was characterised this year by the fact that its convocation address was delivered by Sir Ardeshir Rustomji Dalal, Kt., I.C.S. Sir A. R. Dalal seems to have been impressed by the rapidity with which the Osmania University has achieved all-round progress. The university has appealed him very much for the chief reasons that it imparts education through the medium of Urdu and that it is a residential and teaching as well as an examining body. Admiring the literary and scientific activities of the university, Sir A. R. Dalal drew attention of the university authorities to the following proposals which in his opinion are urgently needed :

- i. Labour corps in schools as a preliminary training ground for the university training corps should be started.
- ii. The Ph. D. Degree should be given in applied physics and that a faculty of technology may be added to the existing faculties of the university.
- iii. Utmost attention should be paid to the subject of mechanical and electrical engineering in the engineering college.

As an experienced industrialist of India he visualized a good scope in Hyderabad for the new industries such as artificial silk, hosiery, leather and oil. He further advised that the flourishing cottage industries of Hyderabad should adopt a system on the Japanese model by which cottage industries could be integrated to the large industries. It is rightly

hoped that these valuable suggestions of the well-known industrialist will give a fresh impetus to the workers in this field of activity.

Fifth Session of Milād Conference.

For some years in the past a conference on the occasion of the commemoration of the birth of the Prophet of Islam is being held in Hyderabad. The significant feature of its fifth session is that thinkers and scholars of Islam will meet together to discuss the influence of Islam on the expected new world order. For this purpose a permanent committee is being established whose duty will be to collect data for the reconstruction of the society after the war from purely Islamic point of view. The organizers of the conference should be congratulated for undertaking this noble task in the right moment.

M. A. M.

DECCAN

Indian Historical Records Commission 19th Session held at Trivandrum.

THE Session was inaugurated by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. About fifty papers were read by scholars from all parts of India on different aspects of the Anglo-Indian history but only the following papers were concerned with the Indo-Muslim history, a summary of which is briefly noted here :—

A Little known Phase in the Career of Chandā Şāhib (1741-48) by Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari.

Soon after his imprisonment, Chandā Şāhib won the friendship of the Maratha general, Faḥ Singh, and the good graces of Nāşir Jang. With the aid of his Nawāyat relations, he endeavoured to obtain not only his release but also the support of Nizāmu'l-Mulk in his attempt at securing the Carnatic şubah for himself. Dupleix upheld the legitimate claims of the new Nawāb, Anwaru'd-Dīn, till 1744, but after 1745, he entertained plans for the restoration of Chandā Şāhib to power in the Carnatic. Nizāmu'l-Mulk himself entertained for a time the idea of displacing Anwaru'd-Dīn by Chandā Şāhib. This paper fills up a wide gap in the biography of one of the most striking adventurers of South India in the 18th century.

The Beginnings of the Danish Settlement in India, by Rev. Father H. Heras and Mr. G. M. Moraes

The Danish East India Company was formed on 17th March, 1616, as a result of a scheme set on foot by a few Danish and Dutch merchants at Copenhagen. The first ship to reach Ceylon was 'Oresmond' commanded

by Roland Grappe. The leader of the expedition, Ove Gedde, entered into a fresh agreement with the king of Ceylon, and also decided to try his luck in Tanjore. On the advice of certain Muslim merchants, he decided to convert the local Jesuit church into a factory, which brought him into conflict with the Jesuit priests. Through the efforts of Grappe, the Danes finally succeeded in acquiring the village of Tranquebar on 19th Nov. 1620.

Sixteen Persian Documents Concerning Nazarbar (Nandurbar) in Khandesh, by Dr. M. 'Abdullāh Chaghtā'ī.

Sixteen documents in Persian preserved at the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, in the form of scroll deal with grants of land and money to Sayyid 'Abdul-Ghaffār, Sh. 'Abdur-Rasūl, Sh. Yūsuf, Sh. Ismā'il, Sh. Muḥammad, and others, residents of Sarkar Nazarbar in the province of Khandesh for services as mu'adhhdhins of the town, and to descendants of Qutbu'l-Mulk Muḥammad Faḍlu'l-Ullāh. These documents belong to the period of Aurangzēb, Shāh 'Ālam, Farrukh Siyar and Muḥammad Shāh.

A Blank Farmān, by Dr. N. K. Sinha,

In letters written in 1767 by the President and Select Committee at Calcutta to Madras the following memorandum appears: 'If it should be found necessary to bring about a change of persons in the ṣūbahship, we should exert our influence with the king to have it sanctioned by a royal sanad. Discussions began between the Madras and Bengal government but no candidate was considered deserving of support. Nizām was also sending peace feelers and the Madras government did not like to carry matters very far. Meanwhile the Bengal government secured from the Mughal emperor a blank farman. A treaty was concluded between the Madras government and the Nizām on 27th April, 1768.'

Dewani and Criminal Jurisdiction, by Mr. A. C. Bannerjee.

In 1771 the select committee secured from the Nā'ib-Sūbah, (Muḥammad Riḍa Khān) a clarification of the line of demarcation that was to be observed between the affairs of the *Dīwānī* and those of the *Nizāmat*. A critical analysis of the reply submitted by the Nā'ib Ṣūbah proves that the Company was entitled to exercise partial criminal jurisdiction as well. This conclusion is strengthened by certain recorded cases in which officers of the Company actually arrested and punished criminals.

Dastūrul'-'Amal of Jawāhar Mal Baikūs, (1144 A.H.) by Dr. M. 'Azīz Aḥmad.

It is the second instalment of his article which he had submitted at the last session of the Commission held at Mysore. In this paper he has discussed the remaining part:—

The third 'court' describes the means by which peace and tranquillity were maintained in the realm. Nāzims (governors) and 'Āmils

(revenue-collectors) were appointed to enforce law and to effect the assessment of revenue. Dastaks (orders) were given to the various officers such as Dārōgha-i-Fīlkhana (superintendent of elephant-stable), Mīr-i-Sāmān (head-steward) Dārōgha-i-Shutar-Khāna, Dārōgha-i-Tōp-Khāna, Dārōgha-i-Aṣṭabal, Dārōgha-i-Salāḥ-Khāna, Dārōgha-i-Farash-Khāna, and Kōtwāl to perform their duties. Dastak was given to Akhbār Nawīs (reporters) to keep a record of all the happenings and of the conduct of the people. Fourth 'court' is connected with the assessment of revenue and with the duties of Dīwān (Wazīr), Khān-i-Sāmān, Ḥuḍūr Nawīs, their Peshkārs, Zamīndārs, Muqaddams, Chaudhrīs, Patwāris, Fōṭa Khana (treasury). The fifth 'court' deals with justice and the duties of Qādis Munşifs, and others connected with the court. The sixth 'court' deals with enjoyment and arrangement of Majlis-i-'Aish and 'Id celebrations. The seventh 'court' deals with resignation and removal from service.

A Farmān of Shāh Jahān, by Dr. A. Ḥalīm.

It is dated 27th Rabī' II, 1063 (26th March 1653). It is an order to Shāh Beg, the custodian of the pargana of Bilgrām, and those in the vicinity to help the sons and brother of one Qāḍī 'Abdur-Rasūl who held jāgīrs in Bilgrām. The farmān was despatched through one Shaikh 'Abdul-Karīm whose name appears therein. Dr. Ḥalīm takes him as Mīr 'Abdul-Karīm who was one of the superintendents of the construction of the Tāj Mahal at Agra, and who had died before the date of this farmān. There is clear mention of one Shaikh 'Abdul-Karīm among the courtiers of Shāh Jahān ('*Amal Sālīḥ*, Vol. III, p. 47) who was the same person mentioned in the farmān.

Letters of Muftī Khalīlu'd-Dīn, by Mr. K. C. Nigam.

Muftī Khalīlu'd-Dīn, the ambassador of Ghāziu'd-Dīn Ḥaidar, the first king of Oudh (1814-27), figures prominently in the political transactions of the British and the Oudh governments from 1826-30. The letters presented in this paper throw fresh light on the affairs of Oudh history.

Farhang-i-Kārdānī of Jagant Rāi Shujai Kayasth Saksena, by Sh. A. Rashīd.

This is a handbook of information relating to the various duties of officers of the Mughal state, and serves as a guide to new entrants. It deals with classes of officers with varied duties :—Administrators with specified duties, officers of the department of justice, officers of the branding department, mint, markets, purchase of horses, ward-robe department revenue officers, etc., etc.

A Farmān of Farrukh Siyar, by Dr. P. Saran.

This bears an assignment of some land by way of maintenance to one Sayyid Karamullāh who maintained an establishment for students. On the

reverse there are four seals of officers and several endorsements of later dates.

The Beginning of Diplomatic Relations between the Sikhs and the British Government in India 1783, by Dr. Hari Ram Gupta.

Mīrzā Najaf Khān, the last of the illustrious chief ministers of Delhi, died in April, 1782, and this led to chaos in the imperial government of the Mughals. The emperor Shāh 'Ālam II appealed to Warren Hastings for help. The governor-general found in this an excellent opportunity to establish a British protectorate at Delhi, and in August, 1782 'appointed Major James Browne as his agent and minister at the court of Delhi.' Browne reached Agra on the 26th Feb. 1783, and stayed there till November. It was here that Browne received communications from Lakhpat Rai, the Sikh ambassador at Delhi, and later from Jana Singh of Kapurthala, Lahna Singh of Lahore, Baghel Singh of Chhhalondi, Maharaja Sahib Singh of Patiala and Karam Singh. The object of the Sikhs was to secure the neutrality of the British in their invasion of the Gangetic Doab, while Browne tried his utmost to dissuade the Sikhs from extending their depredations to that quarter.

Dōst Muḥammad Khān in India, by Miss Janki Chopra.

Upon his surrender to the British, Macnaughten assured Dōst Moḥammad Khān of a liberal treatment, and gave him a written promise that he would be allowed to reside at Ludhiana. He also recommended to his government for treating him as an honoured guest rather than as a prisoner, and instructed Nicholson, the officer in charge of Dōst Muḥammad Khān, not to subject him to any irksome restraint. But the British Government never allowed him to reside at Ludhiana except for a few weeks and even during that period put him under every restraint. They compelled him to go to Calcutta against his wishes. He was granted a pension of two lakhs of rupees only, one-fourth of which was reserved by the Government for emergency expenses. Later on he was released by the British when they were compelled to reverse the policy to which he had fallen a victim.

A Contemporary Account in Persian of the Mutiny of 1857-58, by Sayyid Hasan 'Askarī.

This account, entitled *Faṭḥ Nāma-i-Angrēz* or *Ẓafaru'z-Ẓafar*, describing certain incidents relating to the Mutiny, is preserved in the form of a manuscript in some private collection.

The Rise of Mīr Jumla, by Mr. J. N. Sarkar.

An attempt has been made to trace the stages of Mīr Jumla's rise to power in Golkonda on the basis of the authority of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shīrāzī's *Ḥadiqatu's-Salāṭīn*, with incidental supplementary informations gathered from 17th century English factory records and foreign accounts. In 1635 he was holding the office of Silāhdār and later on he was appointed the Ḥavaldar of Masulipatam. In 1637 he was placed in charge of

Mustafanagar (Condally), and in June of that year he was appointed *Sar-i Khail* by the Sultān.

A Farmān of Aḥmad Shāh Durr-i-Durrāni, by Mr. S. M. Ja'far.

By this Farmān a piece of land was given to two learned and pious men, Shaikh Muḥammad Taqī and his disciple Hāfiz Aḥmad Yār, who were permitted to use the income of the land for their own benefit, and were expected to engage themselves in praying for the long life of the king and prosperity of his empire. The said land was situated in Begram (Peshawar).

An Afghān Account of Anglo-Afghān Relations (1836-42), by Dr. I. H. Quraishi.

A manuscript entitled *Akbar Nāma* by one Hāmid Kashmīrī has recently been acquired by the Delhi University Library. The book is the story of the exploits of Muḥammad Akbar Khān, son of the Amīr Dōst Muḥammad Khān of Afghanistan. It is a metrical composition in Persian, containing about eleven thousand lines, the metre being the same as that of Firdausi's great *Shāh Nāma*. The story begins with the revolt against Shāh Shujā' which resulted in his exile and ends with the restoration of Dōst Muḥammad Khān. In short, this unique work gives a detailed account of the Afghan history very accurately.

Some Unpublished Persian Letters of the Rāja of Travancore by Mr. I. H. Baqā'ī.

They are addressed to Lord Cornwallis, the governor-general at that time. They mainly deal with the period 1790-92. Some of these letters are of complimentary nature, congratulating the British on their success against Tipū Sultān. Two of them, however, deal with the dispute of the three taluks, Paroor, Alungar, and Kooruthnar, which belonged to the Rāja of Travancore but were inserted by Tipū Sultān as part of the cession in his schedules of Jam'abandī annexed to the treaty.

A Few Newspapers from Pre-Mutiny Period, by Mr. K. Sajan Lal.

The learned author has confined his paper to a brief description of four papers, viz., *Jāmī'ul-Akhhār*, *Fawā'idu'n-Nāzirīn*, *Qirānu's-Sa'dain* and *the Delhi Akhhār*. They all give very useful historical informations of the period, which generally depict the welfare of the country, and also discuss current politics.

Mayurbhanj during the early Maratha and British Occupation in Orissa, by Mr. P. Acharya.

Nawāb 'Alivardī Khān ceded the whole of Orissa up 'the river Sonamakhia which runs by Ballisar bender' to the Marathas in 1751. As the territory of Mayurbhanj was bounded on the north, east, and south by the Sarkars of Remna, Basta, and Jaleswar, the cessions of 1751 and 1760 brought its ruler in direct contact with the Maratha and British powers.

Influence of the Press on the Outbreak of the Mutiny (especially in Central India and Malwa), by Mr. K. L. Srivastava.

Among the papers which took leading part in criticising the government and influencing public opinion, the author mentions *Asiatic Mirror*, *Bengal Journal*, *Bengal Harkari*, *Hindu Patriot*, *Sultānu'l-Akhbār*, etc.

Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

A distinguished gathering of scholars almost from all parts of India celebrated the Silver Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute during the first week of January, 1943. Sir S. Radhakrishnan delivered the inaugural address. This institute was founded in 1917 by the late Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. The greatest achievement of this Institute along with other many valuable compilations is the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, the greatest Sanskrit epic of India. Until recently it was edited by Dr. Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar who died on 21st January, 1943, only after a few days of the celebration of the jubilee of the institute. The ambitious undertaking of the publication of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* has been donated by many provincial governments in India, Indian States, and others. The generosity of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government of Hyderabad is conspicuous also in the list of donations to this very ambitious scheme of the *Mahābhārata*, although H.E.H. the Nizam's Government has already built magnificent guest-house adjoining the Bhandarkar Institute for the facilities of the scholars who come to stay there temporarily for their studies. The list of the so far published works by this institute shows that the programme of publications is not only confined to Hindu or Sanskrit works but also includes some Islamic publications such as the *Tārīkh-i-Sind* of Sayyid Muḥammad Ma'sūm Bhakkari (d. 1019 A.H.) published in 1938 by the institute. The institute has also published a Silver Jubilee Volume of the Annals of the institute which has been divided into two parts, viz., articles by scholars from all parts of India on Indology and progress of Indic studies. The two parts comprise about twelve hundred pages, but these contain little about Islamic studies except one article by Dr. M. 'Abdullāh-Chaghtā'i on 'the Place of Tāj-Mahal of Agra in World Architecture,' and another by S. R. Sharma on 'the Imperial Mystics of Delhi.'

The Journal of the Literary Committee of the L. E. Association, Dharwar.

In one of its recent numbers there is one article in Kannada by Mr. B. M. Puranik which is a resume of the letters of the time of Shivaji compiled on the authority of a Maratha work which is the result of forty years of intermittent labours of three Maratha research scholars of Maharashtra. It is obvious that this important work, though purely concerned

with the Maratha history contains a good deal of valuable material dealing with the Mughal history which is not available anywhere else.

Journal of the University of Bombay (January 1943).

Professor George Moraes writes a long article on the Maratha-Portuguese War of 1683-84. It is generally based on Portuguese records which are very little known to the general students of Indian history. It shows that to break away the Maratha menace the Portuguese general of the North applied to Sidi Yāqūt Khān, the Mughal admiral, for help who sent four hundred soldiers at his own cost. They entered the estuary of Chaul and eventually gained ingress into the fort.

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona (Vol. IV. No. 2).

Dr. M. 'Abdullāh Chaghtā'i describes a Manuscript of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* from the collection of the Bharat Itihas Samshodaka Mandala, Poona. It bears an autograph from the pen of Mirzā Ghiyāthu'd-dīn-I'timād'ud-Dawla, the father of Nūr-Jahān and father-in-law of the emperor Jahāngīr. This MS. was transcribed just two years after its actual compilation by the author, Shaikh Sikandar b. Muḥammad *alias* Manjhu in 1020 A.H. It is sufficiently genuine for correcting several renderings of the formerly printed editions of the same history of Gujarat (*Mir'at-i-Sikandarī*).

Folk Culture in Names : Hindu, Pārsi, Muslim.

Mr. R. P. Masānī, lecturing under the auspices of the Indian P.E.N., Bombay, on the above-mentioned subject, mentioned in the course of his lecture that a man might be cured or killed, blessed, or cursed through his name. Hindu and Muslim wives often avoided mention of their husbands' names. The president, Principal, A. A. A. Fyzee, gave an interesting account of some Muslim names.

Urdu in the Madras Presidency.

The All-India Urdu Conference was opened at Bangalore on 27th November 1942 by the Hon. Lt.-Col. D. M. Fraser, the British Resident. A distinguished gathering of Urdu writers from all over India attended. Mr. J. Muḥammad Imām, minister of education, Mysore State, presided. The welcome speech was given by Sayyid Akhtar Begam, wife of Khān Ṣāhib 'Abdul-Ghanī, to whose efforts the conference owed its session at

Bangalore. Speaking in Urdu, Lt.-Col. Fraser commended the liberal policy of the Mysore government in giving Urdu studies due encouragement. He also stressed the cultural value of such literary conferences. The president emphasised the need for a common language which was being met by both Urdu and Hindi. He pointed out that the controversy between Urdu and Hindi was uncalled for as the two languages were similar. From Osmania University, Hyderabad, Dr. Sayyid Muḥīu'd-dīn Qādri Zōr was specially invited to deliver an address in which he mainly dealt with the contributions to Urdu language by the South. Among those who took part in the conference were Messrs. Jōsh Malihābādī, Jigar of Murādābād and 'Alī 'Akhtar of Hyderabad. The conference was a great success.

M. A. C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

Islāmī Jamā'at of Aligarh.

ALIGARH has ever been the pioneer of healthy social and religious movements. What Aligarh has done to improve the lot of the Muslims educationally and culturally can never be forgotten. The thinkers and philosophers of the university spend their nights and days to devise ways and means for making Muslims a living force. To achieve that end, the Late Sir Syyed upheld the Western education. Through Western education, he thought, Muslims will be enlightened and see things in their true perspective. Apart from its defects the Western education by the pass of time, has made us realise the worthlessness of the Western culture and the hopeless and degrading position that we are in. The Muslims of India in particular, and the rest of the world in general, experimented the different philosophies of life and then came to this definite conclusion that they were all counterfeit and spurious coins. Truth again dawned. The life and teachings of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (peace and blessing of Allāh be on him), is the only guide which guarantees peace, progress, and prosperity in this and the next world.

The noted philosophers of the university such as Dr. Syyed Zafarul-Hasan, 'Allāma Syyed Ibn-Ḥasan, Dr. Muḥammad Maḥmūd Aḥmad, Dr. Muḥammad Afḍal Ḥusain Qādri and the famous politician Raja Muḥammad Amīr Aḥmad of Maḥmūdābād have come forward with an association called Islāmī Jamā'at. The aim and object of the Jamā'at is to make Muslims live up to the teachings of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad. There the salvation lies, otherwise Muslims are no more and will be no more. The appeal that has been issued to the press by the learned philosophers demands wide publication and enthusiastic co-operation. To quote the appeal:

“It is our firm conviction that the only path for Muslims to attain the true end of their being and existence as individuals

and as a nation in this world, and in the hereafter, is to follow in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet. And this is what we have been told by our Creator.

‘ Say (O Muḥammad) If you love Allāh then follow me ; Allāh will love you.’

The condition of Muslims today is at complete variance with this injunction. Hence it has become incumbent that they be invited towards this path so that they should make the Holy Prophet the living ideal and should follow him in their individual as well as collective life. This alone is the remedy for all their ills.

Consequently we have formed an association called the “ Islamia Jamā‘at ” at Aligarh to achieve this object ; and we appeal to all those who feel themselves in agreement with us to come forward and co-operate in understanding this noble task and communicate to us their mind.”

Sincerity of the purpose will surely crown the object with success. But it requires painstaking devotion to duty and a complete change in the outlook. It should not be a Jamā‘at to confer, argue, and congregate, and then disperse never to think of the noble cause again. But every member should be from head to foot a true follower of the Prophet and should remind us of the Companions of the Prophet.

Dārul-Muṣannifin, A‘zamgarh.

The present scarcity of paper has checked to a very great extent the work of printing and press. The famous Shibli Academy or Dārul-Muṣannifin, A‘zamgarh has not been able to release more books this year. The *Tārīkh-e-Dawlat-e-‘Uthmāniya* by Professor Md. Ozair of Muslim University, Aligarh, covering three hundred pages, has already been printed. It will very soon see the light of the day. The author has been advised to close this volume with the movement of Mustafa Kamal Pasha. The author has taken every pain to make the book up to date. His research on the subject deserves appreciation. Surely it will add to the history of Turkey in Urdu language.

Hayāt-e Shibli by ‘Allāma Syed Sulaimān Nadvī which is in the press will not be complete unless the photos of Dārul-Muṣannifin A‘zamgarh, Madrasatul-İslāh, Sarai Mīr and Dārul-‘Ulūm Nadva, Lucknow, which are really the living monuments of the illustrious Shibli are not added to the book. Lover of Shibli, it is hoped, will not lag behind in making the book a complete success.

There are some books of the Academy which are under press and there are some in the shape of manuscripts, and some are still being written.

Tārīkh-Banū-‘Abbās by Shāh Mu‘īnuddin Nadvi is the third volume of

the history of Islam series. It is under press but the revision and addition is going on along with it.

Ar-Rāzī or the Life and Philosophy of Imām Rāzī by Maulānā 'Abdus-Salām Nadvī is complete in the shape of manuscript. Some works are on the history of India ready for publication. The chapters on *Shi'r ul-'Arab* and *Tārīkh ul-Hukamā'* by 'Abdus-Salām Nadvī are also under completion. *Tārīkh ul-Hukamā'* has been revised and annotated by Maulvi Dīā'-ul-Ḥasan Nadvī, M.A., Inspector of Schools, U.P.

Some of the old books are again going to the press for another edition. One of them is *Khulafā'-e-Rāshidīn* by the late Mū'īnuddīn Nadvī. Maulvī Uwais Nadvī, a young scholar of the academy is doing a very noble work of purely Islamic interest. He has collected all the available books on Ma'ānī and Balāghat and also Muḥadarāt such as *Imālī, al-Mathlu-sā'er*, etc. These books have got literary pieces in the Qur'ānic verses and commentaries on it. The compiler has intelligently and laboriously gone through the whole work and has collected all those literary pieces in the Qur'ānic verses with special care in systematic order. The work has been compiled in two volumes.

The second work of Maulvī Uwais is *Wujūh-e-I'jāz-e-Qur'ān*. It has been a very delightful topic of the Muslim scholar in every time to seek reasons and arguments in favour of the I'jāz of Qur'ān although the angles of visions have been different in different times. The learned compiler has searched all the books on Tafsīr, Kalām, Adab, Muḥadarāt, and has collected all the scattered gems wherever he could find in every period and collected them all at one place. The third work which deserves mention is a collection of Tafsīr. 'Allāma ibn-Taymiya, Ḥāfīz ibn-Qayyim, Shāh Walī'ullāh Dehlavi have written much on Qur'ān in their books. The learned compiler has collected all he could find concerning the verses of Qur'ān in the works of these learned scholars. The reader will get all these fine pieces of commentaries on Qur'ān at one place.

The new books of Maulvī 'Abdul-Mājid Daryābādī which have been published are :—I. *Murdon-kī-Masihā'ī*. This is a collection of the articles of the Maulānā which were published in his paper *Such* from the year 1925-1932. They are seventeen in number. They are mostly on the life and teachings of the Holy Prophet. There are some articles which are not on Sirat but they are all on Islamic Shari'at. The book is very informative but it deserved the revision of the writer. The publisher hastily rushed it through the press. It would have been a fine collection had the writer gone through the article before its going to the press.

II. *Muḥammad 'Alī* is the impressions and experiences of the author regarding the late Maulana Muḥammad 'Alī of revered memory. It was published in series of articles in his paper but after a few numbers it was discontinued. The book is incomplete. The third work is the collection of his articles published in *Such* and *Sidq*.

Letters of Late Dr. Iqbāl.

Shāikh 'Atā'ullāh, M.A., of the Economics Department, Muslim University, Aligārh, has taken upon himself the task of collecting letters of 'Allāma Iqbāl. These letters must have been full of problems vexing the present day Muslim world. The greatest intellectual of the present time must have disclosed his mind on Islamic problems, and offered suggestions and would have searched for a solution of the present ills confronting the Muslim world. Besides, it will surely be much helpful in knowing his philosophical ideas and his poetry. It will certainly throw much light on the life and character of the great poet and philosopher. Professor 'Atā'ullāh must be congratulated on his undertaking and should be helped in every way possible. The book will surely be an addition to Islamic thought and literature. The professor has issued an appeal in the *Muslim University Gazette* and has requested every body who is in possession of the letters of the 'Allāma or any written substance to send them to him by registered post. He has promised to return them after copying. And if the owner consents he proposes to keep them safe with the University Library which will serve and benefit generations. He has further requested those persons who knew such person of learning and culture who possess the 'Allāma's letter, to inform him the name and address of such persons.

If the letters of the 'Allāma have been published in any newspaper or journal, the names of such journals or newspapers be referred to him.

Milād un-Nabī Number of "Onward."

Dr. Syed Na'im' uddin Ja'fari, Bar.-at-Law, has started a paper entitled *Onward* from Allahabad. Every issue brings articles from men of repute and learning. But the issue of 22nd March 1943 deserves special mention. It brought out Milād-un-Nabī number on that date. This issue is remarkably praiseworthy. The poems of Shāh Ḥabīb, Ashfāq Ḥusain and Lord Headly display deep feelings of love and reverence. It leaves a lasting effect on our heart. Besides this the scholarly articles contributed by learned people like Dr. Beni Prasad, Professor of Political Science in the University of Allahabad, Mehr-Banu, Mr. Vasram, B.A., Dr. Ḥafiz Syed, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Badī'-uzzaman, Dr. Ja'fari, the editor, Dr. Shāh M. H. Raḥmān, G. L. Johnson present a very thoughtful reading.

Iqbāl Day Celebrations in the Rajshahi College, Bengal.

Under the inspiration of the then officiating vice-principal, Rajshahi College, Mr. Abū Hena, M.A., Rajshahi College, Islamic Culture Society was founded in February 1942, with representatives from different classes

of the college and the Muslim members of the college teaching staff. During the last year the Prophet Day, Iqbāl Day, and Ḥājī Md. Moḥsin Day were observed. And meetings were held and prizes awarded on each occasion for essays, recitations, and speeches to the successful student competitors: and these were largely attended by the public also. This year (1943) the Iqbāl Day was celebrated by the society in the college. Mr. M. Barkatullāh M.A., B.L., Bengal Civil Service, Asst. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, presided over the function. The essays on Iqbāl were read by a number of scholars and Prof. Qāḍī Akram Ḥusain read translations done into Bengali poetry of some of the poems of *Zabūr-i 'Ajam* by Iqbāl. Speeches were made by (1) Dr. M. A. Majīd, M.B., Civil Surgeon, Rajshahi, (2) Prof. M. Maṣṣūrūd-Dīn M.A., (3) Prof. A. Aḥad, M.Sc. The president delivered a learned and written presidential address. Prizes were awarded for the best essays on Iqbāl to the students and for the best recitals of Iqbāl's poems. It was a largely attended meeting.

M. A.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

The Punjab University Library.

THE Punjab University Library possesses one of the most valuable collections of oriental manuscripts that at present exist in this country. For several decades past, the library has made systematic and sustained efforts to collect manuscripts in the various oriental languages studied in the university. About thirty years ago, a beginning was made with 179 manuscripts, which were transferred from the library of the Oriental College. The collection is now made up of 2471 manuscripts, of which 1658 are in Persian, 639 in Arabic, 170 in Urdu and 4 in Turkish. About four-fifths of the collection has been acquired by purchase. Among the more important purchases we may mention 359 manuscripts, which were acquired in 1927 from Mr. W. Ivanow, who had collected them at Lucknow and other places; 316 MSS. from M. Najm-ud-Dīn, who had collected them mostly in Sind, and 54 MSS. from the late R.S. Wazīr Chand of Jhang. Another big lot, comprising 205 MSS. was purchased in 1928 from the sons of the late Pīrzāda Muḥammad Ḥusain of Māhām (in the Rohtak district). This collection has been made by the Pīrzāda mainly in the Panjab, Kashmir, and Delhi. It was accidentally discovered by Professor Muḥammad Shafī' during a visit to Māhām, examined, and immediately taken over for the library. It now forms a very valuable part of the Arabic section of the library.

For oriental manuscripts, the library is also indebted to the public spirit of a number of generous donors. In 1913, Āghā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, son of the late M. Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, presented to the Orien-

tal College Library his father's collection of 389 manuscripts (Arabic 58, Persian 320, Urdu 11), along with a much larger number of printed books. Similarly, Paṇḍit Brij Mohan Datatarya Kaifī of Delhi presented to the university library, during 1933-37, 130 manuscripts (Persian 69, Urdu 61). The university collection is richest in Persian poetry, which is represented by 443 manuscripts. It also contains a good number of theological, scientific, historical, and biographical works. Thanks to the discrimination exercised in their selection by a scholar of Professor Muḥammad Shafī's fine taste and vast erudition, most of these works possess special valuable features.

A card catalogue of the manuscripts has long been in existence in the library; but the need of a printed descriptive catalogue has also been keenly felt, especially by those persons who were not in a position to use the card catalogue and moreover wanted fuller information about the manuscripts. A beginning has now been made with the historical manuscripts in the Persian language, of which a descriptive catalogue has been compiled by Dr. S. M. 'Abdullāh, M.A., D.Litt. of the Panjab University, under the general direction of Principal Muḥammad Shafī, and published by the Panjab University (Lahore 1942). Among the works described in this part of the catalogue, the following deserve special notice :—

1. A copy of the *Nasab Nāmah-i-A'lā Ḥaḍrat-i-Shāhī*, Vol. I, of which only one other copy is known to exist in a private collection in Tehran.
2. A contemporary copy of the *Wāqī'āt-i-Bāburī*; also another copy of the same, prepared by the order of the emperor Shāh 'Ālam II.
3. An undated copy of nearly the first half of the *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh*, Ḥāfiẓ Ābrū's revised edition.
4. A contemporary copy of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*.
5. A contemporary copy of the *Jahāngushā-i-Nādirī*.
- 6-7. Autograph copies of the *Ṭirāz al-Akhhār*, and the *Waqā'i', Jang-i-Sikhān*.
8. A copy of the comparatively rare 'Abdullāh Nāmah of Ḥāfiẓ Tanish.
9. An old copy of the *Jahāngushā-i-Juwāinī*.
10. A copy of Muḥammad Ma'sūm's *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, transcribed in 1017 A.H., two years after the death of the author.
11. A copy of the voluminous *Ḥadīqat al-Hind*.
12. A good copy of Mulla Kāshifī's *Rawḍat-ush-Shuhada*.

The University Library has been further enriched by the recent purchase of the large and valuable collection made by Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Khān Shērānī, which we hope to notice in these pages at some future occasion. The addition of the Shērānī Collection, which comprises 2,285 volumes,

besides 1,710 volumes of printed books, has brought the Panjab University on a par with some of the most celebrated collections of oriental manuscripts in this country, e.g., the Oriental Library at Bankipore, the State Library at Rampur, etc. It is highly desirable in the interests of oriental scholarship that the authorities of the Panjab University should make special arrangements for the speedy and proper cataloguing of the University Collection, so that its valuable contents may be brought to the notice of the learned world as early as possible. Another part of the catalogue dealing with poetry is reported to be in the press; and it is hoped that other parts dealing with the remaining sections of the collection will soon follow.

The first collection of oriental manuscripts in this country to be catalogued methodically on modern scientific lines was the Oriental Library; at Bankipore, the printed catalogue of which already comprises about 30 volumes. Its lead has now been followed by the Panjab University Library; and we expect that other oriental libraries in India too will follow the worthy examples set by them. Mere hand-lists, however useful in their own way, cannot serve the purpose of scholars; the meagre information contained in them does not satisfy their natural curiosity for full, definite and really helpful data: it is more often tantalizing than satisfying. We take this opportunity to call the attention of the authorities of the Āsafiyya Library at Hyderabad and the Aligarh Muslim University to the urgent need of making adequate arrangements for the proper cataloguing of oriental manuscripts in their keeping. A large number of Arabic and Persian manuscripts is said to lie in closed coffers in the Library of the Aligarh University—unclassified, uncatalogued and untouched, accessible only to the destructive agencies of damp, dust, and insects. We think they could have mouldered as well in the possession of their donors; and we are afraid their transference within the walls of the Muslim University has not made the slightest difference in respect of their utility to the learned world.

Sh. I.

FOREIGN

Progress of Islam in Europe.

IN a paper, entitled the Muslim American Chaplain Letter, published from America and in the local newspapers, it is noticed that English and American gentlemen have increasingly embraced Islam, building mosques and bequeathing lands to make them centres of Islamic culture. Recently an Islamic Culture Society has been established in England. It aims to bring the British people in contact with Islamic culture and civilization. For this purpose the society is intending to publish a journal which will contain articles on Islam from the pen of eminent scholars

all over the world. Besides the Woking and Osmania mosques, foundations of new mosques in Cardiff and Muhammad Webb Memorial mosques in Lyons Valley, California, are being laid and British and American people are participating in this sacred movement with great enthusiasm and generosity. These news are received in the Muslim world with great satisfaction as it proves that Europe has begun to realize the importance and the high place which Islam occupies in the civilization of the world.

Muslims in European Balladry.

The influence of Islam on Europe has been very ably and critically discussed in *Legacy of Islam* (Oxford). But it has not taken into consideration the influence of Islam on oral literature, *i.e.*, ballad, folk-songs, etc., of Europe. Professor William and J. Entwistle wrote recently a splendid book on *European Balladry* (Oxford). Therein we find the Muslim Turks exerted an enormous influence on the Balkan group of ballads. It is a matter of regret that we cannot go direct to the original sources of these ballads. But all that we get from the perusal of Prof. Entwistle's marvellous book is the strong sense of hatred and fear that dominated these people subjugated by the Turks. Very often a Turk is synonym with a tyrant. The influence of Islam on troubadours like that of chivalry itself is definite and historical. I believe that enough has been done in these matters. May we not hope that a scholar or a group of scholars may take up a co-ordinated study of the influence of Islam on the oral literature of Europe? I may incidentally remark that the powerful pre-Islamic poems of Arabia are the excellent examples of Arabian balladry. These were chanted if not sung, to the willing audience of illiterate Arabia, from one corner to another. These Arabian poems were carefully preserved (to a great extent) by their composers and reciters (*rāwīs*). The minstrels of Europe and the reciters of Arabia did function in the same way. Further it may be suggested that the Muslim influence in Indian balladry may be of great value and interest to evaluate properly the place of Muslim culture in India.

Jābir ibn-Hayyān, contribution à l'histoire des idées scientifiques dans l'Islām, Vol. II, Jābir et la science grecque, Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte, No. 45, 1942, par P. Kraus.

Dr. Kraus, now of the University of Egypt, had published some years ago, the Arabic texts of several of the *Rasā'il* of Jābir. After years of labour, he has now completed his introduction to those texts, the second volume of which introduction has just reached India, the first being still in the press. The present is a thick folio volume of over 400 pages.

In the present volume, Prof. Kraus has studied the principal scientific ideas of Jābir and sought to trace their origin. Jābir is said to have been

a disciple of the Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq. He is reputed as an alchemist. Yet he has written on many other subjects, for instance medicine, astronomy, astrology, theurgy, mathematics, music, different branches of philosophy, in short all the ancient sciences as were studied by the Muslims.

The author has proved that in the alchemical theory, Jābir shows extraordinary advance over his precursors in the field of experimentation and systematisation, avoiding in a large measure symbolism and allegory. His classification of minerals, his analysis of properties, exposé of artificial generation of man, his cosmology, theory of balance and arithmology, and even his philosophy of language are all of unusual importance in the history of science. It has further been ascertained by Dr. Kraus that not all of the Jābirian science is based on Greek rudiments but on many things Eastern : Indian and may be even Chinese. No doubt, not all that is attributed to Jābir, can be genuine. Granting that they do not originate from the second century of Hijrah, as they claim to be, but of the fourth century as has been proposed by Dr. Kraus, their importance in the history of modern Western science cannot too much be emphasised.

The book would have been of wider use had it been written in English. It is a pity that not many of the Indian students of Islamic sciences would be able to avail themselves of this erudite monograph.

The Fortnightly Journal "Arabic Listener."

THE British Broadcasting Corporation is doing a very useful service to the Arabic language and literature by publishing a fortnightly Journal in Arabic, namely, *the Arabic Listener*. It is one of the best literary productions and contains speeches in Arabic delivered by eminent scholars of the East and West from the London Broadcasting Station. As these speeches are full of informations regarding the Arabs and their culture, we give below a résumé of its more important contents.

One of the series of lectures is on 'the Studies of Arabic Language in Great Britain' by Dr. Bernard Lewis. The Doctor points out that in the Middle Ages the Arab culture spread in Europe from Spain and Sicily where the Arabs established a flourishing civilization far in advance of anything to be found in Christian lands at that time. Even in the days that followed the European conquest of these lands, Christian kings continued to patronize Arab learning. They themselves spoke Arabic and supported Arab scholars. Arabic-speaking Christians and Jews in Spain and Sicily like Abraham b. Ezra of Toledo and Thomas Brown helped greatly in the dissemination of Arabic learning in the West. Briefly speaking it is shown in this speech that the learning of Arabic language in England was first taken up by an English philosopher Adelard of Bath who having learnt of the spread of Arabic language and culture in southern Spain during the heyday of Muslim power in that part of Europe, went to the University

of Cordova, where thousands of students flocked, to quench his thirst for knowledge. He translated many Arabic works on astronomy and mathematics and served as tutor to the future king Henry II. His chief work "*the Natural Questions*," is in the form of dialogue in which he lays emphasis on the superiority of the Arab method that places reason above authority. Similarly, Daniel of Morley, having dissatisfied with the Frankish Universities, went to Spain in quest of true knowledge and Michael Scot studied Arabic in Sicily and translated works of Aristotle from Arabic and also wrote books on astrology and alchemy. It was due to the influence of such students that the West came in contact with Muslim culture which finally changed its outlook. Even the great philosopher Roger Bacon and the poets Chaucer and Lydgate could not escape from the effect of prevailing Arab thought. However, the study of Arabic in the Cambridge University is said to have started from 1632 A.C. when a chair for Arabic was created at this centre of learning. Abraham Wheelocke (1593-1653) was the first to have occupied this chair and delivered lectures on Arabic in the Cambridge University. After Wheelocke, Edmund Castell became professor of Arabic in Cambridge in 1666. Prof. Castell compiled a lexicon in seven languages (i.e., Hebrew, Chaldean Syriac, Sumeri, Abyssinian, Arabic, and Persian). He also wrote on the value of Arabic studies, a commentary on Ibn-Sīnā and a volume of original poems in Arabic. Castell was succeeded by Simon Ockley (1678-1721). The first of his literary productions was *Introductio Linguas Orientales* (Introduction to the Study of the Eastern Languages), in which he encouraged English students to learn Eastern literature since it helped to understand the subjects of Divinity. He also published a work entitled 'Muslim Conquests of Syria, Persia and Egypt.' It was based on one of the MSS. of Bodleian Library and in 1708 he published his English translation of *Hayy ibn Yaqzān* which was later translated into Latin by the famous son of Pococke, the then Professor of Arabic at the Oxford University. Among the pioneering works of Ockley is a cultural and political history of Islam in three volumes. Cambridge University found another famous Professor of Arabic in the person of Samuel Lee (1783-1852) who published an English translation of *Rihlat* by Ibn-Batūta and a few books on the religious philosophy. Similarly the contributions of W. Wright and R. Smith to the study of Arabic literature were of great importance. W. Wright edited *Rihlat* by Ibn-Jubair and *Kāmil* by al-Mubarrad, and his Arabic grammar in two volumes is one of the indispensable books for the advanced students in English-speaking countries, and R. Smith published his scholarly researches on Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia and on Religion of the Semites.

The Oxford University did not lag behind the Cambridge University in its efforts towards promoting the cause of Arabic education. In 1636, Archbishop Laud, the then Chancellor of Oxford University, established a chair for Arabic and Edward Pococke (1604-1691) was the first to be

appointed to this post. The works he has left to us are : *Specimen of the History of the Arabs*, a critical edition of the classical Arabic poem *لامية العجم*, and a lecture on the importance of Arabic literature. His professor, William Bedwell (1561-1632) who is regarded as the father of Arabic studies in England, also wrote a very interesting article on the Importance of Arabic Language in which he pointed out that Arabic was the only medium of understanding the true spirit of this great religion, Islam ; he also emphasized the political importance as well as the scientific and literary value of this language. William Bedwell wrote also a lexicon in seven volumes containing Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldean and Arabic glossary. Among his printed works are mentioned *Studies on the Qur'ān* and a dictionary consisting of those Arabic words which were used in European languages from Byzantine times to his day. It is obvious from the above-mentioned facts that the study of Arabic language during this period was confined to philological researches, and it was realized at this time that study of Arabic would throw a new light on the Old Testament. But in the eighteenth century Arabic studies received a fresh impetus. Numerous translations made from Arabic and Persian impressed on the Western mind so much that the English poets and writers produced Tales on Oriental themes. This movement spread to the continents and influenced the Romantic revival. Thus Arabic studies continued to flourish and outstanding scholars like G. Sale, William Jones and J. L. Burckhard were born in this period. But it was in the nineteenth century that a step forward was taken in the Arabic studies. It was as if the debt owed to the medieval Arabs who brought Greek books to the West was being repaid. During this period a considerable literature on Islamic and Arabic learning was produced. Great scholars like, Hindley, E. W. Lane, E. H. Palmer, William Muir, etc., contributed remarkable researches to Arabic learning. From the time of the late Prof. Margoliouth Arabic and Islamic studies were made independent subjects of study in Oxford and the scope of these activities was further expanded in the School of Oriental and African Studies, which was affiliated to the London University in 1916 A.C. The First Director of this institution was the eminent Scholar, the late Sir Denison Ross whose literary productions in the field of oriental researches are too well-known to need introduction. We may refer here to the scholarly contributions made by Professors Bevan, Brown and Thomas Arnold, which are still being continued by erudite scholars such as Professors Nicholson, Storey, Krenkow and H. A. R. Gibb. To these literary and educational activities of the English Arabists may be added the valuable investigations and excavations of the English scholars which have now grown into an extensive literature and are known by the name of Assyriology which has brought to light many an unknown fact concerning the language, literature and culture of the ancient people of Iraq. Thanks to the good efforts of the B.B.C. a detailed information about the history of Arabic and Persian studies in England is now available in the revised form of

monographs written both in Arabic and English languages under the captions: '*British Contribution to (1) Arabic Studies, (2) Persian Studies.*'

'*The Oriental Studies in Holland*' is another series of lectures delivered by Prof. Von den Burg. It is pointed out that Arabic studies in Holland started in 1575 long before Europe came to realize the importance of Islamic studies. In 1590 Scaliger was appointed professor of Philology in the University of Leyden. He helped one of his pupils Erpenius to specialize in Arabic and eastern languages. Erpenius went to Paris and Vienna where he studied Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Abyssinian languages and then became professor of Arabic in the Leyden University. In 1613 Erpenius published an Arabic Grammar which was the first of its kind to have been published in Europe and which remained for a considerable period as the only source of Arabic study for the students of Arabic in Europe. His pupil Julius achieved still greater fame in oriental studies and compiled an Arabic-Latin Dictionary which served the orientalist for over two centuries until the Dictionary of Freytag appeared. From the time of Julius to that of his pupil Levin Warner, the University of Leyden remained one of the best centres of Arabic studies in Europe. The contributions of Holland to Arabic studies have been highly valuable. Adrian Reyland, one of the famous orientalist of Holland and a professor in the University of Utrecht, wrote important works on the geography of Palestine and on the Islamic Institutions. His literary productions are distinguished from his predecessors in their being free from biased and fanatical views against Islam. In the years that followed Reyland, eminent scholars were produced and they contributed a good deal to Arabic literature. Albert Shulten was the first orientalist of Holland who used Arabic as a means to understand the true sense of the Hebrew words the appropriate meanings of which have been forgotten in course of time, and were therefore translated variously in the different languages.

Dozy (1820-1883) was another orientalist of Holland whose *Arabic French Dictionary* and *Muslims in Spain* are monumental works of the age. Similarly, the efforts of De Goeje (1836-1909) in unearthing and publishing the Muslim antique lore had given a new impetus to the literary activities of the European orientalists. His first publication was a part of the book of Yā'qūbī which dealt with geographical description of the West. Besides a number of articles on different subjects of Islam which are published in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he also edited the voluminous history of at-Ṭabariy (*Tārikh-ul-Umam wal-Mulūk*). After De Goeje, his pupil and a great genius of the time, Snouck Hurgronje became professor of Arabic in the University of Leyden. In the time of S. Hurgronje, Holland saw the dawn of a new age in Arabic studies. Before him the famous quotation that 'East is East and West is West' had been accepted by almost all Europeans, but Hurgronje criticised this view vehemently and declared that there were certain common features between the West and Islamic World which could be brought together and closer relations between these two peoples might be established.

The *Arabic Listener* further contains a number of speeches delivered by Dr. Joseph Shacht. This German Orientalist knows, in addition to modern European languages, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Abyssinian, Syriac, Babylonian, Aramaic. He is an erudite scholar and a critic of great intellectual capacities. He has also specialized himself in Islamic jurisprudence and has published a number of articles and valuable books on this subject. Among his well-known works are :—

1. Information about the Eastern Libraries. It is written in German Language and consists of three parts.
2. A collection of the texts on Islamica which deals with a comprehensive history of Islamic religion. Besides these, he has published critical edition of the following books in Arabic :—
 1. *Kitāb-al-Hiyal* by Qazwīnī.
 2. *Multaqal-Abhur* by Halabī.
 3. *Ikhṭilāf-al-Fuqahā'* by aṭ-Ṭabariy.

For the last two years he has been broadcasting on the legal and political theories of Islam in contrast with those of Nazism. In these speeches he has very ably discussed the democratic principles of Islam as against the dictatorial ideology of Hitlerism. One of his leading talks is on Imām Aḥmad-ibn-Ḥanbal which he delivered on the occasion of His Majesty King Ibn-Sa'ūd's Jubilee. As His Majesty the King of Ḥijāz is also a leader of the Ḥanbalite school of Fiqh, it was an opportune moment to acquaint the listeners of the B.B.C. with the life and work of this great Imām. After giving a brief sketch of the Imām's life, Dr. Shacht points out the place which Imām Aḥmad occupies in the history of Islamic legislature. "Imām Aḥmad," he said, "formed a link between Imām Ash-Shāfa'ī, the Jurist on one hand and Imāms Bukhārī and Muslim, the Traditionists, on the other." "The fact is, he says, that Imām Aḥmad never intended to found a particular sect. It was a group of certain enthusiasts who gathered round him and made the Imām a leader of their sect of their own accord. Imām Aḥmad, however, achieved remarkable distinction chiefly in three branches of Islamic learning, namely, the tenets of Islamic religion, Tradition and Fiqh. So far as Islamic beliefs are concerned, Imām Ash'arī has agreed with all that Imām Hanbal has said about them. With regard to his knowledge of Holy Tradition (Ḥadīth) it is enough to say that his *Musnad* (a well-known work on Ḥadīth) was written long before the compilation of Bukhārī and Muslim. His particular interpretation of Islamic Jurisprudence may be gathered from his book—*Kitāb-al-Masā'il*, which was recently published in Ḥijāz from an old MS. written only 25 years after the death of Imām Aḥmad. Another edition of the same book based on a chain of transmitting authorities other than what the above quoted manuscript contains has been prepared by Dr. Shacht who intends to publish it after the war.

The various issues of *Arabic Listener* further contain important talks of great historical and cultural value on Muslims of China, Abyssinia,

Bologna, Russia, Yugoslavia, etc., which throw light on the cultural progress of these peoples and indicate that the Muslims all over the world have awakened. They are doing their utmost to realize their ideal but the economic and political factors are blocking their way towards the achievement of their goal.

Another important talk is given by Dr. Henry George Farmer (the famous orientalist who has specialized in Arabic music) on the '*Influence of the Arabs on the Spanish Music.*' Dr. Farmer in this speech points out that despite the fact that many orientalists of Europe today recognize the Arabic and Islamic contributions to the western civilization, there are still in Europe a few scholars like Bela Bartok and Kodaly who refuse to admit any Islamic influence on the western culture; the Spanish scholars like Pedrell and Falla have gone so far as to reject even the existence of the influence of the Arabs on the Spanish music. Dr. Farmer refutes all such false theories of the above-mentioned scholars on historical grounds. Dr. Farmer's reasoning is that Pedrell has made a mistake in claiming that the existing eastern tunes in Spanish music are of Byzantine origin as there is no evidence of the existence of the art of playing musical instrument or of the practical side of music during the Byzantine period. Nor are the musical theories of those days extant. In like manner Dr. Farmer finds fault with Falla's theory that no relation exists between eastern and western music. This theory, he says, is wrong because the particular tunes known by Cante Hondo, Cante Flamenco and the word Olé or (ليل) which are found in the Spanish song betray Arabic influence. Falla has again made a mistake in concluding that we owe these particular tunes to the influence of the Gipsies. It is wrong because

- (1) The Arabs conquered Spain long before the Gipsies entered it.
- (2) The position of the Gipsies in Europe was like the untouchables of India from social point of view. On the other hand the Arabs were conquerors and hence leaders of thought, art, and culture in Spain.
- (3) If the music of the Gipsies could influence the Spanish music, why did it fail with Italian and Bolonian tunes.

Arabic Listener further informs us that despite the difficulties created by war, scholars are as usual contributing to the oriental researches and the following works have been so far published:

1. القضاء العشائري في العراق , *The Tribal Laws in al-Iraq* (Arabic) by Shaiikh Fariq al-Muzhir 'Āl-u-Fir'aun (a member of the Iraq parliament). It deals with legal acts and all the agelong social practices and conventions prevalent among the tribes of Iraq. It further throws light on their mode of living, their customs, the evolution of their legal system and the British influences with which it was permeated between 1914-1931.

2. *Music: the Priceless Jewel*, edited and translated by Dr. Henry George Farmer. Dr. Farmer is one of the leading orientalisists of England, who has devoted his life to the study of eastern music in general and Arabic music in particular. In this work the author proves authoritatively that music is not unlawful thing in Islam. The author has spared no pains in translating Arabic musical terms which are by themselves highly valuable.

3. *The Moulids of Egypt* by J. W. Mcpherson. It describes the fairs and celebrations held annually in commemoration of famous saints and martyrs in Egypt.

4. *Unveiled Iran* by Angela Rodkin, an authoritative work on modern Iran and its cultural developments.

5. *India* by L. F. Rushbrook Williams.

6. *Modern India and the West* edited by L. S. S. O'Malley.

7. *India and Democracy* by Sir George Schuster and Guy Wint

8. *Middle East Window* by Hamphrey Bowman.

9. *Modern Iran* by L. P. Elwell-Sutton.

10. *Early Muslim Architecture* (Umayyads, early Abbasids, and Tulunids by K. A. C. Cresswell, Part II).

11. *Lectures on Philosophy* by 'Abdul-Karīm Az-Zanjānī, a philosopher of al-Iraq.

It is also mentioned that Taufīq al-Ḥakīm, a well-known novelist of modern Egypt, has recently depicted in words the lively pictures of 'the Dancer of the Church' (راقصة المعبد) and has also written 'A Bird from the East' (عصفور من الشرق), 'the Ass of a Philosopher' (حمارة الحكيم), 'Under the Sun of Meditation' (تحت شمس الفكر), 'the Strength of Love' (سلطان الغرام), etc.

In addition to the literary activities mentioned above, the B.B.C. has also organized a prize-competition in Arabic poetry. By so doing it has done a great service to classical Arabic as it is hoped that such poetical contests will, in the long run, establish literary Arabic which is being challenged in the very centres of Arabic culture by ever-increasing popularity of the colloquial dialect or slang. As was expected, this move seems to have been warmly received by the Arab world. A number of Arabic broadcasting stations such as Cairo, Quds, Baghdād, Bahrain, Aden, Khurṭūm have enthusiastically participated in this contest of verses. The candidates were to choose one of the following subjects for their poetical compositions :—

1. The Naval Warfare (الحرب البحرية).
2. The Democracy (الديموقراطية).

3. Pan-Arabism (وحدة العرب).
4. Virtues of Peace (نعيم السلام).

In order to be eligible for competition, the conditions were that the poems should be original, be written in standard literary Arabic and should not exceed thirty-one lines. Erudite scholars from all over the Arab world were selected to examine the poems submitted and to decide upon the best piece of poetry. The poem on *Pan-Arabism* composed by Muḥd. 'Abduh Ghānam of Aden won third place in the competition and *Naval Warfare* composed by 'Abdullāh b. 'Alī az-Zaid of Bahrain was placed second. The first prize was awarded to Muḥd. al-Asmar of Egypt who wrote on *Democracy* which begins with :

ثما الناس من تراب و ماء لبس فيهم من اصله من ضياء

Indeed ! mankind is made of earth and water ; there is no one whose origin can be traced back to light.

and ends with :

رب عم الفساد و الشر قابعت للمورى مسلحا من الصلحاء

O ! Providence ! chaos and evil have prevailed all over the world
So (pray !) send some reformer from among (your) holy messengers
(to reconstruct the world).

M. A. M.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE INDIAN MUGHALS, by Mr. 'Abdul-'Aziz, pp. i-xix+557+index; from the author, 79 Pooch Road, Lahore; price Rs. 8.

IT is a sign of the times that even those who are not directly connected with the teaching staff of any University are now taking a keen interest in the culture of Mediæval India. Mr. 'Abdul-'Aziz is a practising lawyer of Lahore and it is very creditable on his part to have devoted his valuable time in deep researches into the social structure of the Mughal empire. The book under review is one of a series which would finally contain works on such interesting topics as the Mughal court, the Mughal army, arms and jewellery, horses and elephants trappings, furniture, vessels and utensils, the imperial libraries at Agra and Delhi, court and camp, royal stables and menagerie. Recently works by such authors as the late Dr. Ibn-Hasan, Dr. Sir M. Raychaudhri, Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, have enriched our knowledge about what was perhaps one of the most magnificent and formative periods of Indian history, but they are all from the pens of university teachers, and we are indebted to Mr. 'Abdul-'Aziz for giving us the layman's view-point.

Mr. 'Abdul-'Aziz has divided his book into two unequal parts: Part I containing a description of cash treasury along with the sources of revenue, and Part II which forms the bulk of the work, from page 75 onwards, containing a description of the jewel treasury. This second part is divided

into an introduction and five main chapters on jewellers' weights, gems, and gemstones in Mughal history, precious stones and pearls (with sections on diamonds and other precious stones), semi-precious stones and other substances such as turquoise, coral, ivory, tortoise shell, etc., and the actual contents of the jewel treasury from Bābār to Nādir Shāh. The very contents show the sweep of the author's learning and his researches, and to some extent, unfold to us the grandeur that was the Mughal empire.

As mentioned in the Preface, the substance of the book was printed at intervals in the Journal of Indian History, Madras, and has now been published in a book form by the permission of the chief editor. It is perhaps for this reason that some of the tables which are interspersed in the body of the book, such as those on the Indian diamonds in the Mughal treasury (pp. 234-37), rubies in the Mughal treasury (pp. 290-99), pearls in the Mughal treasury, etc. (pp. 354-67) are in rather a haphazard manner in the body of the chapters, sometimes even beginning with an unfinished paragraph which is continued after the tables. It would perhaps have been better if references had been made to these tables in the body of the book and they had been added at the end as appendices.

We have often heard of the wealth of India in a general manner but it is only when we visualise the wealth of the Mughals in facts and figures that we realise its extent. The author quotes Hawkins that the daily expenses on the person of the emperor were Rs. 50,000 a day, that

on the occasion of princess Jahānārā's recovery from a long illness the emperor bestowed upon her 130 unboiled pearls costing five lakhs of rupees, that the Persian ambassador offered to Aurangzib at the time of the presentation of his credentials presents of the total value of Rs. 4,22,000 and that a few years later one of the nobles of the emperor made an offering of 280 pearls valued at more than a lakh of rupees. We also read that I'timādud-daula offered Shāh Jahān two pearls worth Rs. 30,000 and that the emperor Aurangzib presented Sāhuji, son of Sambhāji, on 21st Shawwāl 1117, a special robe of honour and two caskets, full of gems. This would give us some small measure of the wealth of Mughal empire.

This wealth was not utilised only for the vain glory or comfort of the emperor, for we are told how gold which was weighed against the person of the emperor according to the old Indian fashion on his birthday was expended in public works and distributed among the needy. It is said that nobody could vie with that upholder of Indo-Islamic culture, Shāh Jahān, in finding out with mathematical accuracy the worth of diamonds and rubies and other precious stones. The standards were so high that sometimes precious stones were returned to the person presenting them because they were not considered to be of the requisite standard, such as when some servants of the East India Company brought some pearls originally priced at £1,521-17-0 for being presented to Jahāngir, they were rejected by Āṣaf Khān, and on being offered to Muqarrab Khān they were disgraced in the king's presence by Āṣaf Khān himself for being his "refusals." Hawkins further relates how difficult it was on one occasion for the government lapidary to find a fowl diamond wherewith to make powder for cutting and polishing other diamonds. We are told that when a chest was brought to him, 3 cubits long and 1½ cubits broad and 1½ cubits deep, full of diamonds he could not find a single fowl stone in the lot, which must have weighed many many seers.

Some of the chapters of this book are very interesting and instructive. Thus,

for instance, in chapter 3, the learned author gives a list of diamonds which entered the Mughal treasury reign by reign from Akbar right up to the end of the empire. This chapter also contains a most interesting history pertaining to a number of diamonds which have been regarded off and on as the Kohinoor, a description running to nearly 35 pages.

The whole book makes an interesting reading even to the extent of the section on jewellers' weights which the author says is more or less dry and technical. Certain parts, however, might have been abridged if not entirely omitted, such as the section on "Fancy and Fact" about precious stones in general which has absolutely nothing to do either with the Indian Mughals or with their treasury but details of certain superstitions prevalent among the various nations of the world about different kinds of precious stones. The printing and general get-up is good but considering the standards attained by Indian printing houses it might have been better. The system of transliteration of Arabic and Persian words is detailed right at the commencement of the work but sometimes the printer has not paid enough attention to it. These details however do not minimise the great educative and cultural value of the work before us, as also certain misprints which occur in the text.

H. K. S.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD, by Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L., with a foreword by Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D. Litt; published under the auspices of the International Club, Calcutta; price Rs. 5.

"THE Constitution of a State," in the words of Bryce, "consists of those of its laws or rules which determine the form of its government and the respective rights and duties of it towards the citizens and of the citizens towards the government." And it is no denying

the fact that the aspirations and government of the people are best reflected in their constitutional experiments.

Books dealing with the constitutional developments of individual Muslim States have been published now and then. But so far to our knowledge the book under review is the first standard book which deals very ably with the constitutional developments in the Islamic world. This itself speaks of its great value.

The book is a most timely and valuable contribution, coming precisely at the moment when the Near East is the centre of conflict in the present world crisis. "The Near East," in the words of Dr. Nag, "is also the great causeway of conscious and unconscious collaboration between the East and the West, between Islam and Christianity." The racial passion," proceeds Dr. Nag, "is dominantly Islamic and the Islamic nations have naturally taken the lead in evolving some system of national living and administration in this chaotic quarter of a century (1914-1939)."

In his able introduction which runs into nine pages, the learned author gives a bird's eye view of the principles of Islam, the growth of the spirit of nationalism with a historical survey of pre- and post-war period.

The book has eight chapters covering Turkey, Egypt, the Sudan, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, Sa'ūdi Arabia, Palestine and Syria, while in the Appendix a short but interesting note appears on Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, Libya, Yemen, Transjordan, U.S.S.R., Dutch East Indies, China, and India. The Appendix supplies us material and information hitherto not available to the public. The select bibliography is exhaustive and complete in itself.

We are glad that the author has rightly taken up Turkey as the first topic of his thesis. In the first part of the chapter the author traces the growth of constitutional government from 1839 to 1918 and in the latter part the post-war Turkey.

In the history of Turkey there will always remain the period of three years 1919 to 1922 the most remarkable one.

Kemal drove out the Sultān, abolished the caliphate, fought and won the wars against the Greeks and drove them into sea. He bluffed Great Britain to a standstill at Chanak and negotiated through Ismet Pasha the treaty of Lausanne. He established the new frontiers on a basis that the wildest Turkish nationalists could not have dreamed possible. He wrote a republican constitution and created a parliament in his capital and became its first president.

To summarize the cardinal principles of the Turkish constitution, in the words of Mr. Atay, "Turkey is republican. Turkey is democratic." There is only one class in Turkey and that is the Turkish people.

"Turkey is centred in the State. The State can in the name of common (Etatism) interests guide, direct or control all economic, social, industrial and cultural institutions.

"Turkey is a secular State. Religion is separated from the (Laisism) function of State. However Kemalism respects the integrity and liberty of conscience. Every citizen is free to believe in and practise the religion of his own choice."

"Turkey is revolutionary." This means that Kemalist Turkey did not hesitate to cut itself free from even the strongest traditional influence when it was a question of executing social and administrative reforms judged to be necessary in the interest of the nation.

The author with his characteristic style opens the chapter on Egypt with these observations. He says, "the valley of the Blue Nile has ever been the realm of never-ending political vicissitudes." When Napoleon was asked in St. Helena, which was the most important country in the world, he replied with his characteristic swiftness that it was Egypt. How true are these words even to this day. For we know that whoever conquers Egypt masters the old world. The author traces the constitutional development step by step and brings it up to date. Then he takes up the Sudan, the neighbour of Egypt, dwelling at length on the validity of the convention of 1899 and

proceeds with the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of January 19, 1899 and 1936.

The Persian constitution is one of the most wonderful documents of the world. So saying the author pays tribute to the genius of Reza Shāh Pahlevi. Before Reza Shāh, Europe had Persian politics; today Iran has European politics. The author is right when he emphasises that the Persian politics deserves more careful attention than it has hitherto received in the East. Indeed the events of the last few months fully justify his opinion. The author briefly describes the history of the political evolution of Persia up to 1935 and then discusses in detail the Persian constitution.

With the bungling policy of Auckland, together with the masterly inactivity of Lawrence, the author covers much of the trodden ground of history of Afghanistan up to 1919. From pages 192 to 221 the reader will get a good treat of the constitution of Afghanistan.

Palestine and Syria remain still the problem of today and the author has given a fair note on them.

It would be futile to deal with the other chapters which are equally good.

We cannot help recalling the statement which several decades ago Curzon wrote: "Turkestan, Afghanistan, Transcaspian, Persia-- to me, they are the pieces of a chess-board upon which is being played out the game for the dominion of the world," and we may add, indeed in the year 1919 that imperialist vision was almost realized. Barring Turkey, even today Curzon's saying holds good.

In spite of the errata slip given at the close of the page, we still find a number of printer's slips.

Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh deserves our best compliments for the bold outspoken and courageous way in which he has placed before the general public an interesting, and reliable survey of public administration in the "new-yet-old" nations of the Near East. We are struck with the author's remarkably refreshing and non-technical treatment based on the scientific sifting of evidence and criticism available.

We cannot help repeating that this book is written with such verve and vigour as to fill the reviewer's mind with the desire to quote again and again. We recommend strongly these 326 richly documented pages which are packed full of dissertation on Constitution which no one solicitous for the future Muslim States can afford to overlook. The price is very meagre, i.e., Rs. 5 in spite of the abnormal rise in the cost of paper.

K. S. L.

KASHMIR : THE PLAYGROUND OF ASIA, by Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, D. Litt, Bar.-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, and Editor, the *Hindustan Review*; published by Messrs. Ram Narain Lal, 2, Katra Road, Allahabad; Demi 8vo.; pp. 345 + XII; binding boards and paper; price, Rs. 3-8-0.

THIS is "a handbook for visitors to the happy valley," and is frankly no more than a guide book. As such, it is certainly useful because it incorporates a good deal of useful information. The book is divided into five parts. The first part gives geographical data, archaeological and historical outlines and a description of the various handicrafts for which Kashmir is famous. Coming from a learned author as the book does, it might have had the archaeological and historical outlines a little fuller. At present there are four pages devoted to history and nine to the description of the more outstanding monuments from the point of view of the author. Three of the nine pages devoted to archaeology are taken up by tables of names, distances and methods of conveyance. It is curious that the author does not find a single Muslim mosque or shrine of sufficient interest or importance to be included in the six pages of the description of "important architectural monuments." The Jāmi'-Masjid, the mosque and shrine of the saint Hamdāni, various other mosques and tombs have been ignored. The interesting *khanqāh* of 'Aish Maqām, which has a most intricate system of central heating

dating back to several centuries has also, not been considered worthy of even casual notice.

In the four pages of history, exactly seventeen lines have been devoted to the period of Muslim rule. In these seventeen lines, it has been considered necessary to say that "the Hindus were persecuted Sikander, known even as butshikan, or the idol-breaker" and that "the Afghan rule was so oppressive that in 1819, the persecuted people called to their rescue Maharaja Ranjit Singh" The learned author might have spent a little time in investigating the truth of these facts. Of course not a word has been said about the misrule of the Sikhs or the Dogras. One would have felt a little more grateful to the author for giving the reader some insight into the millennium which followed in the wake of the Sikh and Dogra rule. The author's eulogy of the administration of the State is a little unconvincing after our knowledge of the discontent resulting in the Glancey Report, the recommendations of which have yet to be generally implemented. Even today, Kashmir is a backward area. The poverty of the people is an eyesore to the visitor. Malnutrition and disease are rampant in this veritable Paradise where all creation seems to be happy except the downtrodden people. The swift rivers jumping from cascade to cascade, the roaring mountain torrents and awe-inspiring water-falls could create sufficient energy to electrify the remotest

corner of Kashmir and even some areas outside the State, yet there is, the author points out towards the end of the book, a single out-of-date installation on the Jhelum which turns out a mere eighteen million units a year. Mysore consumes as much energy in a month. The army is still the preserve of the Dogras in spite of the fact that the Kashmiri possesses a fine physique. These are only a few facts taken from the book itself, to throw some light on the conditions prevailing at present. The sole object in mentioning them is that the author could have given the reader a more detached and correct view.

The second part gives information which is useful to travellers and tourists. The third part is descriptive and tells the reader something about the beauty spots of this wonderland. The fourth part is a directory giving useful data regarding hotels, shopping routes, etc. The last part is a good bibliography of English books relating to Kashmir. In the end there is a very full index which adds greatly to the value of the book.

There are thirty-three reproductions of photographic plates which add to the interest of the descriptions. The most surprising omission is that there is no map, though a map, or for that several maps, would seem to be the most obvious requirement in a work of this nature. The printing and the get-up are very poor.

I. H. Q.



[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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QANNAUJ

[An Enquiry into the Origin and Geographical Position of the City]

CERTAIN Arab travellers and authors of geography speak of the city of Qannauj, in Sind. Some authorities hold that there is only one Qannauj, which is situated in Oudh, near Cawnpore, in the district of Farrukhabad; that there was no other Qannauj in Sind, and that the mention of Qannauj in Sind by Arab travellers and authors of geography was due to a misunderstanding. Other authorities however are inclined to think that the Arab authors of geography can hardly be regarded as having committed mistake in view of the fact that Qannauj in Sind has been mentioned by them several times in an unambiguous manner.

After Mr. Elliot's compilation of *Extracts from Arab Geographies* was published, in which Qannauj in Sind is also mentioned, the European historians of India have also occasionally referred to it. This question however has not yet been settled. The difficulty was not cleared up in the scholarly article contributed by Mr. Vincent Smith to the *Journal* of the Bengal Asiatic Society in July 1908. He differentiates between the two and speaks of Qinnauj (with *i* and *nn*) in Sind and Qanauj in Oudh (with *a* and single *n*). In the *Bombay Gazetteer*, the historical description of Qannauj in Sind given by Arab authors has been mistaken for a description of Qannauj in Oudh. Mr. Rowtee pointed out this mistake in the *Gazetteer* in the article which he contributed to the *Journal* of the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1892.

Professor Dawson, in his commentary on Elliot's *History*, noticed this mistake but failed to probe the matter to its depth. I also was perplexed over this question when I was writing my book, *عرب و ہند کے تعلقات* (*Relations between India and Arabia*). From that time I was engaged in solving this problem, and my researches have now clarified the matter. All the relevant passages in which Qannauj has been mentioned in Arabic histories and geographies are reproduced below.

The following passage in the *Travels* of Abū-Zaid Sirāfi, written in
A—1

264 H./877 A.D., was mainly responsible for this misunderstanding :

“ Some people practise mesmerism and jugglery, and perform new tricks. These arts are specially practised in Qannauj, which is a big city in the kingdom of Jauz. ”

و قوم يظهرون التخييل و يبدعون فيها وذلك
بقنوج خاصة و هو بلد عظيم في مملكة الجوز .

He says that Qannauj was situated in ‘Jauz,’ but there was no such country as ‘Jauz.’ The text of this book with a translation in French was published in Paris in 1811 A.D., and the editor has pointed out that ‘Jauz’ (جوز) can also be read as ‘Juzar’ (جزر). The king of Juzar is repeatedly mentioned in the *Travel*, which suggests that the word (جوز) also is (جزر) and refers to the province of Gujrat.

Later on, *Bashshārī* Maqdisī in his *Travels*, احسن التقاسيم في معرفة الاقاليم written in 375 H., has mentioned Qannauj in connection with Sind. He writes about Qannauj :

“ Now the Muslims rule over this city. There is a cathedral mosque here and meat sells at a cheap rate.” Evidently this description does not apply to Qannauj situated in Oudh, and it suggests that there was another city bearing the same name in Sind also. Moreover it is also a suggestive fact that in *Chachnāma* (چچ نامہ), Qannauj is mentioned in connection with Muḥammad ibn-Qāsim’s conquest of Sind, anno 96 H. It is hard to believe that Muḥammed ibn Qāsim conquered Qannauj in Oudh, situated hundreds of miles away from Sind. Hence one is inclined to think that the Qannauj referred to might have been a small kingdom in Sind. But further research has now solved the difficulty.

Qannauj is mentioned at several places in *Futūḥ-us-Sind* (فتوح السند) by ‘Alī ibn Hāmid ibn Abī Bakr al-Kūfī, the Persian translation of which is known as *Chachnāma* (613 H.). The date of the compilation of *Futūḥ-us-Sind* is not known, but this much is certain that it was translated into Persian during the reign of Amīr-i-Qubācha, ruler of Sind, who was the rival of Sulṭān Iltutmish, in 613 H. The original Arabic text is not available, but the style of the translation, the mention of the chain of transmitters, and the fact that many Arabic verses are found in it, show that the original text was written in Arabic in olden days. The translator found the original book in the library of Ismā‘il ibn ‘Alī ibn Mūsā ath-Thaqafī, the Qādī of Uchh. Historical books of this type were compiled by Arab authors in the middle of the third century of Hijra or ninth century A.D. The author of *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān* Aḥmad al-Balādhurī, belonged to the same period. He died in 279 H.

Qannauj is mentioned three times in *Chachnāma*. The first reference occurs when the battle between Chach and his rival Ak’ham was

fought in Sind and Ak'ham sought the help of the Raja of Qannauj after his defeat.

“ Saiyār ibn Rāi Badal Rāi was, at that time, the ruler of India, i.e., Kannauj. Ak'ham sent his messengers and sought his help.”

و دران وقت ملك هندوستان يعنى كنوج سيار
بن راي بدل راي بود ، اكهم نوشتها فرستاد و ازو
مدد خواست .

[Page 19, Manuscript, Dārul-Muṣannifīn.

In this passage India stands for Qannauj. The Raja of Qannauj is regarded as the Raja of India.

There is another reference to Qannauj when the Raja of Sivasthān approaches the Raja of Qannauj as a fugitive.

“ Mehta, the Raja of Sivasthān, approached the Raja of Kannauj. At that time, India, Bārānsī and Kannauj were under the rule of Sepahras ibn Rāsāl.”

پس سهته ملك سيوستان بنزدیک شاه کنوج رفته
بود ، درون عهد ملك هندوستان بارانسی و کنوج
در تحت فرمان سپهرس بن راسل بود .

(Page 23).

Bārānsī stands for Benares and Kannauj for Qannauj. This passage is illuminating in so far as it shows what were the metropolitan cities situated in this kingdom.

The last reference to Qannauj occurs when, after the conquest of Sind, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī turned his attention to Qannauj in 92 H.

“ He sent Abū-Ḥalīm ash-Shai-bānī to Qannauj with an expeditionary force of ten thousand horse and instructed him to convey to the Raja of Qannauj the caliphal ukase to accept Islam or allegiance by paying tribute into the *Baitulmāl*. He himself with his army reached the village where Chach Sailāj, Dāhar's father, had planted the pine-tree, and departed from thence. This village is situated on the boundary of Kashmir, which is also known as ‘Panch Māhiyāt.’

پس ابو حلیم شیبانی را با ده هزار سوار بقتوج
فرستاد تا شمال دارالخلافت بدعوت اسلام و مال و
خزانه بیت المال بروی عرض دارد و باوی بیعت
کند ، و خود با لشکر بر سرحد کشمیر که پنج
ماهیات گویند بموضعی که پدر داهر چیچ سیلائج
درخت صنوبر یعنی بید را نهال کرده بود ، وداع
نموده بود آنجا رسید ، و آن حد را بتحدید تعیین
کردند ، رای قنوج در آن وقت جیتل رای بود
چون لشکر باورددها بر رسید ، ابو حلیم شیبانی
بفرمود تا زید بن عمرو الکلابی را بیاورند ، پس
گفت اے زید ترا برسالت هر چند جیتل بیاید رفت

The boundary line was demarcated here. At that time Jītal Rāi was the ruler of Qannauj. When the army reached the approaches to his kingdom Abū-Ḥalīm Shai-bānī sent Zaid ibn ‘Amr al-

Kilābī to Harchand Jītal to deliver the message of submission to or acceptance of Islam. Zaid told Harchand Jītal that all the kings in the territory extending from the vast expanse of the ocean to the boundary of Kashmir are under Muslim protection and have accepted the allegiance of Amīr 'Imādud-dīn (Muḥammad ibn Qāsim), the renowned warrior of the Arabs, and the terror of the unbelievers. Some of them have entered the fold of Islam and the rest have accepted the payment of tribute into the central treasury of the caliphal metropolis. Rāi Harchand replied: "We have been ruling over this kingdom for the last 1,600 years and nobody has dared to usurp any part of our country and to defy our rule. We are not afraid of you. Why do you indulge in such vain imaginings and tall talk?"

و فرمان مطاوعت اسلام بدیشان رسانید ، و گفت که از دریائے محیط تا حد کشمیر هر رای و ملوک که هست تحت اقدار و تمکین اسلام شد و امیر عبادالدین (محمد بن قاسم) را که لشکرکش عرب و قهرکننده کفار است مطاوعت نمودند ، و بعضی در ریفهٔ اسلام آمدند و باقی بر خود مال معین کردند تا بخزانہ دارالخلافت تسلیم کنند ، راے هرچند گفت و جواب داد که این ولایت قریب یک هزار و شش صد سال است که در ضبط و تصرف ما راست و در ایالت فرمان ما هیچ مخالفی را زهره نبوده است که در ذیل حدود ما را بسپردی و بایراهن محاصمت ما گشتی و دست تصرف و تعرض در مملکت ما زدی ، و از شما ما را چه نهب که این مقالات و محالات که در خاطر سی اندیشی .

(Page 101).

Elliot holds that the 'Panch Māhiyāt' mentioned in the above passage means "Panch mā'" or five rivers, which is generally regarded by the Arabs as the boundary of Kashmir.

It is clear from the above extracts that Qannauj was the seat of a powerful and independent State, that it was situated in India outside the boundaries of Sind, and that the boundaries of Sind and Qannauj met in the Punjab. It is also clear that even before Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī launched his attack on Sind, the kingdoms of Qannauj and Sind used to give military help to each other in times of crisis and the Rajas of Sind used to ask help from the Rajas of Qannauj. If we keep this fact in view, the question of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim's advance on Qannauj clarifies itself.

The following is a fuller extract from the *Travels* of Abū-Zaid as-Sirāfī (264 H./877 A.D.):—

"In India priests and savants are called Brahmins, and poets attend the courts of the Rajas.

وللهند عباد و اهل علم يعرفون بالبراهمة و شعراء يغشون الملوك و منجمون و فلاسفة و كهان

Astrologers, philosophers, soothsayers, augurs (with crows) and magicians are also found here. Some people practise mesmerism and jugglery and perform new tricks. These arts are specially practised in Qannauj which is a big city in the kingdom of 'Jauz.'

واهل زجر للغربان وغيرها وبها سحرة وقوم يظهرون
التخايل ويبدعون فيه و ذلك بقنوج خاصة و
هو بلد عظيم في مملكة الجوز .

(Page 127).

Bashshārī al-Maqdisī visited Multān and Sind in 375 H. In his *Travels* (احسن التقاسيم في معرفة الاقاليم) Qannauj is mentioned at four different places. Every mention of Qannauj is divergent from the other and adds new difficulties. He has divided the territory of Sind into five big provinces and has added Makrān as the sixth province. He writes :—

“From the side of Kirmān, Makrān is the first province of Sind, then comes Tūrān, then Sind, then Waihand, then Multān.”

فاولها من قبل كرمان مكران ثم طوران ثم
السند ثم ويهند ثم الملتان .

(Page 474, ed. Leiden).

In Shīrāz he met with a scholar who had toured India. He reproduces the following description of Qannauj which he heard from him :—

“As for Qannauj it is also a capital city. Qadār, Abār, Lahāra,¹ Bārad, Wujjain,² Auruha, Zahūhar, Barhīrava are cities in Qannauj.”

واما قنوج فانها القصبة ايضا ومن مدنها قدار،
ابار، لهاره، بارد، وجين، اورهه، زهوهر، برهيراوا .
(Page 477).

He gives the following description of Qannauj, situated between Waihand and Multān :—

“Qannauj is a big city. It is bounded by ramparts on all sides. There is plenty of water, and plenty of meat can be had in the city, which is surrounded by gardens. The inhabitants are beautiful, the water has health-giving properties, the city is spacious, trade is lucrative, everything to be had in the city is good, bananas are cheap, but fire breaks out in the

قنوج قصبة كبيرة لها روض مدينة بها لحوم
كثيرة وبياه غزيرة وبساطين محيطة ووجوه حسنة
وماء صحيح وبلد فسيح متجر ريح وكل صحيح ، و
موز رخيص الا انها كثيرة الحريق قليلة الدقيق ،
اكلهم الارز ولبسهم الازر ، بناء خسيس، وصيف

1. Lahore ?

2. Ujjain ?

city frequently. Flour is scarce ; their diet consists of rice, the *dhoti* is the common dress, houses are very ordinary, and it is very hot in summer. The mountain lies at a distance of 4 *Farsang* from the city. The cathedral mosque is within the rampart of the city. The river flows through the city. Wheat is the diet of the Muslims. Scholars and savants are found there."

بغيفض ، منها الى الجبال اربعة فراسخ ، و الجامع
في الر يرض والنهر يتخلل البلد ، اكثر طعام المسلمين
الحنطة و بها علماء و اجله .

(Page 480).

His last statement about Qannauj is below :—

"Hindus enjoy supremacy in Waihand and Qannauj. The Muslims have a king of their own."

و الغلبة بقتوج و و يهند للكفار و للمسلمين

سلطان على حدة

(Page 485).

It is known for certain that Waihand was situated between Qandhar and the river Sind at a distance of three stages to the south of Peshawar and was the capital of a kingdom. Sultān Maḥmūd conquered it in 392 H. after taking Peshawar (Gardēzī, page 66, ed. Berlin). *Bashshārī* places Qannauj after Waihand. He meant not the city but the kingdom of Qannauj, the frontiers of which extended as far as the Punjab, Sind, and Malwa. From among the names of the cities in Qannauj pointed out to *Bashshārī* by a tourist in *Shīrāz*, Wujjain does not present any difficulty for it evidently stands for Ujjain (Malwa). Another city, Auraha, presents some difficulty but in my opinion it is Audaha, the original name of the city known as Ajudhiya or Ayudhiya, which the Muslims called Oudh.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, it must be borne in mind that in India in old days capital cities possessed very great importance and the kingdoms were known either by the names of their capital cities or by the names of the ruling dynasties. Examples can easily be cited from history and even now practically all the Indian States are known by the names of their capital cities. In British administered areas, Madras, Bombay, and Bihar are cases in point, where the whole provinces are known by the name of their capital cities.

We must also bear in mind that *Bashshārī* is a very scrupulous and conscientious author. When he wrote his *Travels*, he took great care to give an exact description of things and events. He is careful to state that although he has collected and verified the information received through various sources, he does not take responsibility for the correctness

of the descriptions regarding India. He says :—

“I do not accept the same responsibility about the descriptions given regarding it (India) as I accept regarding other countries. I have described only its big cities and I have refrained from giving a detailed description. I have kept the traditions of the prophet in view :

ومع هذا فلا اضمن من وصفه ما اضمن من غيره
ولا اصف الا امصاره ولا استقصى في شرحه لما روى
كفى بالمرء كذبا ان يحدث بكل ما سمع، ولقوله صلعم
ليس الخبر كالمعاينة ولولا خشية ان يختل هذا
الاصل وبيتى من الاسلام صدر لارضنا من الكلام
فيه .

(a) ‘It is enough for a man to be regarded as a liar, if he repeats all that he hears.’

(b) ‘Something heard should not be given the same credence as something seen.’

Travels of Bashshāri

(Page 475).

If I were not afraid that the ideal which I had kept in view—the description of all the Islamic countries would not be realised, I should not have given any description regarding it (India).”

He admits that the geographical description of India has either been copied from the geography by al-Iṣṭakhārī al-Fārsī (page 475) or has been based on what he heard or enquired from travellers. Hence his description of the location of Qannauj is not reliable.

But it is certain that at the end of the third century of the Hijra Arab navigators were aware of the existence of Qannauj. Buzurg ibn Shahrīyār, the sailor, who belongs to the closing period of the third century of the Hijra, speaks of Qannauj and says that he heard from an Arab traveller that :—

“In Qannauj, a city in India, some persons place a nut between their teeth and press it with such force that it cracks.”

ان يتوج من بلدان الهند من تاخذ الفوفلة
بين شفرها فتكسرهما قطعا من شدة ما تضغطها .

(‘Ajā’ib-ul-Hind, page 6).

In 300 H. Mas’ūdī visited India. Since in those days the kingdom of Qannauj extended as far as Sind, Mas’ūdī has committed the mistake of including the Raja of Qannauj among the Rajas of Sind, but otherwise his descriptions of Qannauj are correct and remove many misunderstandings.

Mas'ūdī has mentioned Qannauj at three places. The first reference to Qannauj occurs in chapter 7, page 178 :—

“ From among the Rajas in India, Bōra, the Raja of Qannauj (whose kingdom has no access to the sea) is the rival of Balharā (Vallabhrāi). Bōra is the common title of all the Rajas who rule over this kingdom. He has stationed forces for the protection of his kingdom in almost every direction, east, west, north, south, as he is liable to be attacked from almost every side by his enemies.”

ويناويه (بلهرا) من ملوك الهند ممن لا يجرله بوره
صاحب مدينة قنوج وهذا الاسم سمة لكل ملك يلي
هذه المملكة وله جيوش مرتبة على الشمال والجنوب
والصبا والدبور لانه من كل وجه من هذه الوجوه
يلقاه ملك محارب له .

(Leiden Edition).

Bōra may be the Arabic rendering of Bhōjrāi, which became the common title of the Rajas of Qannauj after the death of the famous Raja Bhōjrāi.

Mas'ūdī again mentions Qannauj (page 372, first volume, Leiden ed.). He says :—

“ From among the Rajas of Sind there is a Raja of Qannauj called Bōra. Bōra is the common title of all the Rajas of Qannauj. Here there is a city which is called Bōra after the name of the Rajas. It is now under Muslim rule and forms part of the province of Multan. From this city issues one of the rivers which, when they meet, give rise to the river Sind..... Bōra, the Raja of Qannauj, is the enemy of Balhara, the Raja of India.”

ملك قنوج من ملوك السند بوره وهذا اسم كل
ملك يلي القنوج وههنا مدينة يقال لها بوره باسم
ملوكهم وقد صارت اليوم في حيز الاسلام وهى من
اعمال ملتان ومن هذه المدينة يخرج احد الانهار
التي اذا اجتمعت كانت نهر سهران السند
وبوره هذا الذى هو ملك القنوج هو ضد البلهرى
ملك الهند .

It is clear from the above passage that the kingdom of Qannauj extended up to Sind ; and according to Mas'ūdī, the territory of Sind extended up to Kashmir (page 373). This means that the territory of the Punjab was also included in Sind. He further says that here, i.e., near Sind, there was a city called Bhōjrāi after the name of the Raja Bhōjrāi, and that this city was situated at the mouth of one of the rivers which when they meet give rise to the river Sind. All the five rivers are found in the Punjab. From this it is clear that the city was situated somewhere on the banks of the Sutlej, which constituted a natural boundary-line between the Punjab and India proper, and that it may have been, in this direction,

the last city of the kingdom of Qannauj or Bhōjrāi ; and hence may have been called Bhōjrāi after the name of the ruling dynasty, or Qannauj after the name of the kingdom in which it was situated, just as almost every city in our Indian States (Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Bhopal, Rampur, etc.) bears the name either of the ruler or of the capital city. This solves the difficulty caused by *Bashshārī al-Maqdisī's* statement that Qannauj is one of the cities of Sind. Moreover as, according to Mas'ūdī, Qannauj formed part of the Muslim province of Multan in 300 H., it becomes intelligible, as *Bashshārī al-Maqdisī* has stated, that there was a cathedral mosque at Qannauj and that there was a Muslim population in the city and plenty of meat could be had there.

Another statement by Mas'ūdī supports my view. Regarding the boundaries of Qannauj he says :—

“ The extent of the kingdom of Bōra or Qannauj can be gathered from the fact that it was 120 Sindi *farsang* in length and 120 Sindi *farsang* in width. One *farsang* is equivalent to 8 miles. This Raja, who has already been mentioned in the preceding pages, has stationed four armies in the eastern, western, northern, and southern provinces of his kingdom. The strength of each army was 7,00,000 and according to another estimate 9,00,000. With the army stationed in the north he wages war on the ruler of Multan and his Muslim supporters in this border territory ; and with the army in the south he fights with Vallbharāi, the Raja of Mānhēr. With the remaining armies he meets attack from any other quarter. It is said that in his kingdom the cities, towns, and villages which have been numbered are 1,800,000. They are situated in forests, on the banks of rivers, in the valleys of mountains, and in fertile plains.”

فاما مملكة بوره هو ملك القنوج فان مسافة مملكته
 نحو من عشرين ومائة فرسخ في مثلها فراسخ سنديه
 الفرسخ ثمانية اميال بهند الميل وهذا الملك الذي
 قدمنا ذكره فيما سلف ان لها جيوشا اربعة على مهاب
 الرياح الاربع ، كل جيش سبع مائة الف وقيل تسع
 مائة الف فتحارب بجيش الشمال صاحب المولتان و
 من معه في ذلك الثغرين المسلمين ويحارب بجيش
 الجنوب البلهري ملك الهانكبير وبالجيوش الباقية
 من يلقاه من كل وجه من الملوك و يقال ان ملكه
 يحيط في مقدار ما ذكرنا من المسافة من المدن والقرى
 والضياء ما يدركه الاحصاء والعدد الف الف و
 ثمانمائة الف قرية بين اشجار وانهار وجبال ومروج .

(Page 374).

It is certain that Balharā means Vallābhrāi, the Raja of northern Gujrat and Kathiawar ; and Mānkēr, which was once identified with Mahanagar and is now taken to be Mānkhēd, was the capital city of Vallābhrāi's kingdom situated near the modern Poona. Now we know what

were the two boundaries of the kingdom of Qannauj described by Arab travellers ; in the north it extended up to the boundaries of the kingdom of Multan and in the south to the boundaries of the kingdom of Valābhrāi. 1,800,000 cities and villages were situated in this vast kingdom, in which forests, mountains, rivers, and fertile plains were found.

Ibn-Hauqal of Baghdad, the famous traveller, belongs to the same period. He began his travels from Baghdad in 331 H./943 A.D. and came to India. In his book he mentions Qannauj at four places : pages 14, 16, 227, 286.

Of the Arab travellers and authors of geography he is the first person to mention Qannauj as the capital of India. On pages 14 and 16 he has described the length and breadth of India and has shown that the length of India extends from Makrān (Baluchistan) through Manṣūra (Sind) to Qannauj and then from Qannauj to Tibet, a distance requiring a journey of 4 months.

It is clear from this description that the city of Qannauj was situated at a distance of several months' journey from Makrān (Baluchistan) in the direction of the Himalayas and Tibet. It is also clear that this city was not situated in Sind. The conclusion therefore cannot be resisted that this Qannauj is the city which we know, situated at nearly the distance mentioned above.

The third reference to Qannauj occurs on page 227 of Ibn-Hauqal's book. He says :—

“These are the cities of India which I came to know, and besides them there are cities situated in the interior, like Farzān and Qannauj, in the midst of forests and deserts. Like Lamṭa they are situated in distant and remote places, where only local inhabitants can go. They are inaccessible to traders, as those who venture to go there have to face great difficulties.”

وهذه مدن الهند التي عرفتها ولها بواطن و
اماكن كفرزان و قنوج في المناور و هي كالمطة
دادهشت في اقطار نائية و اماكن سحيقة لا يصل
اليها تاجر الا من اهلها لانتقطاعها وكثرة الافات
المقتطعة لقاصدها .

This shows that Qannauj was situated at a great distance from Sind. In order to reach this city forest regions and deserts had to be crossed and hence it was inaccessible to the Muslim trader.

The last reference to Qannauj occurs on page 286 of Ibn-Hauqal's book.

Al-Iṣṭakhrī visited India in 340 H. In his book 'Masālik-wal-Mamālik,' he has plagiarised the writings of his contemporaries and predecessors. He has, to a very great extent, borrowed the description of Qannauj from Ibn-Hauqal. He mentions Qannauj twice. In connection with

the famous capital cities of the kingdoms of the world, he speaks of Qannauj and says :—

“And the kingdom of India is called after the Raja who resides in Qannauj.”
 و مملكة الهند منسوبة الى الملك المقيم بقنوج .
 (Page 9, Leiden).

This shows that the kingdom of Qannauj was so important that it alone was mentioned as the capital of the Indian empire. Further on, the author describes the distance and extent of the various countries of the world. In this connection, he mentions India and says :—

“The length of the territory of India extends from the province of Makrān in Sind and Budha through all the cities of Sind, to Qannauj, and then further on to Tibet. This distance requires a journey of four months. Its width extends from the Persian Gulf to Qannauj, a distance requiring a journey of three months.”
 و امارض الهند فان طولها من عمل مكران في
 ارض المنصورة والبدهة و سائر بلاد السند الى
 ان تنتهي الى قنوج ثم تجوزه الى ارض التبت نحو من
 اربعة اشهر و عرضها من بحر فارس على ارض قنوج
 نحو من ثلاثة اشهر.
 (Page 11).

This is in fact a reproduction of Ibn-Hauqal's description. The distance of Qannauj mentioned by Ibn-Hauqal is exactly the same as that given above.

In 373 H., a geography of the world, (حدود العالم من المشرق الى المغرب , *the Boundaries of the World from the East to the West*) was compiled in Persian by an author, at a place called Gözganān, in Turkistān, near Fāryāb. This book was published in Leningrad in 1930 A.D. and was reprinted in Tehran in 1352 H. The latter edition is before me. This book contains some new information about the cities in the North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab. The name of the author is not known. As there was an uninterrupted flow of trade between India and Turkistān, the author must have gathered this information from the traders.

To my knowledge, it is the first book in which the names of Jallandher and Lahore are mentioned, and in this book some new information is given about Qannauj. The author mentions the names of the cities in Kathiawar and Gujrat and says :—

“The king Balharā rules over all these cities. Next to him is the king of Qannauj. . . Qannauj is a big city. The Raja of Qannauj resides here. Most of the Rajas of India own allegiance to him. He does not regard anybody as greater than
 و اندرين همه بادشاه بلهرايست و از پس
 پادشاه قنوج است قنوج شهرے بزرگ
 است و مستقر رائے قنوج است و بیشتر از ملوک
 هند طاعت او دارند ، و اين راى مهتر از خويشتن

himself. It is said that he has 800 elephants and an army of 150 thousand horse ready for war."

"Lahaur (Lahore) is a very spacious city. The Sultān of Lahaur owns allegiance to the Amīr of Multan. There are bazaars and temples in Lahaur. *Chilghouza*, almonds, and nutmegs are plentiful. The population consists of idol-worshippers and there are no Muslims in the city. Rāmyān is a city situated on the top of a big hill. In this city a few Muslims are to be found who are called Sālhārī. The rest of the population consists of idol-worshippers. Many slaves and much Indian merchandise are imported into the city. The king of this city is under the Amīr of Multan. Jallandher is a city situated on the top of a mountain. It is cold. In Jallandher velvet and cloth, plain as well as decorated, are abundant. The distance between Rāmyān and Jallandher requires a journey of five days. All along the roads myrobalan, belleric myrobalan and *āmla* trees and medicinal herbs abound, which are exported to all the countries. This city is situated within the boundaries of the Raja of Qannauj. Salāpūr is a big city. It is a centre of trade. Commodities are sold and bought in the market-places by the traders. It is within the kingdom of the Raja of Qannauj. They have many coins of different size and weight which serve as the medium of exchange. There are many temples in the city and men of wisdom among them are Brahmins.

کس را نه بیند و گویند که اورا صد و پنجاه هزار سواراست، وهشت صد پیل که بروز حرب برنشیند (Page 43).

لهور شهرست با ناحیت بسیار و سلطاناش از دست امیر ملتانست و اندرو بازارها و بتخانها است، و اندرو چلغوزه و بادام و جوز هندی بسیار است، و همه بت پرستند و اندروی هیچ مسلمان نیست، رامیان شهرست بر سر تله عظیم، و اندروی اندک مسلمانان و ایشان را سالهاری خوانند، و دیگر همه بت پرستانند و آنجا برده هند و جهاز هندوستان افتد بسیار و سلطان وی از قبیل امیر مولتانست جالندهر شهرست بر سر کوه اندر سرد سیر، و ازو مخمل و جاسه بسیار خیزد ساده و منقش و اندر رامیان و جالهندر پنج روزه راه است، و همه راه درختان هلیله و بلبله و آمله و داروها است که همه جهان به برند و این شهر از حدود رای قنوج است، سلاپور شهرست بزرگ با بازارها و بازارگانان و خواستها و بادشای از آن رای قنوج است، و در سهامه ایشان گوناگون است که دادوستد شان براوست، و هر یکی را وزنی دیگر است، و اندر او بتخانها بسیار است و دانشمندان ایشان برهن

Brahmayūn is a city like a camp. Big fairs are held for four days every year. It is not far from Qannauj and is situated within the boundaries of the kingdom of Qannauj. There are 300 temples in this city. There is a spring in the city about which it is said that whoever bathes in it enjoys immunity from all troubles. When the head of a family dies all the junior members whom he used to support and maintain commit suicide. The king of the city sits in the Palankeen which is carried on the shoulders of the people wherever he may desire to go. The distance between this city and Tibet requires a journey of five days. It is full of valleys difficult to negotiate.

Haitāl is a small kingdom near Qannauj. It is separated from Qannauj by a big mountain. The kingdom is small but the people are warlike and bellicose. Its ruler owns allegiance to some of the surrounding kings and is at enmity with the Raja of Qannauj. Darhand (Waihand?) is a big city. Haiyāl (Jaipāl, جیپال) the ruler of this city, owns allegiance to the Raja of Qannauj. There are very few Muslims here. Kashmir is a grand city where luxuries abound. Many traders are found here. Kashmir is under the rule of the Raja of Qannauj.

Darhand (Waihand?) is a big city. Jaipāl, the ruler of this city, owns allegiance to the Raja of Qannauj. There are very few Muslims here. Merchandise from India—musk, pearls, and costly clothes—is imported into this place.

اند برهمیون شهرست چورباطی
 وهرسالے اندرو چهار روز بازار تیز باشد و از انجا
 بقنوج نزدیک است و حدود رایست و اندرو سی صد
 بتخانه است و اندرو آییست که گویند که هر که
 خویشتن را بدان آب بشوید هیچ آفتش نرسد و
 هر که که سہترے از ایشان بمیرد همه کہتری
 کہ اندر سایه او باشند خویشتن بکشند بادشاہ
 این شہر بر تخت نشیند و ہر جا کہ رود آن تخت
 را برکتفہای برند بسی مرد تا آنجا کہ او خواهد ،
 میان این شہر و تبت مقدار پنج روزہ راہ است اندر
 عقبہای سخت . ہیتال نا حیتیت نزدیک قنوج
 میان شان کویست عظیم و ناحیتے خورد است و
 لیکن مرد مان جنگی و مبارز و بادشاہی او از
 ملوک اطرافست و میان رای قنوج دشمنیت . . .
 در ہند (ویہند؟) شہرے بزرگ است و بادشاہ وی
 جیپال است . و این جیپال اندر طاعت رائے قنوج
 است و اندرو مسلمان اند اندک کشمیر شہری
 بزرگست و بانعمت و بازارگان بسیار و بادشاہ وی
 رای قنوج است .

در ہند (ویہند؟) شہر بزرگست و بادشاہی وی
 جیپال (جیپال) است و این جیپال اندر طاعت رای
 قنوج است و اندرو مسلمان اند اندک، وجہاز ہای
 ہندوستان بیشتر بدین ناحیت افتد از مشک و گوہر
 و جامہائی با قیمت ، کشمیر شہری بزرگست و
 بازارگان بسیار و بادشاہ وی رائے قنوج است .

Kashmir is a big city. Traders abound here. It forms part of the kingdom of Qannauj. There are many temples in Kashmir. The Hindus pay visits to these temples.

واندروی بتخانهای بسیار است که هندوان آنجا
بزیارت آیند .

(*Hudūdul 'Ālām, Tehran,*
Pages 43 to 46)

The above extracts from *Hudūdul-'Ālām* prove that in those days, i.e., in 373 H., the kingdom of Qannauj extended down to the boundaries of the kingdom of Vallabhrāi in the south, and that in the north, the boundary line of Qannauj ended in Waihand after passing through Jallandher, leaving out Lahore and including Kashmir and the modern cities of the North-West Frontier Province. The Hindu Raja of Lahore in those days owned allegiance to the ruler of Multan. The boundaries of Qannauj and Sind met in the Punjab. Excepting this city, there was no other Qannauj. The sacred river which is mentioned in connection with Qannauj is certainly the Ganges, on the banks of which it was situated.

Al-Muhallabī, who was a minister in the Fāṭimid kingdom of Egypt wrote a book on geography entitled '*Azīzī*' in 386 H. or thereabouts. As in those days the states of Sind had come under the influence of the Fāṭimid kings of Egypt and there was a regular contact between Sind and Egypt through the exchange of envoys, al-Muhallabī was in a position to know everything about Qannauj. He says:—

“Qannauj is one of the remotest cities of India. It lies to the east of Multān. There is a distance of 282 *Farsangs* between Multān and Qannauj. It is the capital of India and the biggest city in India. People have indulged in exaggerated descriptions of the conditions obtaining in Qannauj. It is said that there are 300 jewellery marts in Qannauj, the Raja possesses 2,500 elephants, and mines of gold are also found there.”¹

Then the Ghaznavid period begins, and India is subjected to successive attacks by Subuktagīn and Maḥmūd of Ghazna. In the historical descriptions of this period, the name of the famous city of Qannauj in Oudh occurs repeatedly, but there is no reference to any city of the name of Qannauj either in the Punjab or Sind. The city of Qannauj in Oudh was conquered by Maḥmūd in 410 H. Abū Raiḥān al-Bērūnī, a contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, has repeatedly mentioned Qannauj in his book *Kitāb-ul-Hind*, and he knew well which city was meant and where it was situated.

On page 11, he mentions Muḥammad ibn Qāsim's expedition to Qannauj and says:—

“Muḥammad ibn Qāsim entered into the land of Sind from the side of Seistan and conquered the city of Bamahnava and named it

لما دخل محمد بن قاسم ارض السند من نواحی
سجستان وافتتح بلد بمهنو و سباه منصوره و بلد

1. *Taqwīm-ul-Buldān* by Abul-Fidā, p. 360 (ed. Paris).

'Manṣūra.' He conquered Multān and named it Ma'mūra. He went as far as Kannauj among the cities of India and reached the boundaries of Qandhār and Kashmīr."

مولتان و سہ ماہ معمرہ و اوغل فی بلاد الہند الی مدینۃ
کنوج و وطی ارض القندھار و حدود کشمیر .

It is clear from this that he means the same Kannauj or Qannauj which he has repeatedly mentioned in his book.

On page 82 he says :

"Then is Middēsh, the middle kingdom, which consists of cities situated around Kannauj on every side. It is also known as Arjā Farat (Aryavarat)."

ثم يستعمل فی مددیش یعنی واسطۃ المملکۃ
وہی ما حول کنوج فی جہاتہ ویسمی ایضاً
ار جافرت .

On page 97, he says :

"It is called Middēsh, or the middle kingdom, on account of its geographical situation. It is situated between the sea and the mountain, between hot and cold countries, and at the centre of its eastern and western boundaries. Kannauj is an important kingdom and is the seat of mighty and powerful Rajas. The city of Kannauj is situated on the western bank of the river Ganges but at present the greater part of it is uninhabited and deserted, as the capital has been removed to the city of Bāri situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges. Between these two cities there is a distance of three to four days' journey."

ویسمونها مددیش اے واسطۃ الممالک وذلك
من جہۃ المکان لانہا بین البحر والجبل وفیما بین
الجروم والصرود وفیما حدیثا المشرق والمغربی ومن
جہۃ الملک فقد کان کنوج مسکن عظیمائهم الجبارۃ
او الفراعنۃ وبلد کنوج موضوع
علی غرب نہر گنگ کبیر جدا و اکثرہ الان خراب
معطل لزوال مستقر الملک عنہ الی بلد باری وھو فی
شرق گنگ و بینہا مسیرۃ ثلاثۃ ایام او اربعۃ .

It is clear from the above description that the kingdom of Qannauj was called 'Middēsh' or the middle kingdom. It was also called Arjā Farat, i.e., Aryavarat. The city of Qannauj was situated on the western bank of the Ganges, and was at that time in a devastated condition after the conquest of the city by Maḥmūd.

The kings of Ghazna launched their campaigns against the Rajas of India in 367 H. It was in this year that Subuktagīn attacked the border cities of India and came into contact with the rulers of the Shāhiya dynasty. Maḥmūd, the son of Subuktagīn, put an end to the Shāhiya dynasty by defeating the combined forces of the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalīar, Kalanjar,

Delhi, Ajmer, and Qannauj, and a few years later, in 409 H., reached Qannauj. The Raja of Qannauj made peace with him and removed his capital from Qannauj to the eastern bank of the Ganges, where he laid the foundation of a new city called Bāri. In his book *Al-Farq Bain al-Firāq*, the learned Muslim author, 'Abdul-Qādir al-Baghḏādī, who belonged to this period (d. 429 H.), writes with a sense of satisfaction, "By the grace of God, Muslim rule now extends from Lamghān to Qannauj."

(Page 273).

Some of our authors regard Qannauj as a very ancient city. They hold that it existed at the time when Alexander attacked India and that Porus, who fought with Alexander, was the Raja of this city. Niẓāmī in his *Sikandernāma* says :

"I will go to (?) Qannauj in the direction of Khūr. May God bless me in that distant and remote journey."

بقنوح خواهم شدن سوے خور

خدا یار بودم درآن راه دور

As a matter of fact, Qannauj did not exist at the time of Alexander's conquest. It had, however, become the centre of India again during the days of Niẓāmī. *Sikandernāma* was written in 584 H. Six years later, *Shihābuddīn Ghōrī* reconquered it (590 H.).

Those who are conversant with the history of Qannauj know that Qannauj has passed through three different periods. In the sixth century A.D., Qannauj is mentioned for the first time in history. The famous Raja of Qannauj, Harsha, who reigned from 606 A.D. to 647 A.D., was the most powerful Buddhist Raja of Northern India.

Muḥammad ibn Qāsīm attacked Sind in 92 H./710 A.D. and by 712 A.D. he had occupied the whole country. The Raja of Qannauj to whom Muḥammad ibn Qāsīm sent a message threatening invasion may have been one of the descendants of Raja Harsha. The names of some of the Rajas who ruled over Qannauj during this period are mentioned in the *Chachnāma*.

1. Saiyār ibn Rāi Badalrāi سیار بن بدل رای 2. Sephras ibn Rāsāl
3. Harchand Chītralrāi هر چند چیتل رای 3. سپهرس بن راسل

Muḥammad ibn Qāsīm had sent a message to the last-mentioned Raja, Chītralrāi, inviting him to embrace Islam.

The names of the descendants of Raja Harsha are lost to Indian history. The above-mentioned names can be used for filling up this gap. The identity of these names, however, remains to be established. Afterwards Nāgbhaṭ, the Raja of the Gurjarparthār community of Bhailmāl, conquered Qannauj in 816 A.D. or thereabouts. His descendants ruled over this kingdom for several centuries. His grandson Bhōjrāi ruled over

Qannauj from 840 to 890 A.D./225 to 277 H.¹ Bhōjrāi is the same Raja whom the Arabs called Bōra.

There are two readings of the sentence which Abū-Zaid Sīrāfī (who was alive in 264 H./877 A.D.), wrote about Qannauj in his travels :

1. It is a big city in the kingdom of *Jauz*. وهو بلد عظيم في مملكة الجوز
2. It is a big city in the kingdom of *Juzur*. وهو بلد عظيم في مملكة الجزر

In the opinion of a scholar the first reading should be adopted and *Jauz* (الجوز) should be regarded as the Arabic rendering of Bhōj (البحوز), who was at that time the ruler of Qannauj. In my opinion, if the second reading is adopted and *Juzur* (جزر) is taken as the Arabic rendering of Gujar, it can also be regarded as correct, because as we have mentioned above, this Raja belonged to the Gurjarparthār community.

Mas'ūdī (300 H./912 A.D.) called the Raja of Qannauj Bōra, *i.e.*, Bhōjrāi. Bhōj I was succeeded by Mahēndarpāl who was in turn succeeded by his eldest son Bhōj II, who ruled for a few years and was succeeded in 910 A.D. by Hemapāl who ruled from 910 A.D. to 940 A.D. But Bhōjrāi was the common title given by the Arabs to all these Rajas.

Rājyapāl, the Raja of Qannauj, who had to face Sultān Maḥmūd's onslaught, belonged to the same dynasty. The name of this Raja is given by 'Utbī as Rāi Jaichāl² which is wrong. His correct name was Rājyapāl.

The dynasty of these Gurjarparthār Rajas of Qannauj came to an end a little before 1090 A.D., when Chander Dev, the Raja of the Ghadwād clan, conquered Qannauj and established a new kingdom. Sultān Shihābuddīn Ghōrī attacked and conquered Qannauj in 590 H./1194 A.D. The Raja who ruled over Qannauj at that time belonged to the same Ghadwād dynasty. After the conquest of Shihābuddīn Ghōrī, Qannauj lost its importance and was reduced to insignificance.

To sum up, there was only one city of Qannauj, the city which exists today. It was once the biggest capital city in India. The Qannauj or Bōra located by the Arabs in the direction of Sind, meant the last frontier city in the kingdom of Qannauj. Hence they called it Bhōjrāi also, much in the same way as, even in these days, any place in the Nizam's Dominions is called Hyderabad or Nizam, or any frontier place in the Baroda State, Baroda or Gaekwar.

SYED SULAIMAN NADWI.

1. Translation of Vincent Smith's *History of Ancient India*, Osmania University series, p. 572.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 578.

THE CHOICE OF A CALIPH IN ISLAM

(A Study in Early Conventions)

ABŪ-BAKR AND 'UMAR

IT is indeed highly significant that the Qur'ān is silent and even the Prophet did not leave any concrete instructions or definite rules regarding the exact method of election to the caliphate. To some this may appear rather disappointing, but there is every reason to suppose that the silence was deliberate and quite in consonance with the elastic, universal, and dynamic character of Islam.¹ Islam, meant for all times and all climes as it was, could not afford to bind its followers to a hard and rigid constitution which, at its best, was bound soon to outgrow its utility. Every student of constitutional history knows that no constitution can endure for any great length of time without expanding and changing according to the growing and varying needs of the age. Human intelligence has now had sufficient experience of the dynamic character of the world to acknowledge the utter impossibility of a wooden constitutional frame, and divine intelligence, of course, could not but take account of the fact. Similarly no constitution can be run successfully if reliance is placed in the mere letter and form without any reference to the ideology and the philosophy of life underlying it. Hence it was best for Islam to rely on the spirit, the ideology, and the philosophy of life which it has infused in its followers in evolving such constitutional practices as might preserve the unchanging basic principles of the faith in the changing circumstances of any particular time. And after all what is a constitution? Is it not a mere embodiment of the social and political conceptions of a people? Thus we see that, guided by just a few general hints, the immediate successors of the Prophet managed to evolve certain constitutional practices which were quite in keeping with the genius of Islam and which served their purpose well. Looking back at a distance of thirteen hundred odd years, these practices may appear rather vague, indefinite, and insufficient for our purposes, but that is so only because they have

1. When faced with the choice of a successor, Abū-Bakr felt sorry that he had failed to ask for directions from the Prophet in this matter (Mas'ūdī IV, 185). In calmer moments, however, he had already given expression to a very sane and reasonable view of the matter when in his address demanding allegiance from 'Abbās, he said: "The Prophet left certain things to the people so that they may make a choice for themselves with an anxious regard for their best interest" (Ya'qūbī, II, 139).

not been allowed a natural growth through the ages. A close study will show that in their broad essentials they still hold good for us as a guiding precedent, though in their formal details they require necessary adjustments according to the advanced and complex circumstances of our time.

Let us now examine the significance of the events that took place in the Saqīfa of Banū Sā'ida. Soon after the death of the Prophet the Anṣār sought to steal a march on the Muhājirīn, the other principal section of the community, in regard to the succession to the caliphate. Their attempt, however, to present the latter with a *fait accompli* was frustrated by the arrival in the nick of time of three veteran spokesmen of the Muhājirīn, viz., the cool-headed Abū-Bakr, the impetuous 'Umar, and the grave Abū-'Ubaida. A study of the speeches and counter-speeches that were made on this occasion will show that all the people were agreed from the very beginning on the point that the honour must go to the seniormost member of the most influential section of the community. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, the Chief of the Anṣār, based the claims of his kinsfolk on the services rendered to the cause of Islam by their affording shelter to the Prophet and his Companions and later on fighting the battles for the triumph of the faith. In doing so he also sought, by implication, to disparage the Muhājirīn by referring to the failure of the few kinsmen of the Prophet who had responded to his call to defend him against his enemies and to help his mission.¹ Abū-Bakr, in urging the claims of the Muhājirīn, made no attempt to extenuate the services of the Anṣār, which he acknowledged expressly and in generous terms. He, however, counterpoised them by mentioning the merits of the Muhājirīn as regards precedence in Islam and perseverance in the face of the most painful persecution at the hands of their own kinsfolk.² Having thus counterbalanced the claims of the Anṣār he tipped the scales in favour of the Muhājirīn by recalling a saying of the Prophet to the effect that the Imamate belonged to the Quraish. The cause of the Muhājirīn also found an unbiassed and outspoken supporter in the fair-minded Bashīr b. Sa'd of Khazraj and most of the members of the tribe of Aus, who did not look with equanimity upon the prospect of the caliphate passing into the hands of the traditionally rival tribe of Khazraj to which Sa'd b. 'Ubāda belonged. Thus there soon ensued such a great stampede to swear allegiance to Abū-Bakr that Sa'd was almost trodden under foot. Among the Quraish themselves, no doubt, 'Alī and most of the Banū Hāshim³ abstained from swearing allegiance till such time as they were convinced of the futility of their abstention.

Now, I take the process of election in the case of all the first four caliphs to be the natural reflection of the state of society prevailing at that time. It would be quite wrong to suppose that the Anṣār and the Muhājirīn in any way represented two different political parties. That is

1. Tabari (Leyden), I, 1838.

2. *Ibid.*, 1840.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 1825; Mas'ūdi: *Murūj al-Dhahab* (Paris), IV, 183.

a pitfall into which those accustomed to think in terms of modern democracy are particularly liable to fall. It was far from being a case of two different parties fighting the so-called election battle in order to capture power for themselves. That, as I shall explain later, was against the very social structure of Islam. It was at best only a case of personal ambition—ambition not for any material gain but merely for the ascendancy, prestige, and honour that necessarily went with the high office of the caliphate. Further, personal ambition in the peculiar circumstances of Arabian society was indistinguishable from family ambition. The Arabs were traditionally accustomed to family rule. Their society had throughout been divided into various tribal groups, each group aspiring for ascendancy over, and leadership of, the rest. The idea of authority and rulership apart from the framework of the tribe was almost unintelligible to them. It was never the rule of an individual; it was always the rule of a family through its head. Thus the Muhājirīn and the Anṣār only represented two tribal groups vying with each other for honour and ascendancy. This should be no surprise to us if we realise that although Islam had greatly weakened the bond of blood in its ugly and destructive aspects, e.g., in the case of revenge, etc., it had also assimilated the tribal system as the most convenient basis of organisation in many a field besides the military one. Nor should it be taken as a sign of corruption in Muslim society. As will be explained later, the social conditions were such that the rivalry of two groups, being free from all taint of greed for material advantage, could not have an unhealthy effect, and this was amply confirmed by subsequent events. So the question soon resolved itself into which of the two tribal groups, viz., the Anṣār and the Muhājirīn, had the better claim to superiority and ascendancy. The fact that Sa'd b. 'Ubāda based the claims of his kinsfolk on services to the cause of Islam was indeed quite in keeping with the new theocratic standards which Islam had substituted for the erstwhile tribal outlook of the Arabs. But it must not be forgotten that services to Islam being equal there are several other factors which go to enhance the prestige and influence of a house and which have to be recognised without any prejudice to the theocratic standards.¹ Thus we see that Abū-Bakr in his reply made no attempt to question the merits of the Anṣār so far as services to religion were concerned, but he only referred with due emphasis to those additional factors which Sa'd had found it convenient enough to ignore. It is almost needless here to dwell on the traditional ascendancy and superior strength of the Quraish. We have only to take note of the fact that on the very occasion with which we are concerned, and even before the arrival of the spokesmen of the Quraish on the scene, the common people of Anṣār betrayed unmistakable signs of diffidence in their own superiority. It was openly pointed out to Sa'd by his own kinsfolk, in the absence of any representative of the other party, that their claim was bound to be challenged by the Quraish and

1. Shāh Waliullāh : *Izālatul Khifā'* (Urdu translation), Lahore, II, 150.

that, by way of a compromise, they should be ready to agree to have two amīrs, one from each party. Sa'd naturally enough felt painfully disappointed at this suggestion and took it as an evil portent for his cause.¹ Moreover it was demonstrated soon afterwards that even the whole of the Anṣār could not gladly accept the rule of one of the two sub-branches which had been deadly enemies of each other in the days immediately preceding Islam, and between which the fire of traditional rivalry, if not antagonism, still smouldered beneath the ashes of the fraternal feelings created by Islam. Thus it was proved beyond doubt that the Anṣār could not command the obedience of the Muslim community as a whole. Whatever doubt there remained was finally removed when Abū-Bakr reminded the audience of the saying of the Prophet to the effect that the Imamate belonged to the Quraish. The expediency of this advice and the truth of the statement implied therein were fully justified by results. Actually the whole of the community rushed to acknowledge allegiance to Abū-Bakr without any sense of loss of dignity or prestige. Of course 'Alī felt his pride wounded, perhaps because he claimed the high office though he himself is never reported to have said so. All that he said on the occasion of swearing allegiance to Abū-Bakr after the death of Fātima was that he felt aggrieved because he was not admitted in the counsels at the time of election.² The reaction of acclamation with which the formal submission of 'Alī was received by the common people³ is an eloquent testimony to the fact that his former attitude was not treated with favour. Similarly Sa'd b. 'Ubāda also proved obstinate enough not to acknowledge obedience to Abū-Bakr ; but his support, confined as it was within a sprinkling of his most immediate kinsmen, was so negligible that it was not considered worthwhile to attempt to bring him to submission.⁴ Thus we see that the spirit and the genius of Islam served the Muslims very well in solving the first constitutional problem for which they were in the words of 'Umar, quite unprepared.⁵

Two broad principles emerge from the election of Abū-Bakr. First, that the condition with regard to competence being fulfilled, the caliphate should go to the leader of the most influential section of the community. It must be made quite clear here that the words of the Prophet that the Imamate belonged to the Quraish were for a long time interpreted in a narrow and literal sense. Although the *Khawārij* at a very early date declared the principle that every member of the commonwealth was eligible for the caliphate, and even outside the circle of the *Khawārij* the same view was expounded by several legists, yet the general community did not attach much importance to this controversy because so long as the Quraish retained their position of ascendancy the controversy had only a theoretical

1. *Tab.*, I, 1838-9.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 1826, 6-8 ; cf. *Mas.*, IV, 183. See also Waliullāh, II, 117.

3. *Ibid.*, II, 1827, 1-2.

4. *Ibid.*, 1844.

5. *Ibid.*, 1822, l. 1.

and a purely academic interest and did not alter the practical situation. Hence we see that al-Māwardī stipulates descent from the Quraish as an indispensable condition for the office of caliphate and dismisses the opposite view as simply 'rare'.¹ But no sooner did the Quraish dwindle in importance and influence than the controversy assumed a practical importance because the actual results of the two opposite views no longer coincided. So the words of the Prophet were studied afresh and it was generally agreed that they represented not an injunction for all time in their literal sense but only a basic and lasting principle expressed in the form of its actual result in the existing circumstances of the time. So, rationally interpreted, the word "Quraish" occurring in the tradition only stands for the most influential section of the community, which the Quraish actually were at that time. This view is very forcefully expounded by Ibn-Khaldūn who has advanced some very cogent arguments in favour of it.² Moreover, a close study of the records will show that when Abū-Bakr cited the tradition he also explained in the same context that the Quraish deserved the honour by virtue of their being the most influential and respected family in the whole community on account of genealogy, past history, social position, relationship to the Prophet, and services to Islam. This explanation was further corroborated by the words of 'Umar on that very occasion to the effect that the Quraish alone were in such a position that no Arab of whatever tribe would be reluctant to show obedience to them.³ This indeed is a very sound principle. Authority, if it is to be respected, must needs belong to him who can command the obedience of the community as a whole. That the prophethood was bestowed on a man of the Quraish rather than of any other tribe is also explained by the reason that it must belong to a member of the most respectable and influential family, particularly when the Prophet was also destined to see the founder and the head of a state. The second principle of which only the germs are discernible in the election of Abū-Bakr was that the choice of a successor must primarily be made by the Elders. This principle did not develop fully and was not illustrated in an elaborate and convincing manner until the election of 'Uthmān. Hence, of this I shall say more when I come to the election of 'Uthmān after I have explained the peculiar nature of Islamic polity.

NATURE OF ISLAMIC POLITY

IT must be remembered that, in Islam particularly, political behaviour is only the creation of the social order. Now what kind of a social order

1. *Al-Aḥkāmu's-Sultāniyya* (ed. Bonn), p. 5.

2. Ibn-Khaldūn : *Prolegomena*, (Paris) I, 350 seq.

3. *Ṭab.*, I, 1823 ; 1841.

[Granting even the Anṣār commanded the greatest respect in Arabia, they were lamentably divided among themselves. The Awsite and Khazrajite rivalries would surely have reacted disastrously on the budding Islamic State if the caliph had been selected from one of the two and was not agreeable to the other—not to speak of the Quraishites.—Ed., I.C.]

does Islam prescribe? One salient feature of the Islamic social order which has a profound effect on polity as well is that it is without class distinctions. Every member of the commonwealth enjoys perfect equality by virtue of his being in exactly the same relation towards Allāh as the rest, and there are no social privileges attached to any section. Thus we see that the people were guided aright in their choice of the First Successor to the Prophet, but the success of their choice was largely determined by Abū-Bakr's singular capacity to maintain intact the essential characteristics of Islamic society mentioned above. He for the first time demonstrated to the Arabs that authority derived from Allāh could exist outside the framework of family. Under Abū-Bakr the Quraish were far from being the Royal House. Even the members of the caliph's family could not claim any privilege, social or material. Al-Ya'qūbī has recorded an incident to the effect that when Abū-Bakr appointed Khālid b. al-Walīd to the command of the expedition against Ṭulaiḥa, the Anṣār complained that they were deprived of the privilege of having a commander from among themselves. The complaint was even expressed in verse by Ḥassān b. Thābit. Thereupon Abū-Bakr, whose choice of Khālid, according to the account of the same authority, was a well-considered one and was based solely on merit, thought it necessary to prove that he had no prejudice against the Anṣār and at once appointed Thābit b. Qais to command them.¹ This incident is significant inasmuch as it gives a peep into the mind of the Anṣār. Evidently they were still apprehensive that it was again going to be a family rule of the Quraish as had been the tradition among the Arabs. But the scrupulous and unrelaxing vigilance of Abū-Bakr to see that he himself, not to speak of his family or any particular group, received no advantage from the high office gave the quietus to the murmurings of all sections so much so that in all subsequent history the Anṣār appear to be completely satisfied with the treatment meted out to them and never betray any sign of class-consciousness. It was the same with the different sections of the Quraish also. Some of them, of course, wished to exploit any grievance against the authority so as to satisfy their own sense of overweening self-importance² but they could find none.

On his death-bed Abū-Bakr nominated 'Umar to the caliphate and the choice was later confirmed by the whole community without any dissent. I must emphasise here that the uniform attitude of all the various sections of the community towards the nomination of 'Umar is again a reflection of the state of society at that time. It shows how far the impartial rule of Abū-Bakr had convinced the various tribal groups that the caliphate meant no position of advantage and that it did not make any difference if it belonged to one or the other tribe. Incidentally it must also be pointed out that the easy success of the procedure adopted by Abū-Bakr was a further

1. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārikh*, ed. Houtsma, Leyden, II, pp. 144-45.

2. Vide the words of 'Abū-Sufyān, *Ṭab.*, I, 1827.

vindication of the absence of any rigid constitution in Islam. The basic norms of Islamic polity, which in themselves were, of course, quite clear and positive, were allowed to take any form which in the existing circumstances of any particular time seemed best conducive to securing the agreement of the whole community. Thus, if the ruling caliph felt that there was any one of such outstanding merit as to be marked out for succession there was no technical bar against his sparing the community the suspense or the short interregnum that is bound to follow the demise of a ruling chief.

Now 'Umar in his turn faithfully followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, and his firm and impartial rule more than ever falsified the traditional conception of the Arabs about family authority. While Abū-Bakr governed mostly with the help of the agents appointed by the Prophet himself,¹ 'Umar had occasion to make appointments to numerous offices in the various parts of the rapidly expanding empire. All appointments went by merit and competence alone, and were, as it happened, distributed among most of the various tribes though there was no tribal quota, and indeed how could there be a tribal quota when we are dealing with a classless society? 'Umar did not care to which tribe a candidate belonged, to Umayya or to Hāshim, to Quraish or to Anṣār, provided only that he possessed the requisite qualities for the particular office combined in all cases with virtue and honesty. He also seems to have been deliberately chary in bestowing offices on any of his kinsmen, so much so that Nu'mān b. 'Adī al-'Adawī, the governor of Maisān, is mentioned as the one solitary instance of the kind. Thus we see that, as a result of the policy of justice initiated by Abū-Bakr and continued by 'Umar, the society which still thought in terms of pre-Islamic tribal rule at the time of the election of Abū-Bakr, was fully convinced by actual experience of the classless character of Islamic polity at the time of the election of 'Umar, and during his long and beneficent rule was fully welded into one single solid block.

THE ELECTION OF 'UTHMĀN

Now before we come to the election of 'Uthmān we must recall to our minds certain other relevant characteristics of Islamic polity. Those of us who are used to identifying Islam entirely with one or the other of the prevailing Western political theories are often worried by the question whether Islam lays down a one-party system or a democratic system of the British or American type with many parties as its necessary element. We go on thinking in a groove, as it were, never realising that there can also be such a thing as a *no-party system*. It must be remembered that the

1. cf. Waliullāh, II, 240.

existence of various political parties with separate programmes of their own fighting an unending battle against one another for power and supremacy, which is today so inseparably associated with the working of democracy, is really an infallible sign of the utter non-existence of true democratic conditions. It is really symptomatic of class distinctions, social privileges, and material advantages which every particular party seeks to attain for itself by capturing political power. I need not dwell for long on this point because the distressed confessions that are daily pouring forth, under the stress of a threat of extermination, no doubt, from the leading personalities, politicians as well as clergy, are quite sufficient to expose the unbalanced and uneven nature of Western society. What then? Does Islam prescribe a one-party system? The reply is an emphatic 'No.' Even a one-party system presupposes the existence of an opposition which, however, is suppressed and not allowed to function. Extremely unjust economic disequilibrium and grave social inequality are always there and consequently the body-politic is a diseased one. The political system of Islam is a kind by itself. *It is a no-party system based on the co-operation of all. There is no room for an opposition in Islam.* And what room for an opposition can there be where the function of the Government is merely that of execution? Legislation in Islam only means the application of the general principles of the revealed Law to any particular instance, and that task is assigned not to any unscrupulous and incompetent rabble that secures the majority of votes, but to the really competent and not only competent but also virtuous legists. Hence authority in Islam is unassailed. It is not only feared but respected and loved by all alike, because it proceeds not from the so-called 'national will'—which is invariably an arbitrary misnomer for the will of the bare majority—but from Allāh the Just, to Whom every Muslim is supposed to have surrendered his entire self and significantly enough, to Whom approach in the case of every individual is equally direct without even the intermediation of a priesthood. Now this fact, the fact that authority proceeds not from below but from above, not from a source which is always fluid and uncertain but from a source which is uncontested, makes all the difference in the constitution as well as the working of a so-called democratic government and an Islamic government. There can be no ground for any one to resent or challenge the working of an Islamic government because *its function is simply to carry out a law which is not imposed by a majority upon the minority but which is agreed to in advance by every single individual member of the commonwealth.* There can be no question of the popularity or unpopularity of an Islamic government because according to the well known precept “كلکم راع و کلکم مسئول عن رعیتہ” every Muslim in a sense is the executor of one and the same Will of Allāh and hence the state is but another name for the people itself.

Thus the Islamic state is greatly helped in ruling with a strictly just and impartial and at the same time an unbendingly firm hand by virtue

of its being free from all distraction caused by the pressing sectional demands of its supporters as distinguished from those in opposition. It need not placate or curry favour with any particular section because it is not anxious to retain the majority vote at all costs. It depends upon the Will of Allāh, and in the fulfilment of that Will it is judged as well as helped by the entire community.

ELECTION IN ISLAM

BEARING the above characteristics of Islamic polity in mind, we should be able to throw new light on what is commonly termed the election of the caliph in Islam. The word election in the political dictionary of Islam has an entirely different signification from that which commonly attaches to it according to the terminology of the West. The fact that authority in Islam proceeds not from the national will but from Allāh makes all the difference in essence, though the form may more or less remain the same. It will be remembered that at the time of Abū-Bakr's election it was only the Elders who had a say in the matter. A large body of common people was, no doubt, present in the Saqīfa but it was a gathering almost exclusively of the Anṣār who had been assembled together by Sa'd b. 'Ubadā and his associates in order to consolidate the support of the Anṣār with which to challenge the claims of the Quraish. The Saqīfa was far from being a polling-booth where members of all sections of the community were invited to register their choice as between two rival candidates. It was only the following day that the general community assembled to take the oath of allegiance to Abū-Bakr.¹ Again in the case of 'Umar the people only confirmed the nomination of Abū-Bakr. Yet it was not till the election of 'Uthmān that the machinery for the choice of a successor was elaborated fully enough to demonstrate the intention behind it. It is recorded that 'Umar felt a great deal of anxiety on this score because there was none among the surviving leaders of the community who could be said to be marked out for succession. There were several rival aspirants who had almost equal claims. This was indeed a crucial test, and it was to be seen what machinery could be devised for settling the rival claims. Thus we see that 'Umar entrusted the matter of election—election in the real sense of the word—to a council of six, where decision was to be taken by a majority vote and in case of a tie 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar was to arbitrate, if the other members agreed to it, otherwise 'Abdur-Raḥmān b. 'Auf was to have a casting vote. What is remarkable is that the decision of the Elders was always to be a positive one which the rest of the community was to be asked to confirm by oath of allegiance. It was virtually the same in all the three cases. What the common people possessed was not the right of vote but simply the duty of taking the oath of allegiance. This may sound rather strange because of the tendency in our time to confuse

1. Tab. I, 1829, l. 1.

the real democracy of Islam with the so-called or rather miscalled democracy of the Western type. Al-Māwardī, however, is quite explicit on the point that the choice of the Elders is binding on the common people.¹ He further makes it quite clear that the intention in every case is to present the masses *not with an alternative but always with a positive decision*. For instance if two persons were sworn as caliph in two different cities then the common people have not the right to vote for either of the two. The rule in that case is that the whole community will be bound to go over to the one whose allegiance was prior in time. If it be not possible to ascertain the exact time, then the matter is again to be referred to the Elders. The common people have to wait till the question is decided for them by the Elders.² Of course, it is the natural duty of the Elders to take into account the tendency of the people as well as the special needs of the time,³ and furthermore in extreme cases when the bulk of the community is clearly convinced that the actions of the caliph are decidedly against the injunctions of Islam, the common people have the right, I would almost say the duty, to refuse or withdraw their allegiance. But that does not entitle them to a right of vote at the time of election. There is absolutely nothing undemocratic in the Elders making a choice for the people when there are no sectional interests to be safeguarded. It is quite in consonance with the fabric of the Islamic social order. Islam has scrupulously guarded against dividing the Muslim community into two or several rival groups each canvassing support for itself, which is bound to follow if there is adult suffrage and the whole community is given the right to choose between two rival candidates. Moreover it must be realised that a calm, cool, and considered judgement is only possible to the competent, virtuous and influential Elders in the way laid down above, and not in the midst of the mounting passions of a heated election campaign. The procedure evolved by the early Muslims also eliminates the possibilities of various forms of corruption, exploitation, and cheating which in my opinion are the usual accompaniments of the general right to vote. If the general community has the right to vote, then a constitutional opposition, active or suppressed, is bound to follow, and that, as we have already seen, has no place in Islam. It must also be pointed out here that on the first occasion the care of Abū-Bakr and 'Umar was not to make a direct approach to the common people so as to manoeuvre a majority vote for themselves. They talked straight to the Elders on grounds of principles, and although there was no such formality about it as in the case of 'Uthmān, yet it was the obviously positive outcome of that discussion which the general community simply accepted and confirmed.

Now the crux of the question is the constitution of that electing body, *اهل الحل والعقد* or *اهل الاختيار* as they are variously termed in Arabic.

1. *Al-Aḥkāmūs-Sultāniyya*, p. 7.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

On this point Wellhausen speaks rather critically of the constitution of the Shūra which was devised by 'Umar for the election of 'Uthmān. He says: "The Shūra did not by any means consist of the whole of the Muslims. The provinces were not consulted; Medina alone was the 'Polis,' and in Medina the Anṣār in general were of no account, as also were the Quraish as a whole. The Shūra actually only consisted of the six still surviving oldest Companions of the Prophet."¹ This criticism is obviously the result of judging things Islamic by standards un-Islamic. Steeped in Western ideas and conceptions as Wellhausen is, he cannot think that any electing body can be sufficiently representative unless it is elected on a territorial basis and contains representatives expressly chosen from different parties and sections. But for us the constitution of the electing body of 'Uthmān still stands as a precedent illustrating the relevant basic principles. First of all the electing body should never be thought of in terms of an electoral college because I feel strongly that *the method of general election is wholly incompatible with the maintenance of the solidarity of a classless society*. Moreover in Islam every right presupposes competence and ability, and hence it is that the democracy of Islam can never be said to be a democracy in which heads are counted but not weighed. Thus, as a general principle, the members of the electing body are to be those who combine in themselves competence—competence as regards knowledge of Islam and a sense of the practical requirements of the situation—virtue, and influence. Now, such prominent men of competence and virtue be assembled in one place or scattered over different parts of the country. Wherever they may be it is they who constitute the electing body. In no case are they to be selected, far less elected, on a territorial, vocational or party basis just because there are no such interests to be safeguarded. Thus Wellhausen's gibe that Madina was the 'Polis' is quite unwarranted. The question has been fully debated by the legists of later times whether the residents of Madina or the capital or the town in which the caliph died had any privilege over the rest of the empire in regard to the election of a successor, and it is almost agreed that no such privilege attached to them. It was only an accident that Madina, which also happened to be the capital of the empire, contained within itself the prominent men who were to constitute the electing body. Thus it was perfectly in consonance with the spirit and the social structure of Islam that the members of the Shūra were chosen by 'Umar not on a territorial or tribal basis but simply on the basis of their competence, virtue, and influence, which at that time undoubtedly belonged to the surviving Companions of the Prophet. In these respects the Shūra devised by 'Umar stands clearly as a precedent for us. It is indeed a pity that the convention was not allowed sufficient growth to determine precisely the authority and the method by which the electing body was to be chosen or nominated. Choice by the dying caliph is of

1. *Arab Kingdom*, p. 40.

course a clear precedent. But in any case it must be realised that if the real social structure of Islam is preserved intact, then it should not be very difficult to distinguish such men. In Islam authority is concentrated in one person and should necessarily be so if it is to function untrammelled and unhampered and none should grudge it if it is not only feared but also respected and loved. But practically the caliph is always guided by the advice of his counsellors. Speaking in modern terms we may say that though there is no statutory obligation reducing the caliph to mere puppet and binding him to the decision of a clique, yet it is given in the Instrument of Instructions that before taking a decision he should examine its pros and cons with the help of competent, virtuous, and influential men, and even an ordinary citizen should have no difficulty in tendering his viewpoint. It will be seen that these counsellors of the caliph are by virtue of their essential qualities the same who would constitute the electing body and hence they are always marked out. They can always be recognised by the influence and the weight which they enjoyed in the counsels of the deceased caliph. The same was the case with the members of the *Shūra* nominated by 'Umar. It need hardly be said that dancing-girls, eunuchs, and buffoons can never have a place at the court of Islam. In the light of the observations made above it also follows that though a large number of the members of the electing body are likely to be found in the capital itself, yet it is also quite natural that with the expansion of the empire some of them must be scattered over different parts and consequently a machinery will have to be devised to bring them together for the purpose of electing a caliph.

THE ELECTION OF 'ALI

So the election of 'Uthmān passed off peacefully. As yet the lack of any prescribed method of election was far from being the cause of any dissensions. Given the orthodox social order of Islam, the spirit and the genius of the true Muslim proved worthy of the reliance put upon them for evolving constitutional practices efficacious enough to keep in check the ambitions of rival candidates and to maintain the solidarity of the whole community. It is a highly significant fact that during the early years of 'Uthmān's reign all sections of the people throughout the empire gave their whole-hearted support and unqualified obedience to the duly elected caliph.¹ The fractions that arose after 'Uthmān had reigned undisturbed for six years originated only from dissatisfaction with the undue privileges arrogated to themselves by the crafty Umayyids, who had no scruples in exploiting for their selfish and sordid ends quite a noble trait in 'Uthmān's character. A saintly and kind-hearted man 'Uthmān considered it an act of piety to have a special solicitude for his kith and kin and to exercise

1. Vide Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-'Ashrāf* (Jerusalem, 1936), V, 25, 14-15.

his authority for their benefit.¹ He was too generous to exact strict discipline from his agents and subordinates and too other-worldly always to have a full regard for practical sagacity in the administration of the affairs of this mundane world. As a cumulative result of all these factors, the Umayyid agents began to act arbitrarily and to appropriate unlawfully. This state of affairs caused a sense of grievance which was felt as keenly by the Ṣaḥāba as by the common people.² The Ṣaḥāba exercised whatever influence they possessed to put things right, but would not do anything which might cause a split in the community or harm the dignity and prestige of the caliph. The common people, however, were worked up by a few mischief-mongers who brought about a rebellion ending in the murder of 'Uthmān. Thus it was these factors, entirely unrelated to any rival aspirations for the caliphate, which broke the continuity of ordered and peaceful government in Islam. The method for the choice of a successor was no longer in doubt.

Complete chaos prevailed in Madina consequent upon the murder of 'Uthmān. The rebels from outside held the upper hand in the town while the local inhabitants were simply in terror of them. Now the rebels were actually without a leader. The impostors like 'Abdullāh b. Sabā' had no aim other than mere destruction, which now stood accomplished. It will be remembered that shrewdly enough they had never acted in their own name but had always confined themselves to trading on the moral support of the Ṣaḥāba. Thus it was quite natural for the rebels to look to the Ṣaḥāba for a successor. The rebels among themselves had different predilections but somehow they agreed on 'Alī and along with the local inhabitants of Madina approached him with the offer.

Perhaps it would not be out of place here to recall that in his estimate of himself 'Alī had throughout believed, quite sincerely we may assume, that he deserved the caliphate better than anyone else³. (*Vide* 'Alī's own words Ṭab. I, 3111). This was betrayed by his attitude to the election of Abū-Bakr and was clearly evidenced by his attempts at canvassing (*Ansāb*, V, 20) and his obvious disappointment on the occasion of the election of 'Uthmān (*ibid.*, 22). All the same it goes to his credit that he never for a moment thought of imposing himself against the free-will of the people. Except for momentary outbursts of disappointment he always submitted to the duly elected caliph in a true democratic spirit. On this occasion too he showed himself restrained enough to reject outright a proposal for bai'at in secret, and expressly stipulated that he would not give his consent unless there was a free and open verdict in his favour

1. *Vide* 'Uthmān's own words. Ṭab., I, 2948-49. Cf. also *Ansāb*, V, 25, ll. 11-13; 19-20, 28, ll. 20-23.

2. For an estimate of the feelings of the Ṣaḥāba on this point, see Ṭab., I, 2939; *Ansāb*, V, 57, and Ṭab., 2980.

3. Cf. the remarks of Ibn 'Abbās; "By Allāh, 'Alī was full of knowledge and prudence but he was a bit deceived by his relationship with the Prophet." (*Al-Isti'āb*).

(Tab., I, 3066). Ultimately, however, 'Alī, pious and other-worldly like his predecessor was prevailed upon to allow himself to be sworn as caliph by the rebels and by, we may say, a vast majority of the people of Madina. Once it was done 'Alī, overcredulous as he was, took it for granted that his election was complete and did not care to wait either for endorsement by the Elders or for confirmation by the rest of the empire although he showed great concern about the attitude of Ṭalḥa, Zubair, 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar, Sa'd b. Abī-Waqqāṣ and a few others. 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar and Sa'd b. Abī-Waqqāṣ preferred to defer their oath of allegiance till the people agreed and the situation crystallised. It still remains a moot point whether Ṭalḥa and Zubair ever swore allegiance to 'Alī, and if so, under what pressure. It is also recorded that many people, mostly Umayyids, fled from Madina without taking the oath of allegiance while a few prominent Anṣār, known for their loyalty to 'Uthmān, abstained from it.

If the convention followed on the three previous occasions served as a positive precedent, the case of 'Alī affords a negative proof of the observations made in the foregoing pages as regards the method of election. First of all, it must be noted that from the very beginning 'Alī showed a clear realisation of the exceptional position of Ṭalḥa, Zubair, and men of their class. Obviously he apprehended opposition from them. But was not this apprehension due to the consciousness that he had not adopted the method of the 'Shūra', which was particularly designed to settle rival claims so as to eliminate the possibility of opposition and the resulting split in the community? According to a tradition related by 'Umar b. Shabba (Tab., I, 3074-5; cf also 3069), 'Alī's first thought was to refer the choice of a successor to the 'Shūra' (on the model of the previous one) and to await its decision before allowing himself to be sworn in as caliph. It is really unfortunate that he did not press this first thought of his but allowed himself to be set up as caliph by "the will of the people" without prior reference to the "choice of the Elders."² Whether Ṭalḥa and Zubair swore allegiance to 'Alī or not, 'Alī was not following a strictly proper course in asking for their support or acquiescence, we may say, after allowing himself to be sworn in as caliph by the common people. In the ordinary course, the choice of the Elders must have preceded the acknowledgement of allegiance by the common people. A little later, when the special envoy from Baṣra had gone back from Madina with the impression that Ṭalḥa and Zubair acknowledged 'Alī only under duress, 'Alī wrote to his governor at Baṣra: "We compelled the two in the interests of solidarity and not in order to create a split." This position is not quite tenable. Previous convention as well as natural expediency

1. The words of Ibn-'Abbās (Tab., I, 3084, l. 5) are an evidence that the method of Shūra was believed to be the strictly proper course.

2. The caliph 'Alī, himself being a Mujtahid, was legally not bound to follow (اقتداء) "the Precedent" created by others. Therefore it cannot technically be considered as non-observance of the Shari'at.—Ed., J.C.

required that Ṭalḥa and Zubair, together with other elders, should have been left free to discuss various proposals among themselves, and to arrive at a positive decision, which was to be awaited by the common people. Then and then alone could pressure be exercised in the name of the solidarity of the community. As will be seen in the following pages, this reversal of the appropriate order greatly restricted 'Alī's freedom of action, with tragic consequences. It was the inevitable corollary of this particular method of election that he felt compelled to cling to the support of the rebels.

Further, 'Alī was somewhat over optimistic in his view that the bai'at of the common people of Madina alone in the changed circumstances of the time was binding on the whole of the empire, so much so that anyone who refused it could be accused of breaking the solidarity of the Ummat. In the case of Abū-Bakr the choice made at Madina became binding not because the town or the people thereof were entitled to any privilege but because, in the particular circumstances of the time, all the Elders among the whole community happened to be assembled there. Of course, as was proved in the case of 'Uthmān, the Elders were not necessarily to be chosen on a territorial basis from every part of the empire, but if they happened to be scattered over different places they ought to have been assembled in order to put their heads together and make a positive choice for the people. In the case of 'Alī, men clearly distinguished for Companionship of the Prophet in addition to all the qualities specified above for the membership of the *Shūra*', were actually in various frontier towns and provincial cities and no steps were taken to facilitate their exercising what was an undeniable constitutional privilege (Ibn-Khaldūn : *Prolegomena* I, 385-86). Had 'Alī been better advised, he would have pressed forward with his own first thought and instead of receiving the oath of allegiance from the common people, would have taken steps to convene a meeting (*Shūra*) of all the Elders who were to take a decision without in any way being affected by the pressure of the uncouth rebels. Such a procedure would have eliminated the danger of opposition and at the same time would have assured to the chosen successor the freedom as well as the strength to deal with the rebels or any circumstances as he liked.

Anyhow, there is no gainsaying the fact that the position of 'Alī was supreme. His rivals, aggrieved though they were, dared not challenge his claim to the succession straightaway. There is every reason to suppose that if 'Alī had referred the matter to the *Shūra*', the verdict would not have gone against him. Or, even though he did not adopt that strictly proper course, things would have straightened themselves out in due course if only he could wait till the provinces actually confirmed the choice of the people of Madina. He, however, forthwith assumed all the titles of a caliph and began to act in the manner of the head of a firmly established government.

Unfortunately enough, the very first act of this holy caliph proved to be a rather hasty and a very unstatesmanlike one. Without waiting for a confirmation from the provinces of his succession, 'Alī ordered the deposition of all the Umayyid agents wholesale. As a matter of fact, 'Alī was so disgusted with the state of affairs under the previous regime that he considered it a sin to let the Umayyid agents continue in their offices even for one hour (Ṭab., I, 3083). By this act of indiscreet piety and inexpedient scrupulosity 'Alī provoked against him a second formidable source of opposition in addition to the Ṣahāba, who had already shown their dissatisfaction with the manner of 'Alī's accession.

Very soon there arose a curious situation. Both the parties in opposition, the Ṣahāba as well as the Umayyids raised the same cry for revenge for the blood of 'Uṭhmān, though for different reasons and with different motives. As far as the Ṣahāba are concerned, it is sometimes made out that they raised this cry only as a clever ruse to gratify their sense of jealousy of 'Alī. Ṭalḥa, Zubair, and 'Ā'isha had all shown themselves vehemently and irrevocably opposed to 'Uṭhmān up to the very last moment, and the sudden development of sympathy for him looked even to the people of that age like a *volte face* prompted by jealousy. But the explanation offered on behalf of the Ṣahāba was quite clear and understandable. They were definitely opposed to certain policies of 'Uṭhmān and did not mind exercising pressure on him to rectify them, but the cold-blooded murder of a caliph was too heinous a crime to be condoned or passed over (Ṭab., I, 3127, 13-14). It will be remembered that 'Alī himself, as the spokesman of the Ṣahāba, had declared long before the ghastly crime was perpetrated that their aim was not the murder of 'Uṭhmān but only the rectification of certain errors of his ways (Ṭab., I, 2987). As a matter of fact the murder of 'Uṭhmān left all sensible men horrified and the Ṣahāba were particularly seized with a sort of repentance for having felt shy of active intervention in the dispute. Thus they were inspired not so much by jealousy of 'Alī as by a desire to atone for their inactivity in the past. (Ṭab., I, 3137, 14-15). Moreover, Ṭalḥa, Zubair; and 'Ā'isha had good reason to suspect that 'Alī might play into the hands of the guilty rebels, who had taken such a prominent part in raising him to the caliphate. It will be remembered that to all outward appearance 'Alī from the very beginning up to the last moment showed a great reluctance to forego the support of the rebels. He admitted quite explicitly that the guilt of those who participated in the murder of 'Uṭhmān was proved and that they should be punished according to law; quite feelingly he even referred to himself as being aggrieved by the murder of 'Uṭhmān no less than anybody else (Ṭab., I, 3901, 2-3). Yet he excused his action in putting off the execution of the punishment on the only plea that he had not till then had the strength to do so. The plea went home to some but not to Ṭalḥa, Zubair, and their party. They had a misgiving, that the fact that 'Alī rose to the caliphate at the initiative and on the major support of the rebels rather than the Elders, might

tempt or constrain him to show unlawful leniency in the administration of the laws of Allāh. Thus, as far as the Ṣaḥāba were concerned, the demand for revenge for the blood of 'Uthmān was nothing but a test of the *bona fides* of 'Alī. While preparing for an encounter 'Alī also proved by his action in taking special care to see that none of the rebels rose to any position of command in his army (Ṭab., I, 3163), that he was quite sincere in his protestation, that he believed the rebels to be guilty and deserving of punishment. Yet there is no glossing over the fact that he was afraid lest by turning against the rebels at that juncture he might lose the mainstay of his support without the compensation of the support of other elements, which was yet by no means assured. As for the rebels they must have known by 'Alī's words as well as his deeds what he believed and proposed to do about them in future. They followed or rather shadowed him in their own interest with the set purpose of never letting him become independent of their support. But if the Ṣaḥāba were acting not with a purely selfish or malicious motive, as we have supposed, and if 'Alī was really sincere in his condemnation of the rebels, then obviously there could be little difficulty in arriving at a reasonable settlement. After all the substance of the demand for the punishment of the rebels was agreed upon as between the two parties and the difference on the point of time was not such as to prove irreconcilable. And so it actually happened. At Baṣra, a frank talk between the messenger of 'Alī on the one hand and Ṭalḥa, Zubair, and 'Ā'isha on the other hand was enough to make the two parties see the viewpoint of each other and reach an understanding between themselves. The consummation of a treaty of peace, however, was frustrated by these very rebels in the camp of 'Alī. No sooner did they get wind that an understanding had been reached and that a treaty of peace, which was bound to be at their expense, was in sight, than they held a hurried consultation among themselves and at the suggestion of one Ibn'l-Sawdā' adopted a well-thought-out and carefully prepared plan to plunge the two parties into a sanguine battle (Ṭab., I, 3165). In flagrant violation of the express orders of 'Alī not to leave their camp, the rebels moved forward and in the morning twilight launched a surprise attack on the opposite camp (Ṭab., I, 3182 sq.). Ṭalḥa, Zubair, and others naturally took this as a deliberate breach of faith on the part of 'Alī and forthwith started the battle on their side. Once the sword was unsheathed the anguish caused on either side was so intense and the ensuing confusion was so great that a clarification of the situation became quite unthinkable. There is not the least shadow of doubt that the Battle of the Camel would never have taken place but for the sinister move of the rebels. Incidentally, it revealed a besetting weakness in the character of 'Alī as a statesman and as a general. He unfortunately possessed a hotch-potch army, consisting of heterogeneous elements with markedly divergent tendencies instead of a small but compact body of men all inspired by one faith and devoted to one cause without any sectional or vested interests of their own. That is why we see that 'Alī was always preoccupied with dissensions in his own camp and

was betrayed by one or the other section of his own supporters who started wars and ended them much against his will and in utter disregard of his express orders.

As for the other party, *i.e.*, the Umayyids, it raised the same cry for revenge for the murder of 'Uthmān much more ostentatiously and ceremoniously for an entirely different reason and with an entirely different aim. In the first place it must be noted that the demand on the part of Mu'āwiyā was not at all spontaneous as was that of 'Ā'ishā, who, as soon as she heard the news of the murder, declared that the rebels must be punished. Mu'āwiyā deferred a reply to the letter of 'Alī demanding submission from him for full three months during which time he matured his plans. So the punishment of the rebels was not an end in itself; it only became a handy ruse for the attainment of another object, *i.e.*, the caliphate. But what roused in Mu'āwiyā a desire to attain the caliphate for himself? Did he ever give any inkling of such an ambition before? At least there is no substantial proof of it and the fact that he had to mark time for no less than three months indicates that he was caught unprepared. To me, the sequence of events is strongly in favour of the assumption that had there been no order of dismissal from the governorship, Mu'āwiyā would not have bothered to contest the claims of 'Alī to the caliphate. He was only determined not to lose the governorship, and 'Alī by his ill-timed ukase created such a situation that the governorship could not be retained unless the caliphate itself was captured.

No doubt, the Umayyid agents were an unhappy legacy of the past regime, and it was the duty of 'Alī, or any successor for the matter of that to liquidate them. But the task could very well have been put off for a short while till 'Alī had received homage and felt himself firmly established—the same plea that he put forward in the case of the rebels. Moreover, it is to be carefully noted that the removal of the Umayyid agents should have been slow and gradual if the real aim of restoring the classless character of Islamic society was to be achieved. The liquidation of the vested interests of the Umayyids should have been contrived in such a way as not to give them an idea that there was any prejudice against the Umayyids as such or that they were to labour under a special disadvantage. The wholesale dismissal of the Umayyid agents was bound to create the impression that the Umayyids were to have no place in the changed order of things. The unguarded words of 'Alī regarding the Umayyid agents (Ṭab., I, 3084, 9-10), though he may not have meant all that he said, could only conduce to breeding hatred and perpetuating tribal and class distinctions rather than ending them. Thus the Umayyids inevitably felt that their interests were doomed for ever, and, in order to make a bold and desperate bid to defend them, they united against 'Alī. Some of the dismissed agents joined the party of Ṭalḥa and Zubair while the Umayyids as a body rallied under the banner of Mu'āwiyā. Clearly enough the Umayyids led by Mu'āwiyā fought only for their self-interest and their

eventual triumph set up a very bad precedent indeed. Henceforth in the popular imagination the caliphate was turned from an office of selfless service and religious responsibility into a mere position of vantage. Various parties sprang up and coveted the high office because they believed and actually saw that the only way to prosper was to have a caliph from among themselves. Tribal prejudices were soon revived on the same account. Under the Umayyids as well as the 'Abbasids it was always a particular tribe or a coalition of certain elements that supported the rule of that House for the sake of mere self-interest. The parties in opposition only sought to thwart the existing government in order to step into the gap and thus secure the same advantage for themselves. The wish proved father to the thought and every party, somehow or other, managed to clothe its claims with the sanctity of religion. The ideal of a no-party government broad-based on the co-operation of all was totally forgotten.

SAYYID MUHAMMAD YUSUF.

DĀRĀ SHIKOH AND THE UPANISHADS

DĀRĀ Shikoh's is the most tragic figure in the history of Mughal rule in India. But it must be recognized that his sad end was unfortunately only a consequence of the inner inconsistencies of his character. Nature had endowed him with traits of great value, for, in the words of his friend Manucci, he "was a man of dignified manners, of a comely countenance, joyous and polite in conversation, ready and gracious of speech, of extraordinary liberality, kindly and compassionate;" yet he was extremely self-opinionated and short-tempered, and, what is worse, he lacked intellectual robustness and his mind was a prey to all kinds of superstitions.

Circumstances had placed him in a position of great authority, and the partiality of a devoted father had secured him honours and offices which made him the target of the envy of his brothers. But he was woefully deficient in the strength which was necessary for the maintenance of his exalted position. In none of the important tasks which were entrusted to him did he prove a success, for he could not inspire confidence in his subordinates and he was a bad judge of men. His siege of Qandhar showed extraordinary inaptitude. He relied for success more on the efficacy of incantations and magic than on military skill and prowess.

Dārā looked upon himself as an adept in mysticism to whom the gates of Tauhīd and 'Irfān had been opened. His friends and companions addressed him as 'Kāmil' (Perfect). Mullā Shāh, his Pīr, called him "Spiritual King" and "Ṣāhibqirān-i-Dil" (Sovereign of the Heart). He claimed by the grace of God to have traversed completely the arduous path of self-realization and to have attained its highest goal, without undergoing any austerities of discipline or experiencing the buffeting vicissitudes of the path. In the spirit of Maṣūm, he boldly declared that the ecstatic sayings (*shathiyāt*) of the great saints which he had collected in *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* were his own. It is difficult to substantiate the claim. His books show an intimate knowledge of mystic literature, but his own statements, uncorroborated by objective evidence, are scarcely adequate to prove that he had in fact undergone the mystical experiences about which he discoursed so learnedly.

He had inherited a mystical disposition. Bābar was known as the royal Qalandar, Akbar was a practical mystic, Jahangir sought the company of yogis and dervishes. It is not surprising that the vein ran through his make-up. But his life does not show Bābar's or Akbar's divine recklessness or supreme self-confidence. Mysticism does not appear to have affected the practical life of Dārā. It did not steel his determination nor inspire his followers with faith in his destiny.

Even his scholarship seemed to be motivated more by superstitious regard for what he saw in his dreams than by the urge to express the ineffable vision of an inward light. It is stated in the preface to his translation of *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha* :

شبهے در واقعہ دیدم کہ دو شخص بزرگ نیک صورت یکے بر بلندی و دوم پس راندگی ایستادہ یکی بشسٹ و دیگر راچند اند و تفاوتے کہ در صورت این دو بزرگ مشاہدہ شدہ ہمین مقدار کہ در محاسن بشسٹ چند موے سفید و در محاسن رام چند موے سفید نہ بود . . . رام چند از روے کمال بہت و سہربانی مارا در بغل گرفتند بعد ازان بشسٹ شرتے بست رام چند دادند کہ من بہ بخش و من آن شرت خوردم .

The dream induced him to undertake the translation of *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*, and he appointed one of his scholars to carry out the work under his guidance.

In the introduction to the *Risāla-i-Haq Numā*, again, he refers to a dream which he saw early in his youth. He was called by a heavenly voice, which repeated to him four times that he had been given what no king on earth had received, namely, divine knowledge. He regarded it as a divine injunction to write a treatise on mystic science.

Whether, then, Dārā suffered from neurotic obsessions and was a psychic susceptible to omnipotence phantasies, or was a highly evolved soul in whom the cosmic consciousness had supervened over the ordinary consciousness, illuminating his soul with the vision of Reality, it is difficult to determine. But there is no doubt that he had a wide knowledge of mystic literature and he wielded a facile pen. His style is easy and graceful, and his exposition of the recondite principles of Sufi philosophy clear and limpid. In his works we find references to a large number of Arabic and Persian treatises, including most of the classics ; he was acquainted with mystical works in Sanskrit—the *Upanishads*, *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga*, *Vedānta*, *Bhagawad Gītā*, *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*. He knew Hindi writings like those of Kabīr, and in his intercourse with Hindu yogis and sannyāsīs had acquired a great deal of information concerning Hindu mystic lore. Again he had read the Christian scriptures—the Psalms, the books of Moses, and the Gospels. His profound scholarship, combined with his broad-mindedness, made him an almost ideal interpreter and reconciler of the deepest truths of the Hindu and Muslim religions. His works are thus as well worthy of study to-day as they were in the times for which they were composed.

It is a mistake, however, to think that Dārā Shikoh was an isolated figure whose efforts to understand and expound the doctrines of Hindu

faith to his co-religionists stand alone, without precedent or following. For the fact of the matter is that from the earliest days of the contact of Islam with India a section of Muslim scholars had evinced real enthusiasm for Hindu ways of thought and sought to gather information about them. The Abbasid caliphs had a regular department for translations, and a section in it was appointed to render Sanskrit works into Arabic. Ya'qūb-al-Kindī, who is known as the philosopher, was a profound scholar of Greek, Arabic, and Sanskrit. Yahya bin Khālid the Barmecide used to hold gatherings of the learned to discuss philosophic and religious theories. During Ghaznavide rule, Abū-Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī wrote his celebrated treatise on India. Fīrōz Shāh Tughlaq had a number of Sanskrit works translated into Persian. During the early period of Muslim rule in India, many Muslim scholars appear to have given attention to Sanskrit works, e.g., Amīr Khusrau. From the 14th century onwards, Muslim poetry and Sufistic works show considerable influence of Hindu ideas, evidence of which is contained in the Malfūzāt and Maktūbāt of the eminent saints of the various orders, and in such works as those of Deccani, Braja, and Oudhi poets, e.g., Niẓāmī, Ghawwāsī, Nuṣratī, 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, Rasā Khān, Malik Muḥammad Jāyasī.

Akbar inaugurated a new era in this work of mutual understanding which, whether patronized by the rulers or not, has continued since his day without interruption, although the establishment of British dominions in India has adversely affected its intensity and volume. It is necessary now to resuscitate the agelong process, and the works of Dārā can eminently serve as the starting point of a fresh advance.

Among Dārā's works the most important is his translation of the *Upanishads*. Dārā has stated in the preface to the translation the circumstances in which he undertook the translation and his object in doing so. The study of the Holy Qur'ān and the scriptures of the Jews and the Christians had produced upon his mind the impression that although they told of the divine mysteries and taught the principle of divine unity (توحيد), their accounts were compendious (مجمّل) and enigmatic (مرموز). It was therefore necessary to turn to the Hindu scriptures, known as the *Upanishads*, in which "all the secrets of the path towards and practices concerning pure Unity are recorded." He also came to the conclusion that not only were the *Upanishads* "the first divine book, the source of truth and the ocean of Unity," but that their teaching agreed with that of the Qur'ān, nay, they were an interpretation and commentary of the Qur'ān. According to him, the reference in the Qur'ān to the "Secret Book" (کتاب مکنون) which God had sent (تنزيل من رب العالمين) was intended to signify the *Upanishads*.¹

In order then to make known these teachings, he collected together

1. It should be noted here that according to the authoritative commentators of the Qur'ān the Secret Book "کتاب مکنون" signifies the Guarded Tablet "لوح محفوظ", the archetype of the Qur'ān in Heaven.—Ed., I.C.

pandits and sannyāsīs at Benares and with their help started to render the text "word for word and truly and accurately" from Sanskrit into Persian. The completion of the translation was an amazing literary feat. For the fifty *Upanishads*, comprising all the important ones and some written in very archaic Sanskrit, were translated within six months during the year 1656. The closing remarks state :

این ترجمه اینکتهتہائے ہرچہار بیید کہ موسوم بہ سراکبر است و تمام معرفت نورالانوار این فقیرے
اندوہ محمد داراشکوہ خود بہ عبارت راست بہ راست در مدت ششہا روز دوشنبہ بست و ششم شہر
رمضان المبارک سنہ ۱۰۶۷ ہجری در شہر دہلی در منزل نگم بودہ با تمام رسانید .

The popularity of the translation may be gauged from the fact that, in spite of the abstract and difficult character of the subject, numerous copies of it were made, and to-day there is scarcely any important library of Persian manuscripts which does not contain a copy.

The Persian *Upnekhat* was translated into Hindi in 1720 (*vide*, Nāgarī Prachārīnī Sabhā, *Report of the Search of Hindi Manuscripts*, 1st Part, p. 15). In Urdu a translation was published in 1860 under the title *Alakha Prakāsha*. The story of Anquetil du Perron's French and Latin translations is well known. His French version was never published, but the Latin one was published in 1801-2, from Paris. It was this translation which influenced the minds of Schelling and Schopenhauer, and through their philosophic speculations introduced Upanishadic ideas into the stream of European thought.

An incomplete translation of the Latin text appeared in Germany in 1808. Raja Rama Mohan Rai produced an English version in 1818-19. Othmar Frank published some portions of the *Upanishads* in 1820-21, in the *Chrestomathie Samskrita and Vyasa, ueber Philosophie, Mythologie, Litteratur und Sprache der Hindu*. Lonjuinus gave a summary of Anquetil du Perron's Latin work in French in 1832. In 1850, 1853 and 1865, A. Webber, analysed the *Upnekhat* in the *Indische Studien* (Vols. I, II, IX), and in 1897, Paul Deussen published *Sechzig Upanishads des Vedas*—a German rendering of the *Upanishads* on the basis of several Sanskrit collections and Dārā's *Upnekhat*.

In spite of assertions to the contrary, Dārā's translation has still valuable services to render. Among the lesser ones two may be considered here: first, the light it throws upon the phonetics of Sanskrit in the 17th century ; secondly, in determining the number and text of the *Upanishads*.

So far as the pronunciation of Sanskrit words is concerned, it may be noted that Dārā, who used many Sanskrit words in the translation, reproduced in Persian the sounds which he heard from the Pandits of Benares. The pronunciation shows that the tendencies which were operative in Prakrits affected the Sanskrit sounds also. For instance, the ultimate इ and उ are dropped ; examples are سکھیت (*sukhupat*) for सुकृति

(*suṣupti*), *پرجاپت* (*parjāpat*) for *प्रजापति* (*prajāpati*), *پركرت* (*parkirit*) for *प्रकृति* (*prakṛiti*), *ادت* (*adit*) for *अदिति*; *من* (*man*) for *मनु* (*manu*), *کام دهن* (*kāmdhen*) for *कामधेनु* (*kāmadhenu*). The Sanskrit ऋ (*ri*) was pronounced as *ر* (*ru*) or *ر* (*ir*) or *ر* (*ar*); for example, *رگ* (*rug*) for *ऋग्* (*rig*), *بهرگ* (*bhirig*) for *भृग्* (*bhrigu*), *نرسنگ* (*narsing*) for *नृसिंह* (*nṛsimha*). The semivowel *य* (*ya*) undergoes various changes. If it is at the beginning or at the end of a word it is changed into *ज* (*ja*), e.g., *यजुस्* (*yajus*) is *ججر* (*jajur*), *अन्तर्यामी* (*antaryāmī*) is *انترجامی* (*antarjāmī*), *ब्रह्मचर्य* (*brahmacharya*) is *برهم چرچ*. Sometimes it is dropped, as in *ادھیا* (*adhyā*) for *अध्याय* (*adhyāya*); and sometimes it is changed to *اے* (*ai*) as in *پرلے* (*parlai*) for *प्रलय* (*pralaya*). The semivowel *व* (*va*) is either dropped or changed into *उ* (*u*); examples are *ایشر* (*īshar*) for *ईश्वर* (*īswara*), *اشمیدھ* (*ashmēdh*) for *अश्वमेध* (*aswamedha*), *سپن* (*supan*) for *स्वप्न* (*swapna*).

The consonantal *व* (*va*) is changed into *ब* (*ba*); as *اتھربن* (*atharban*) for *अथर्वन्* (*atharvan*), *بید* (*bed*) for *वेद* (*veda*), *بديا* (*bidyā*) for *विद्या* (*vidyā*).

Some consonants also undergo modifications. *क्ष* (*kṣa*) is changed to *छ* (*chha*); *ण* (*na*) to *न* (*na*); and *ष* (*ṣa*) to *ख* (*kha*). Examples are: *پچھ* (*pachh*) for *पक्ष* (*pakṣa*); *انترچھ* (*antarichh*) for *अन्तरिक्ष* (*antarikṣa*); *چھرکا* (*chhurikā*) for *क्षुरिका* (*kṣurikā*); *پران* (*parān*) for *प्राण* (*prāna*); *بشن* (*bishan*) for *विष्णु* (*viṣṇu*); *انیکھت* (*upnikhat*) for *उपनिषत्* (*upaniṣat*); *پرکھ* (*purukh*) for *पुरुष* (*puruṣa*).

The initial combined consonants of Sanskrit words become separated, e.g., *پركرت* (*parkirit*) for *प्रकृति* (*prakṛiti*), *پرنو* (*parnav*) for *प्रणव* (*pranava*); *برهم* (*barham*) for *ब्रह्म* (*brahma*).

Dārā's translation also throws a great deal of light upon the number and the text of the *Upanishads*. To-day the number of treatises which bear the title of *Upanishad* is quite undetermined. Roer counts 123, Weber 145, Max Müller 149, Burnell 170, and some scholars 235. It is obvious that the number has been increasing through the centuries; if in the time of Akbar an *Allāh Upanishad* was composed, the 20th century has seen the appearance of *Chitragupta* and *Rāshtrīya Upanishads*. Messrs. Belvalkar and Ranade regard sixteen *Upanishads* as really ancient. They point out that of these some eight are referred to in Bādarayana's *Vedānta Sūtras*; Sankarāchārya (9th century) quotes 13 in his commentary on the *Sūtras*; Vāchaspati Misra (9th century) and Rāmānujāchārya (12th century) give indications of some 25 *Upanishads*; Sankarānanda (*cir.* 1300) in his summary of *Vedānta* teaching draws upon some 24 *Upanishads*; Nārāyana somewhat later wrote *Dipikās* on nearly 50 of them. In the 17th

century the number 52 seems to have become canonical in connection with *Ātharvāna Upanishads*. In a copy of Dārā Shikoh's *Sirr-i-Akbar* made by one Chaturbhuj Kaul in the month of Jamādi-us-Sānī in the year 1158 A.H., corresponding with the 28th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, it is stated :

این اپنشد هائے پنجاه و دو یعنی کتاب الله که به سراکبر موسوم است

The number appears to increase from now onwards. Dārā's translation therefore represents the state of the text in the middle of the 17th century.

A comparison of the Persian translation with the Sanskrit text as printed by the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, in 1917, in their collection of 108 *Upanishads*, reveals a lot of variation.

It is not possible to give an exhaustive list of additions, omissions, and alterations which seem to have occurred since Dārā translated the *Upanishads*, but a few illustrations may be adduced to indicate the utility of the work in fixing the *Upanishadic* text. For this purpose, the text of *Chhāndogya Upanishad* may be examined.

The *Chhāndogya* consists of eight chapters (*prapāṭhaka* and *adhyāya*) each divided into a number of sections (*khaṇḍa*) varying from 13 to 26. The first section of the first chapter of Dārā's translation corresponds with the Sanskrit text as given in the Bombay edition, although a few sentences of an explanatory nature have been introduced to make the meaning clear. The second and third sections of Dārā follow the Bombay text, but the third chapter of Dārā omits the last four verses, namely, Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12. Then the 5th, 6th, 7th, 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th sections are omitted from the Persian translation. The second and third chapters of the Bombay edition are not found in Dārā's translation. His translation is based upon a different version, which is given in the text of the *Chhāndogya* published by the Gita Press, Gorakhpore (1937).

In the fourth chapter the Bombay text follows closely the Persian translation, but its last two sections (16 and 17) are not to be found in the translation. Dārā has omitted many names of persons and places that occur in the Sanskrit original.

The fifth chapter of the Persian translation omits the second verse of the first section, and adds a few sentences from Sankara's commentary ; the first three verses of the second section are given, but verses 4 to 8 are wanting. Sections 3 to 11 are again absent from the translation, but all the remaining sections 11 to 24 are found. All the sections and verses of the sixth chapter in the Sanskrit edition agree with Dārā's translation, which is quite literal. Again all the 25 sections of the seventh chapter and the 15 sections of the eighth are identical in the Persian translation and the Sanskrit text. In some places some liberty has been taken with illustrative material, and sentences have been added for the sake of clarification.

Dārā's version is thus valuable because it shows that in the 17th century the text of the *Chhândogya* known to the Pandits of Benares was different from the text published in Bombay (1917), which is the same as that translated by Max Müller for the *Sacred Books of the East*, by Deussen in *Sechzig Upanishads des Vedas*, by Hume in the *Thirteen Upanishads*, and summarized by Belvalkar and Ranade in the *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 2. Dārā's text agrees more closely with the recension published recently in the North (Gorakhpore), but here too there are many differences; the modern Sanskrit edition contains many passages which are obviously later interpolations.

An analysis of a number of other *Upanishads* shows that similar conclusions may be drawn about them. But there are quite a number of *Upanishads* which show no changes of the text.

It is of interest, too, that a number of texts which Dārā treated as *Upanishads* are not treated as such in the later collections; e.g. (1) *Tadeva*, which is made up of the 32nd chapter of *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* and the 121st *Sūkta* of the tenth *Maṇḍala* of *Rigveda*; (2) *Puruṣa Sūkta* or the 90th *Sūkta* of the tenth *Maṇḍala* of *Rigveda*; (3) *Sata Rūdrīya*, a hymn of the *Black Yajur Veda*, 16th chapter, *Taittirīya Samhitā*; (4) *Susankalpa*, or verses 1 to 6 of the 34th chapter of the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*; and *Pranava*, which is a part of the *Gopatha Brāhmanā*.

Four of the *Upanishads* included in Dārā's translation, namely, *Vāshkala*, *Chhāgaleya*, *Ārṣeya*, *Saunaka*, were untraceable till they were discovered in the Adyar Library, Madras, by Schrader and edited by Belvalkar.

It is evident from these considerations that in the determination of the original text of the *Upanishads* Dārā's *Upnekhat* can play a very useful part.

But the most remarkable contribution of the translation is that it throws a flood of light upon similarities between Hindu and Muslim mystic philosophies. Dārā himself was so struck by these resemblances that in the preface to the translation and in the glossary of technical terms attached to it he has drawn pointed attention to them. His two treatises, *Risāla-i-Haq Numā* (1646) and *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* (1654) and *Dialogue between Dārā and Bābā Lāl*, emphasize the same conclusion. Now this is a fact of great importance, for the mystical was the dominant way of thought and life of both Hindus and Muslims in the Middle Ages. Behind the war of creeds and sects which disturbed the surface of life flowed the deep current of mystic thought and experience which tended to obliterate social distinctions and communal antagonisms. In fact it provided the ethos for that common culture in the building of which all sections of the Indian people took part. Not only did it inspire the poet and the singer, the architect and the painter, but it also gave to the life of man that detachment and balance which rescued him from sordidness, vulgarity, and egotism; and when the light of mysticism began to fail in the 18th century the decadence of Indian society set in.

Dārā's admirable scholarship has provided us with means to understand the community of thought upon which was founded the cultural achievement of those times. Now mysticism is a spiritual discipline whose object is a complete transformation of the inner man. In ordinary consciousness, we are so immersed in the limited, contingent world of time and space, of name and form, that we utterly forget our true and essential nature. It is to this state that Jalāluddīn Rūmī refers : چیست دنیا از خدا غافل بدن and it is the aim of mysticism to awaken man from this illusory existence and make him realize his oneness with the true reality.

The process by which the veils enshrouding the truth are removed is known as the mystic path, *sulūk, tariqa, patha*. It involves a metaphysics which defines the nature of reality, a cosmology which explains the manifestations of reality in the outer world, an ethics which lays down the practical course for the attainment of the goal of human seeking, a psychology which describes the stages of consciousness through which the soul rises to oneness with truth, and a theory of knowledge which describes the end of our spiritual journey.

Now it is not possible to discuss all these matters at all adequately within the limits of an article, and therefore all that will be attempted here is a very brief outline of the comparative concepts of the two philosophies.

The most fundamental problem of these philosophies is that of knowledge. Several questions arise in this connection ; for instance, what is the nature of knowledge, what is the standard of its validity, what are the means of its attainment and the process by which it is attained ? On all these questions, Vedānta and Taṣawwuf give almost identical answers.

Knowledge, according to both, is of two kinds. Ghazzālī calls one worldly and the other spiritual, Hujwairī, human and divine. The first is philosophic knowledge, useful in worldly pursuits ; it is acquired through demonstration, argument and teaching, but it is incapable of securing the welfare of the soul. The other is the knowledge of God, other than whom there is none (*mā siwā'*) ; it brings about emancipation from evil and realization of the ultimate truth ; it comes by the grace (*faīd*) of God. The first kind of knowledge is acquired through the senses and the discursive reason, the second by stilling the activity of the senses which produce motion in the mind (*khawāṭir*), by purifying the heart (*ṭazkīya-i-nafs*), by mystical union (*murāqaba* and *mukāshafa*). The validity of worldly knowledge is contingent ; the truth of the other lies in its inner certainty, its correspondence with the revelation of God. The first is subordinate to purposes of the second, and in so far as it promotes them is praiseworthy, otherwise harmful.

Ghazzālī compares the two types of knowledge in the parable of the well. The receptacle of knowledge is the heart, knowledge is the water which fills it. There are two ways of filling the well ; one is to bring water

from outside and the other from inside. The well of the heart is filled when through the five channels of the senses dirty liquid is poured into it ; the better way is to stop the channels, to dig inwards, and allow the hidden springs to well forth with clean water.

The *Upanishads* give a similar account of knowledge. They differentiate between *aparā* (अपरा) or lower, and *parā* (परा) or higher. The first type of knowledge is experimental and consists of empirical sciences, whose goal is pleasure (*preyas*), and it is gained by means of argument (*tarka*) and study of books. But this kind of knowledge (*pān-dītya*) is verbal (*nāma eva*) ; it cannot lead to final beatitude (*sreyas*). The higher knowledge is the knowledge of "no other" (*yatra nānyam vjānāti*), of the infinite (*bhūmā*), of the eternal (*amritam*). This knowledge is obtained by the favour of God (*prasāda*), and its end is perfect bliss (*paramānanda*). The means of this knowledge are pacification of the organs of sense in the soul (*ātmani sarvendriyani sampratiṣṭhāpya*), actionlessness (*akratu*), turning the gaze inward (*āvrittachakṣus*), and practice of yoga (*dhyāna* and *samādhi*).

Obviously the lower knowledge cannot be regarded as true, for it is the knowledge of the finite (*alpa*), of the other (*anyad*), of the changeful (*kṣaram*). It leads from darkness to darkness, and it is as good as ignorance (*avidyā*). The higher knowledge is the true and valid knowledge, for it leads from darkness into light, from the many unto one. It is knowledge which the self reveals to the self.

The problem of knowledge is intimately related to that of being, for knowledge is the relation between the knower and the object, and it is necessary to understand the nature of the two. Now both Hindu and Muslim philosophers agree in regarding reality as one without a second (*ekamevādviṭiyam, wāhedahu lā sharīk*), and the philosophy is known as monism (*advaita, tauḥīd*).

It is hardly necessary to give all the terms used in describing this reality, but the words in Arabic and Sanskrit have identical meanings. This reality is absolute (*muṭlaq, param*), it is the truth of truths (*ḥaḳīqat-ul-haḳā'iq, satyasya satyam*), light of light (*nūrun 'ala nūrin, jyotiṣām jyotis*). What is other than this (*mā siwa, anyad*) is a mental figment, an imaginary entity (*ma'lūm-i-ma'dūm, maujūd-i-mauhūm ; mithyā kalpanā māyā*). It is independent of space, time, and causality ; it is both concealed and manifest (*bāṭin, zāhir ; avyakta, vyakta*), both transcendent and immanent (*muḥīt, sārī ; sarvavyāpi, antaryāmi*). In fact it is indescribable, unknowable. Says the *Brihadāranyaka Upanishad* :

केन कं विजानीयाद्येनेदं सर्वं विजानाति तं केन विजानीयाद्विज्ञातातरम् ।

(How should he know him through whom he knows all this, how should he know the knower ?) ; and says Abul-Ḥusayn an-Nūrī : فلم يكن للعقل ان يعرف الله الا بالله (For it is not for reason to know God but through God).

According to Jāmī : حقیقت حق سبحانه نه در علم گنجد ونه در عیان (The essence of the Truth most glorious cannot be contained within knowledge or vision), and *Kena Upanishad* says : न तत्र चक्षुर्गच्छति न वाग्गच्छति नो मनः । (neither eye there penetrates, nor speech, nor thought).

What then is the relation of the world to the Absolute ? There are many answers to the question, but one may be noted here.

The Absolute by its very nature is a mixture of opposites ; it has no determination and has to be spoken of in negative terms. In its absolute transcendence (*tanzīh*) it is unknowable; hence in order to make judgments about it, it has to be brought into relation with creation (*tashbīh*). The departure from absoluteness begins the very moment thought strives to apprehend it. As no apprehension is possible without a disruption into subject and object, the first stage in the process of descent from the Absolute is the logical separation of object from subject. This separation may involve negation, which may be absolute or relative. A relative negation is a gradually evolving determination.

The Absolute is without name and form (*ism, Şifāt ; nāma, rūpa*), its progress in determination must imply the ascription to it of more and more of them. Each ascription takes us farther from the Absolute, in other words, conceals it behind veils. Each stage of concealment may also be regarded as a manifestation of the Unconditioned Absolute in modes and aspects of the conditioned.

The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* explains this in these words : तद्धेदं तर्ह्यव्याकृतमासीत्तन्नामरूपाभ्यामेव व्याक्रियते । 1. 4. 7, (This universe then was not unfolded, but it unfolded itself in name and form). And the *Aitareya* says : आत्मा वा इदमेकेवाय आसीन्नान्यत्किंचिन्मिपत्स ईक्षत लोकान्नु सृजा इति । (This soul verily was one only in the beginning, no other thing winking. He thought, let me now create the worlds). In a similar strain it is said in the *Ḥadīth* : كنت كنزا مخفيا فاحببت ان اعرف فخلقت الخلق (I was a hidden treasure, then I desired to be known ; so I brought the creation into existence).

The mode of creation, the graduated series of manifestations, according to the old *Upanishads* is as follows :—

The Absolute which is designated as Person (*puruṣa*) descends into the Unmanifest (*avyakta*), the Unmanifest into the Great Self (*mahān ātmā*), the Great Self into intellect (*buddhī*), intellect into mind (*manas*), mind into the sense objects (*artha*), and the sense objects into senses (*indriya*).

This account of the *Kaṭha Upanishad* implies a metaphysical scheme, in which the Absolute as the undirempted unity of subject and object breaks into a universal subject (Great Self or *mahān ātmā*) and a universal object (Unmanifest, *avyakta*). The universal subject is called by the name of Golden Germ (*hiranyagarbha*). He is the first-born of creation,

the sustainer of the universe, the source of all wisdom (*vedas*). He is the Great Soul, the self-conscious of all (*sarvāham māni*), which participates in the three attributes (*gunas*) of the Unmanifest to produce the entire universe, including the individual souls. The Great Soul has three aspects—creator, preserver, and destroyer—and each one of them is embodied in an agent (god), namely, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahesa; thence proceed other souls. From the Unmanifest is derived intellect (*buddhi*) which is non-sentient, but which is illumined by the Great Soul (*mahān-ātmā*). This unity of the two constitutes the empirical self (*jīva ātmā*). Again from the Unmanifest are derived the unspecialized and specialized elements (*tanmātras* and *gunas*) from which the world of matter proceeds. Man is the meeting-place of the conscious and the unconscious principles.

The schemes of the descent of the Absolute (*tanzīl*) in the Sufi schools of thought do not differ much from the *Upanishadic* scheme. According to Ibn-ul-'Arabī, for instance, there are five stages in the process of evolution of creation. The first is the stage of ipseity (*waḥdat*), of identity of the outward and the inward. The second stage arrives when this identity is sundered and absolute inwardness (*buṭūn*) confronts transcendent unity (*wāḥidiyat*). From this proceeds the unity-in-plurality (*aḥdīyat*), the manifestation of essence in attributes and of attributes in essence. The fourth and fifth stages are those of the world of ideas and of bodies.

The stage of *wāḥidiyat* is known as that of *Ḥaḳīqat-i-Muḥammadiya* (the Reality or Idea of Muḥammad). As Jilī points out, this is identical with the Spirit (*ar Rūh*), which is a mode of the uncreated Holy Divine Spirit (*Rūh-ul-Quds*), the *ḥaqq* (idea) by means of which the world is created and the medium through which God becomes conscious of Himself in creation. The *Ḥaḳīqat-i-Muḥammadiya* is the axis (*qutb*) of the world, endued with lofty attributes. All the angels are created from it, for it is called the father of spirits (*abu'l-arwāḥ*), and Gabriel, Michael, Seraphiel and Azrael are embodiments of its attributes. Gabriel is the mode of reason, the first intelligence (*'aql-i-awwal*); Michael, the dispenser of the portions of fate is the manifestation of spiritual light; Seraphiel, the mightiest of angels and the nearest to God, is created from the conscience (*qalb*) of Muḥammad; while Azrael embodies the judgement of Muḥammad and hence is the angel of death. The stage of *aḥdīyat* is that of the reality of man; it is the theatre of God's names and forms (*asmā, Ṣifāt*), of the externalization of being. The last two are stages of the revelation of the intelligible world and the world of contingency or the sensible world.

Man thus stands in the middle with the inward, the spirit of Muḥammad on one side, and the outward, the two-fold world of intelligence and sense, on the other side.

In his *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, Dārā notes the correspondence between the *Upanishadic* and Sufistic cosmologies. But even more remarkable than these are the similarities of the two in their ethical practices and

the concepts which underlie them. Among both schools of mystics the descent of God into man constitutes only one half of the great circle of reality, the other half consisting of the ascent of man to God. Both regard man as the bearer of divine consciousness in whom association with body has concealed the light of reality behind the many veils of ignorance. In order, therefore, that man may know that he is one with Truth, he must remove the veils. Their removal leads to the attainment of knowledge which is God-realization or Self-realization, or Salvation (*mukṭi*, *najāt*), and the method by which the goal is reached is the part of mystic discipline (*sulūk*, *ṭarīqat*, *patha*, *mārga*). This pilgrimage of the spirit from the spirit to the spirit—as Hegel designated it—is a high and exciting adventure, and no one may set out upon it who is not firm of will, stout of heart, and certain of God’s favour.

The traveller on this path meets at the very threshold a serious difficulty. What is to be his attitude towards revealed religion, its laws and dogmas (*sharī‘at*, *karmakānda*), injunctions, and prohibitions (*awāmir*, *nawāhī*, *vidhi*, *niṣedha*)? The answer of the Hindu and the Muslim schools of mysticism is the same. It is necessary to follow the law, but law is not sufficient.

Abul-Naṣr Sarrāj states that much is common between the Sufis and the people of Ḥadīth and Fiqh, but “beyond that which is common the Sufis pass on to those high stages and elevated stations of worship, obedience and good conduct which the Ulemā and Fuqahā (doctors of learning and law) and Aṣḥāb-i-Ḥadīth (the learned in the sayings of the Prophet) can never reach.” (*Kitāb-ul-Luma’*).

Sankara in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*, which is the most authoritative treatise on *Vedānta*, makes a difference between *Dharma jijnāsa* (search for the knowledge of duties) and *Brahma jijnāsa* (search for the knowledge of the Absolute) and holds that the latter knowledge cannot be attained merely through the scriptures (*sruti*), but requires direct knowledge through experience (*anubhava*).

This higher knowledge (*ma‘rifat*, *jnāna*) cannot be acquired without the help of a teacher (*guru*, *murshid*); as Dārā says, “The attainment of God depends upon finding one who has renounced all”:

خدایابی موقوف است بر فقیر یابی

The path of mystic discipline upon which a qualified teacher alone can lead an enquirer successfully is divided into two parts. The first stage is that of preparation and the second that of achievement. The Sufis designate the first by such terms as *muḥāsiba*, *mujāhida*, and the yogis by *yama* and *niyama*. The second part is known as *murāqiba*, *mush-āhida*, *mukāshifa*, and *samyama*, *dhyāna*, *samādhi*. It is not possible to describe in detail the activities (*‘amal*), virtues (*akhlāq*), stations (*maqā-māt*), states (*aḥwāl*), and the training and etiquette (*‘ādāb*) involved in this discipline; but it is of great interest to understand the psychological

experiences which the mystic undergoes as he proceeds on his inward journey.

According to mystic philosophy man is essentially and really identical with the Supreme Spirit, but in him the Absolute has become immersed in the relative, which is the negative of the Absolute and causes its determinations. Behind the empirical and transient being, however, stands the eternal and the unconditioned. It follows from this, that man cannot for ever remain estranged from his true being, but must turn his face towards it, and realize his oneness with it. What is required of him, therefore, is to negate the negations which have created the temporary sense of alienness. Unfortunately man finds himself so overpowered by the world of time and place to which he has become attached by the ties of sense, that efforts of unusual strength are needed to break them. This effort implies two kinds of exercises (*riyāḍat*, *abhyāsa*)—psychological and physiological.

The sense activities and the outward tendencies of the mind merge man into the world and make him forget that he is different from them and above them. This ignorance can be removed and the senses restrained by physiological exercises. Therefore mystics have prescribed the course of posturing (*āsana*, *nishasta*), of breathing (*prānāyāma*, *ḥabs-i-dam*), and of endeavouring to withdraw the senses from contact with their objects (*pratyāhāra*, *tazkīya-i-nafs*). Here is Dārā's description of this process :

هر دو دست را بر سر هر دو زانو نهاده و به هر دو انگشت هر دو سوراخ گوشه‌ها را مسدود ساخته چنانچه ازان راه نفس بیرون نه رود و بر هر دو انگشت شهادت هر دو چشم را بگیرد و باین طریق که پلک بالا را بر پایان آورده به هر دو انگشت استوار دارد که انگشت بر دیده‌ها نیاید و انگشتان خنصر و بنصر هر دو دست بالا را هر دو لب گذاشته راه نفس بگیرد و هر دو انگشت میانه را بر هر دو پره بینی با این طریق که سوراخ طرف چپ را وا گذاشته لاله الا الله را دم بدم گرفته نفس را بالا می‌دماغ رسانیده بدل فرود آرد بعد ازان سوراخ طرف چپ را نیز محکم ساخته در جیس بنشیند .

These instructions about breathing-exercises include the manner of in-breathing, out-breathing and holding the breath (*āward-o-burd*, *ḥabs* ; *pūraka*, *rechaka*, *kumbhaka*), and of passing the breath through arteries (*shiryān*, *nādī*) and centres (*dil*, *chakra*) of which three are specially mentioned, *viz.*, the cypress-coned heart (*dil-i-šanobari*), the lotus heart (*dil-i-nīlofarī*), the spherical heart or the mother of the brain (*dil-i-mudawwar* or *umm-ud-dīmāgh*). These centres are identified with the solar (*manipura*), pelvic (*mūlādhāra*), and cerebral (*brahma*) plexuses (*chakras*).

Breathing is to be accompanied with the recital of the name of God. According to the Sufis the greatest of his names (*ism-i-a'zam*) is 'Allāh' and according to the yogis 'Om.' Dārā points out that the two have an identical significance, both indicate the triune nature of the Lord as creator, preserver, and destroyer.

Among the forms of recitation the highest place is given to silent repetition (*dhikr-i-khafī, ajapā jāpa*), which is called the sovereign among devotional exercises (*sultān-ul-adhkār*); one who is engaged on it repeats the name involuntarily, loses the consciousness of physiological changes like waking and sleeping, is withdrawn from the world of external senses, and hears unstruck sounds (*anāhata vāda, āwāz-i-laṭīf*). It is to these sounds that the mystic poets refer when they speak of the "tinkling of bells" (*bāng-i-jaras*).

The purpose of these exercises is to induce that psychological concentration (*ekāgratā, yaksū'i*) without which self-realization is impossible. Knowledge of reality (*jnāna, ma'rifat*) cannot arise so long as mental modifications (*vritti, mail-i-ṭaba'*) continue. For the mystic, the individual self may recognize that he is the universal self only when the occurrences and apprehensions of the external world (*khawāṭir, wasāwis*) cease to disturb the tranquillity of mind. Not till the outward is completely shut off can the inward see itself as it is. In order to pacify the mind meditation (*dhyāna, murāqaba*) is needed, it leads to absorption (*samādhi, jadhb*), and that ultimately to the great vision of the ineffable reality (*sākṣātkāra, mushāhida*).

The psychological process covers four stages (*bhūmi, manzil*). The Ṣufis name them *nāsūt, malakūt, jabrūt, and lāhūt*. In *Vedānta* they are described as *jāgrata, swapna, suṣupti, and turīya*. The descriptions lead one to the conclusion that these terms stand for identical states of the mind. In his *Risāla-i-Haḡnuma*, Dārā has given a full account of these states. According to him the first stage is that of ordinary waking consciousness, in which mind dwells amidst visible sensible objects. It is the world of perception constituted by the perceiving subject, the perceived object, and the act of perception. It is therefore a transient world. The second stage of consciousness is reached through an abstraction. The sensible world is denuded of its determinations and becomes the world of similitudes and forms (*'ālam-i-m;ṭhāl*), and then proceeds to the stage where the objects are neither things nor ideas but consciousness (*arwāḥ*). Obviously the world is invisible and subtle; it is not transient but everlasting. It may be likened to the dream-world where man sees, hears, and associates with all kinds of imaginary beings; but it is different from it, for into this world grossness and evil do not enter. But the mystic ought not to tarry in this pleasant region, for it is full of temptations which may obstruct his progress onwards. It is therefore also called the world of transit (*'ālam-i-mamarr*).

The third stage is that of consciousness of unity in multiplicity. The mystic realizes that the plurality of souls is an illusion. The many is but the manifestation of the one. This state resembles the state of dreamless sleep, but while the latter is involuntary and unconscious, the former is voluntary and deliberate. All impressions, perceptions, and ideas have now disappeared from the mind and it has attained peace (*ārām*)

and power (*tamkīn*).

The highest stage of consciousness is that of complete inwardness (*huwīyat*), every vestige of externality and every shadow of the outward are now removed. All awareness of time and space has vanished. Consciousness stands rooted in its essence, one with the Absolute. The mystic has reached at last the goal of his striving. He knows that the self is *That* (خود را اودانی) and he has lost the awareness of the distinction between I and Thou (پند ارمن وتو نهمانی). He has realized the truth of Unity (*tauḥīd*) and seen the vision of the illumination of Pure Essence (تجلی ذات بحت).

Having achieved this unity the being of the mystic becomes one with the being of all ; "Sorrow, fear, illusion, distance, separation, disappear from the theatre of his heart : the dread of punishment and the hope of reward both release him and he enters into the eternal. He may now do what he likes and live as he chooses."

The account given by Dārā is based on studies in Islamic mysticism mainly, but with a background of knowledge of Hindu *yogasāstra*. A reference to the *Prasna*, *Nrisimhottartāpanīya* or any *yoga Upanishad* corroborates the account. But as these are derived from Patanjali's *Yogasūtras* it is desirable to make a comparison with it.

If the mind is analysed it is found to consist of potencies or root-impressions (*samskāra*), instinctive tendencies (*vāsanā*), and indeterminate or determinate perceptions (*pratyakṣa*). These mental experiences create the ignorance which hides from man the truth about his real self. By concentration (*dhāranā*) and meditation (*dhyāna*) it is possible to control the mind and to lead it to the ecstatic experience of its unity with True Being. This experience develops from lower to higher states of consciousness. Two grades are distinguished, one of *sabīja samādhi* (retaining the seeds of impressions), and the other of *nirbīja samādhi* (seedless). In the first grade again two stages are marked : one is known as *samprajñāta* (conscious) and the other *asamprajñāta* (superconscious) *samādhi*. The first stage begins with concentration on objects, their names and qualities. The mind is concerned with the knowing self, the state of knowledge, and the objects of knowledge. It is this state of concentration on the images (*savikalpa*) which Dārā in his glossary of technical terms prefixed to the translation of the *Upanishads* describes as برخاستن ذکر و ذاکر و مذکور. But then the images disappear, the mind's many objects give place to one, illumined as a distinct and real object. The other modifications are restrained. The knower identifies himself directly with the known, although deliberation, reflection, joy, and the sense of personality still remain. In this conscious ecstasy, attention alternates between identification with and differentiation from the object, and the existence of feeling, which is the characteristic of non-*Prakṛiti*, implies that the mind has not yet rid itself of its non-intelligent disturbances.

In *asamprajnāta samādhi* consciousness attains complete tranquillity; the alternation of rise and decay of mental modifications and impressions ceases. The obscurations born of matter (*tamas*) or energy (*rajas*) vanish in the light of the self which illumines the intellect. Only consciousness of pure object and self remains. Mind becomes grounded in itself, it is like a cloud of virtue (*dharmamegha*) which rains blessings on the lower planes.

Then the last stage is reached, which is the fulfilment and perfection of *sabija samādhi*. The consciousness of object and the consciousness of self both disappear. Mind attains that effulgent solitude (*kaivalya*) in which no trace of even the residual potencies (*bija*) remains. At last all otherness is at an end, the ascent to Godhead is achieved.

It is not difficult to recognize in these stages correspondence with the characteristics of the states of waking, sleep, dreamless sleep and the fourth (*turiya*), as a reference to their analysis in the *Prasna* and other *Upanishads* bears out.

It is to the everlasting credit of Dārā Shikoh that he investigated the subtle regions of mystical philosophy in the spirit of an earnest seeker after truth, entered with sympathy into their profound significance, and revealed the essential unity of Hindu and Muslim ways of thought.

TARA CHAND.

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TĪPŪ'S RELATIONS WITH THE NIZAM AND THE MARATHAS DURING THE PERIOD 1785-87

THE Treaty of Mangalore of 1784 was an unpleasant surprise for the Marathas and the Nizām. They had hardly expected that the English would accept such unfavourable terms. Hastings called it a "humiliating pacification."¹ The Marathas regarded it as going against the spirit of the Treaty of Salbai ; the Nizām felt that his prestige was at stake, and the Nawāb Wālā Jāh wrote to the governor-general expostulating to the English and warning them against giving any further concessions to the Sultan. But the Treaty of Mangalore was merely a truce which was not expected to last very long.² Both Indian and English statesmen knew this. Indeed Nānā Farnāvīs was counting upon the renewal of hostilities between the Sultan and the English. The English, however, were at this time too cautious to intervene in any further conflict with Indian powers. They did feel sore about the problem of the prisoners taken by Tīpū, but all the same they did not want to violate the treaty just to oblige the Marathas and the Nizām. However, Tīpū Sultan still claimed Bijapore, and Nānā Farnāvīs was anxious to recover the Raichur Doab which had been seized by Haidar 'Alī at a time when the Maratha power was paralysed by internal feuds.³ Hence the Nizām and the Marathas combined against Tīpū. Indeed the Poona Darbar was meditating hostilities against Tīpū even in 1783, when that prince was facing the English on the Malabar Coast. Mr. James Anderson wrote to his headquarters from Binde, on September 13th, 1783, that "The Poona Darbar being more firmly determined to send troops to act against Tipu after the rains, Mr. David Anderson be requested to write to Col. Charles Morgan desiring him to suspend his return to Bengal and remain to co-operate with their army against Tipoo."⁴ This information was based upon a letter received from Nānā Farnāvīs by Mahadaji Sindhia. But this plan did not materialize in 1783. In 1785 Poona again pressed the governor-general to send assistance against Tīpū. In a letter to the governor-general the Peshwa informs him that he and Nawāb Nizām 'Alī had

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 333.

2. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VII, Introduction, p. x.

3. N. K. Sinha, *Haider Ali*, p. 219.

4. *Secret Consultation*, 29th September 1783, No. 8 (Imperial Records Department).

planned a campaign and made the necessary preparations. He requested him to despatch five regiments to him and five regiments to the Nawāb before Dasahra, to co-operate with them on active service. The question of their pay had already been settled between Mr. Johnson and the Nawāb.¹

It was perhaps this desire on the part of the Poona Darbar that led them to turn down the proposals of the wakīls of Tipū Sultan who were sent to Poona with many precious gifts and 10 lakhs of rupees.² Tipū however, had intimated to the Poona government, through his wakīls Muḥammad Ghiyāth Khān and Nūr Muḥammad Khān, that he was going to chastise the zamindar of Nergund if the latter was not brought to reason by the Maratha chiefs.³ The Marathas had already made a demand for three years' tribute from Mysore which was in arrears. Tipū did not deny the debt, but he did not want any interference from Poona in his relations with his own subjects. Writing to his wakīl, Muḥammad Ghiyāth, he asks, "If a petty zamindar, and a subject of our government like this, may not be punished, how shall our authority be maintained?"⁴ But it was not so much a question of Tipū's sovereignty over Nergund as of Nānā Farnāvis' passion to recover all the territory which had been lost in the civil war of Raghoba, and in the Nizām he found a willing ally in taking up arms against Tipū. The most surprising circumstance was that the English were not forthcoming to aid the confederates against Tipū. Malet on his first visit to the Peshwa gave a non-committal reply to the Poona demand for help. Describing his interview with Bahizo Pundit he writes to the governor-general, "He (Bahizo Pundit) mentioned the offer of the French, drew some merit from the rejection of them, and insisted much on the evil consequences that would follow should they join the opposite party, in which event, should they be induced to accommodate matters with Tippoo, his freedom from apprehension on this side would be followed by hostilities to us, his inclination to which was evinced by daily conduct."⁵ Malet, however, first wanted to know the nature of the assistance required, the terms and the manners and the security that would be given against circumstances of pacification, defeat, and so forth. The threat either of a Franco-Maratha alliance or of a combination of Indian powers against the British was not regarded as sufficient ground for assisting the Marathas against Tipū and violating a recent treaty with that prince. Similarly, the Nizām's entreaty for an alliance was put off and efforts were made to convince him that the treaty of 1768 was enough for all purposes. Indeed, at a time when both the Marathas and the Nizām were eager to seek the alliance of the British against their bitterest enemy, and the other European powers in India were desirous to have closer relations with those two powers even at the

1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, letter No. 353, Vol. VII.

2. *Nishān-i-Iḥaidārī*, by Husain 'Alī Kirmānī, p. 299.

3. *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*, edited by Kirkpatrick, p. 7.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. II, letter No. 2.

risk of breaking away from Tipū, the reluctance of the British was perplexing. The governor-general, however, in a remarkable minute¹ explains the policy of his government. It lays down that "Considering the state of our finances and the uncertainty of all negotiations with the country States the line of this government was clear before them. It was to avoid war and every connection or engagement that might involve us in war, and to devote our labour and attention to regulate our finance, to reduce our expenses within salutary bounds, to restore the company's credits at home and their investments without heavy drafts upon their credit, and above all to adopt such regulations as would, in the event of war, enable us to carry it on upon a system of regular disbursements, of check and economy in accounts. Considering the difficulties incident to the reduction of established expenses in all governments and particularly in a country where the servants of government serve not for subsistence but with a view to acquiring fortune, and considering the progress which the Board has made in the great object which called for reform and future regulation, we may congratulate ourselves upon the part of our duty which has been executed and look forward with confidence to the difficulties before us, whether they arise from the intrigues of a rival nation, the contests of the country powers, or from the regulations necessary to raise the credit of our treasury, or support that of the company in Europe." The "safest system," according to Mr. Macpherson, who was the first to initiate the policy of "masterly inactivity" was not to raise the jealousy of any of the Indian powers by negotiations or by views hostile to their particular interests, but "to endeavour to obtain perfect intelligence of their designs and to let them severally and unitedly feel that though we wish not to be parties in their own disputes we are determined to maintain a decisive influence in whatever scale we may think it just and political to throw the force of our aid."

Mr. Macpherson also knew about the diplomatic missions from Pondicherry to Poona, as he writes in the same minute: "This event (referring to the break-down of the negotiations between Tipū and the French) induced the administration of Pondicherry to apply to the Nizām and to the Marathas to form closer connections with them; two vessels were despatched to France in October last to announce to the court of Versailles the conduct of Tipoo and the state of French negotiations in this country." Mr. Macpherson, however, knew the limits of his policy and he therefore concludes: "If the peshwa, Tippoo, or Nizām 'Alī mean to enter into engagements with France, hostile to our interests, we must then take a decided line to counteract such engagements and to maintain the security of these provinces at every hazard; for there is certainly a point beyond which a pacific system, however desirable, cannot be pursued to the attainment of any permanent tranquillity." Thus, though the British were vigilant about their interests, they were not ready to

1. *Secret Consultation*, December 7, 1785, No. 7a.

enter into any scheme of alliance against Tipū to whom the governor-general had recently written a quite friendly letter."¹ Therefore, when the Nizām and the Peshwa met at Udgir, they were without any European ally. Vicomte de Souillac, the French general, was only too eager to assist the Marathas. Sayyid Nūr-ud-Dīn, one of the news-writers for the British at Poona, in his Persian paper of intelligence, sent the information that "Mons. Montigny, wakil from the king of France, acquainted Nana that Mons. Souillac, formerly governor of Mauritius and at present general of Pondicherry, had come to Goa merely to see him (Mons. Montigny) and that 10,000 French have assembled in three detachments near the sea-side, waiting for orders to join Nana whenever he should break the treaty with the English government."² But the Marathas, in the hope of winning over the British and also because of the Sindhia's strong disapproval of a French alliance, did not consider the French proposal very seriously. The confederacy against Tipū consisted merely of such Maratha chiefs as had accepted the leadership of Nānā Farnāvīs and of the Nizām of Hyderabad. The British government was kept well informed about the movements of the rival forces by the news-writers of the intelligence service quartered at Hyderabad and Poona. Meanwhile Tipū was having obvious success in his siege of Nergund, and so Nana was getting anxious to attack the territory of the Mysore ruler. He personally accompanied the Maratha army in order to meet Nizām 'Alī and decide upon a plan of attack. They met at Udgir, a town in Gulbarga district. The Nizām was accompanied by such of his nobles as Najmuddaulah Ghulam Haider Khan Saif Jung, and Abul-Faṭḥ Khan Tēgh Jung, along with 40 thousand cavalry and 50 thousand infantry.³ The news-writer at the court of the Nizām in his reports of weekly intelligence gives the following account of their meeting.

"On the 15th instant (February) Horard Jung (?), the Soubah's second son, attended by the minister and several other Ameers, crossed the Bimnah and after waiting at the tent upwards of an hour the Nana arrived accompanied by Hari Pant Phadke."⁴ In the weekly intelligence dated March 6th 1786, he writes, "On the 3rd instant the Nizām attended by his minister, the General, and most of the Amirs, honoured the Nana and presented him with fifteen gold Mohurs, and on his taking leave he received a handsome and valuable present of jewels and clothes which he appeared much pleased with."⁵ Formalities apart, these meetings took place to decide upon a line of action against Tipū. This was no easy task. There were quite serious differences of opinion between the two camps. Poona considered the prospects brighter when the Peshwa, the Nizām, and Mudhoji Bhonsla seemed earnest about wresting from Tipū

1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, L. No. 377, Vol. VII.

2. *Sec. Cons.*, December 7, 1785, No. 24.

3. *Nishān-i-Haidarī*, by Ḥusain 'Alī Kirmānī, p. 300.

4. *Sec. Cons.*, April 4, 1786, No. 22.

5. *Ibid.*, 1786, No. 24.

all their possessions previously conquered by the Mysore rulers. But when they met in the actual field their differences were too apparent. As the news-writer reports, "The whole of their proceedings seem in a most confused state and what they determine on one day is objected to on the next." The confederates at last decided to reduce the whole of Tipū's territory and their first attempt was to be the recovery of Maratha districts between the Krishna and Tungabhadra—their main army was to advance towards Badami.¹ Malet, who had come to see Nānā, gives a graphic description of the siege and capture of Badami. In his letter of June 2nd, 1786, he writes "At 2 o'clock a.m. of the 20th May, I received a message from Nānā that he had ordered a general assault on the town at daybreak and should be glad of my company on that occasion. The assault commenced with a continued discharge of rockets and artillery, which was answered from the two forts on the hills and had a very magnificent effect in the grey of the morning.

"On the 21st, the two forts surrendered at discretion on the single assurance of personal safety. Early on the morning of that day we went to view the town of Buddammee and the quarter that had been stormed, where we found the defences to consist of a very good wall flanked by towers and covered by a dry ditch, a covered way, and a good glacis."² Nānā in a letter to the governor-general informed him of the capture of Badami and added that "After having finished the settlement of the newly acquired fort he left Hurry Pundit with Chiefs of rank and proper stores in the Doabs (of the Kistna, Bhima, and Tungabhadra) to carry on the war, and himself marched to Poona."³ Hari Pandit after Nānā's departure brought under his sway the fort of Gajendragarh and posted a new government garrison there.

Tipū, as was generally expected, did not come to the rescue of the fort of Badami. On the other hand when he heard about the siege of Badami and found opposition impracticable, he surreptitiously stormed Adoni and besieged its fort on 24th May, 1786. The Nizām was at this time at Raichur. In response to the solicitations of Mahābat Jung, Qila'dār of Adoni, he sent succour under the command of his brother Nāshiru'l-Mulk Mughal 'Alī Khān. He also issued instructions to the Maratha chiefs and to the commander of his own forces with them (at Badami) to march expeditiously towards Adoni.⁴ Hari Pant, however, could not send any help. The reinforcement from Hyderabad reached its destination by the 18th of June. Tipū avoided confronting it, and raising the siege on the following day he quietly retired to a distance of a few *kos*. This surreptitious retreat was interpreted by the Nizām's forces as the defeat of Tipū and their own victory. Mushīru'l-Mulk made Mahābat Jung leave the fort with his dependants and join him, but as there was

1. Grant Duff, Vol. III, p. 9.

2. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. II, Lr. No. 9.

3. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. VII, Letter No. 672, p. 226.

4. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 604.

scarcity of grain and forage they withdrew from there. The commander then recrossed the Tungabhadra with his army and encamped at Raichur with Mahābat Jung. Soon after the river had swollen to a great degree, Tipū availed himself of this opportunity. He rushed to Adoni and seized the fort. This news was a great shock to the Nizām. "It is surprising" writes Mir Muḥammad Ḥusain, the British agent at the Nizām's court, "that an army of 30,000 horse and foot did not for once dare to attack Tipū, who lay at a short distance of 10 Kos."¹ It was apparent that there was little co-operation between the forces of the Nizām and the Marathas, and that the internal dissensions among the Amirs of Hyderabad ruled out the possibility of a well-thought out plan of rescuing Adoni, a fort which Nānā regarded as the key of the Deccan. The pay of the soldiers in the camps both of the Nizām and of the Peshwa was much in arrears and desertion of soldiers was not an uncommon thing. About this time Mr. Macpherson laid down the reins of his office and Lord Cornwallis came to India as governor-general. The question of giving help to the Marathas was reopened. Malet in a very interesting letter dated Poona, the 3rd of November, 1786, discussed the pros and cons of an alliance with the Marathas against Tipū. But Lord Cornwallis was also against this alliance. He thought that even the offer to grant assistance in troops from Bombay to the Peshwa would amount to a direct breach of the treaty of peace with Tipū Sultan and "would be no less acting in defiance of the act of 24 Geo. III."² Moreover, the court of directors wrote directly to the governor and council of Bombay countermanding the offer of three British regiments to the Peshwa.³ Thus the talk of the much-desired alliance with the British came to an end.

Tipū had meanwhile crossed the Tungabhadra at Gorakhnath and was very strongly encamped with his rear to the river. This was a great achievement and Tipū was rightly proud of it. In his memoirs he describes this event in detail. His councillors were against the plan as it was then the rainy season and the river had greatly risen, but he says: "Disregarding these opinions, and collecting all the boats together, I embarked early in the morning of the second day (after my arrival on the banks of the Tungabhadra) with two *qushoons*, with which I crossed the river and took post in a favourable situation, where I caused the standards of the army to be erected. By evening, the passage of all the remaining *qushoons*, together with their guns and stores, was accomplished. On the following day, the boats being distributed among the cavalry, the rest of the army began to cross, and in three or four days the whole were over."⁴

Hari Pandit and the other Maratha leaders were taken by surprise. This act of Tipū had really succeeded from its great improbability for

1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VII, Letter No. 630, p. 214.

2. *Governor-General's Minute*, Cornwallis's Correspondence, ed. Ross, Vol. I, p. 221.

3. *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. II, p. 56.

4. Quoted by Kirkpatrick in his *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*, p. 387.

the confederates had never taken an attempt so daring and dangerous into their calculations.¹ They approached, however, when it was too late. The Nawab of Shanoor (Savnur), 'Abdul-Hakim Mianeh, who had broken many pledges to Tipū, secretly joined the confederates. Tipū Sultan on this occasion, as he writes in his memoirs, "caused entrenchments to be thrown up around and in front of his position near Shanoor."² Then he divided his army into four divisions.

One of these he placed under the command of Mah Mirza Khan, whom he directed to charge across the river. Another division conducted by Burhānuddīn was to fall upon the enemy's left flank, while Mīr Mu'in-ud-Dīn, at the head of the third, was to attack their right. The fourth division was led by the Sultan himself. Tipū had the added advantage of superior artillery. The forces of the confederates, in spite of Hari Pandit's bravery, could not withstand the assault and they retreated.

Soon after the fall of Shanoor negotiations for peace gathered strength. Not only Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain from the Hyderabad court but also Malet from Poona wrote about the wakils of Tipū making negotiations. Malet had at this time employed one Mr. Yvon, a deserter from the Company's service, as a reporter in the Maratha camp. This Mr. Yvon supplied Malet with news regarding the chances of peace with Tipū. It was, however, surprising that Tipū, who had the upper hand in this contest, should feel anxious about the peace. Wilks offers an explanation. He writes, "There is reason to conclude that Tippoo believed in the original expectations of his adversary, and distrusted the pacific intentions of the English, whose military establishments, directed for the first time by military governors, were at this period organised with a degree of care, which seemed to indicate the expectation of war; for on any other grounds it would be difficult to explain his open anxiety for terminating a contest in which he had uniformly triumphed."³

It seems from the lenient terms granted to the Marathas that Tipū was anxious to win them over. The troops of the Nizām were so disorganized and his military strength so weak that Tipū did not think seriously about an alliance with Hyderabad. The peace with the Nizām was made much later than with the Marathas. Holkar and Rastia negotiated on behalf of the Marathas with Budr-uz-Zamān and 'Alī Riḍa Khān, the wakils of Tipū. Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain, forwarding the details of the peace treaty, mentioned that "Tipu will surrender the forts of Badami, Gajendragarh, etc., which were formerly in the possession of the Marathas. Of the arrears of the Chauth he has agreed to pay sixty lakhs of rupees, half in cash and half in kind, and also the revenues of some mahals in three instalments. The first instalment has been paid, the second will be paid after the Marathas have crossed the Kistna, and the third on their reaching Poona. He has sent an elephant and a khil'at to Hari

1. Wilks' *History of Mysore*, 2nd Edition, Vol. II, p. 112.

2. *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*, p. 426.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 117.

Pandit and similar presents to Tukoji Holkar and other chiefs. As regards the Nizām, it has been settled that Adoni and Raichur will remain in his possession and whatever has been plundered from Adoni will be restored by Tipū. The Nizām also expects to get something out of the said sum of 60 lakhs of rupees and it is claimed that a sum of 20 lakhs is his proper share.”¹

Apparently the terms of peace seem more favourable to the Marathas. But there must have been enough reason for Tipū to concede these terms. He was, in the first place, afraid of an alliance of the English with the confederates. The appointment of Sir Charles Malet at Poona naturally made him think of the closer relations that might develop between the two powers. He also thought that a conflict with the English was inevitable. He therefore wanted to win over the Marathas and present a united front against the English. Actually, General Horne on the 25th of September, 1787, writes to Sir Archibald Campbell in a paper of intelligence from Trichinopoly, “The Marathas have engaged to assist him (Tipū) with a large body of Horse, should he invade the Carnatic.”² It seems that the rumour of Tipū's invasion of the Carnatic was quite current at that time. Nawāb Wālājāh of the Carnatic also writes to Sir Archibald that “Tipu, the Chief of Mysore, from the want of conduct in the Marathas, the variance between their sardars, and the precipitate retreat of the Nizam's troops, was enabled to gain the superiority over them in terms. This has doubly increased his pride and haughtiness and my friend (Sir Archibald Campbell) knows he has got a numerous army ready upon the frontiers of my country and has prepared large quantities of Provisions.”³

Mir Muhammad Husain also regarded the treaty as a kind of personal triumph for Tipū, saying that “several of the articles were agreeable to his wish. One of them is that in all future correspondence he should be called Tippoo Sultan, and they have put a stop to the name Futteh Ally Khan which the Nizam in the beginning bestowed upon him.” It seems that the Marathas were reluctant to grant the title of Sultan or Padshah to Tipū. Mr. Yvon also wrote to Malet mentioning that “A contest has arisen about Tippoo's titles as he seems to insist upon being acknowledged and styled the *Bawdsha of the Dackan*; and wants the Marratta Government to sign the present treaty with him as such.”

In any case, whether it was a question of personal vanity or the far-sighted policy of forming a united front against the English, Tipū was lenient in his terms of peace, and it should be regarded as a tragedy that this did not produce any lasting result. Lord Cornwallis was actually preparing the ground for a tripartite alliance against Tipū and was thus turning the tables against him.

IRSHAD HUSAIN BAQA'1.

1. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VIII, letter No. 1247, p. 337.

2. *Secret Cons.* November 12, 1787, No. 4.

3. *Ibid.*, No. 7.

LAW AND CULTURE IN ISLAM

“Jurisprudence is the soul’s cognizance of its rights and obligations.”—Abū-Ḥanīfa

LAW and culture are so closely inter-related, and the influence of the one upon the other is so great, that before dealing with the subject proper, it may be well to have some clear notion of the word “culture.” Volumes have been written about culture. It is not proposed to consider the question in all its aspects and define what is said to be well-nigh indefinable. But it is well to remember that, as I understand the term ‘culture,’ religion is not an essential part of it.¹

It has been said that culture is what beautifies and dignifies life. It has also been said that when you have forgotten all that you consciously set out to learn, what remains is culture. It is not merely the acquisition of knowledge according to the standards of the age ; it is to see things in their right perspective, to take a balanced view of life, to measure ideas in their right proportions by a true criterion. Above all, it is to see and to appreciate the other man’s point of view, and yet preserve the intellectual liberty of not agreeing with it. Religion, language, race, country—these are but the strands out of which is woven the variegated fabric of culture.

1. The relation of *culture* and *religion* must certainly differ with different religions. There are religions controlling and regulating the entire life of their followers ; and there are others which have lesser and more limited scope for their prerogatives. Even in its narrowest sense of relation between God and Man, religion seems to be an “essential part” of culture in Islam. For, it has rightly been observed Islam is theo-centric in its literal sense. God must obviously be the central factor in all theistic religions ; and so it is no wonder if this is the case in Islam for all devotional services and fasting and pilgrimage. But that is not all the idea of the equality of man and the rejection of linguistic, geographical, ethnic, chromatic, and other factors of superiority in Islam are also based on the common belief in the One God and nothing else. Again, if one has to pay the yearly surplus-property tax (*Dhakat*), it is only for the sake of, and under the command of God and not for any right whatsoever possessed by the recipient of the tax. Or, if one wages war (*jihad*) in Islam, it is neither for the purpose of plundering other nor in order to impose one’s superiority, but only in the path of God, “to establish the kingdom of God,” and “that His word alone should prevail.” Moreover, if one testifies in a court of law, he has to take oath in the name of God if one is prohibited from committing suicide, it is because one is not one’s own property but God’s and even the whole moral code of Islam has no other sanction but the religious. In short, if religion signifies at least the relation between God and Man, religion must lie at the root and basis of all culture in Islam—and it signifies much more to Muslims!—Ed., I.C.

Culture is concerned principally with the intellect of man, not with his soul. Religion may therefore colour his attitude to life, but it cannot be the main part of culture. Culture is not concerned with the problem of the salvation of the soul of man. If it were, there could be no true cultural commerce between the adherents of different religions. Culture is concerned with the life of the spirit only in so far as the mind of man attains the prevailing intellectual norm.

To give a working definition, it is enough to say that culture is the general intellectual level in a particular age or country; and he who attains this intellectual level is a cultured man. It is therefore undeniable that in different epochs of history and in different countries, the standards of culture have varied immensely.

It must not be thought however that these observations are made in a dogmatic spirit. Upon these and allied questions there is considerable room for difference of opinion based upon the different aspects of culture, upon different shades and nuances of thought, and upon different angles and biases of judgement. But as the prevalent mood in our country appears emphatically to include religion as an essential part of culture, a note of warning must be sounded at the beginning of our study.

The law may be considered either as God-made or man-made; this analysis however is not wholly accepted by modern jurists. Law and society are so intimately connected together that, as Allen says, "Law will never again be looked upon solely as a command, but as a function of society, which, to be understood, must be considered in alliance with the study of the whole structure of society."¹ The same author describes the growth of the law and says, "Law streams from the soul of a people like national poetry, it is as holy as the national religion, it grows and spreads like language; religious, ethical, and poetical elements all contribute to its vital force."²

In Islam law and religion are inextricably intermingled. "It is to be remembered that Hindu and Muhammadan Law are so intimately connected with religion that they cannot be readily dis severed from it."³ In Islam there is no distinction between law and religion, civil and criminal law, judges and magistrates. The law is to be obeyed not for temporal reasons, but to achieve a spiritual end, for the sole purpose of the salvation of man. *Shariat* (strictly, *Shari'a*) in Islam is analagous to *Dharma* in Hindu law; it is fundamentally a doctrine of duties, a code of obligations. The sanctions are moral rather than legal. Legal considerations and individual rights are secondary; the supreme tendency is towards a religious and ethical evaluation of the facts of life.

We have now to consider the origin of law in Islam and how authority

1. C. K. Allen, *Law in the Making*, 1st Edition, 23.

2. *Ibid.*, 54.

3. per Mahmood J., 7 All. 775, 781.

was vested in the judges. The story preserved in the traditions gives us a very clear insight into the way in which the authority of the qādis arose and the principles upon which they were to act. It is said that the Prophet sent Mu'adh, one of his Companions, as governor of a province, and also appointed him to be the distributor of justice. No trained lawyers existed then, and the Prophet asked :

“ According to what shalt thou judge ?”

He replied :

“ According to the scriptures of God.”

“ And if thou findest nought therein ?”

“ According to the traditions of the Messenger of God.”

“ And if thou findest nought therein ?”

“ Then I shall interpret with my reason.”

The Prophet thereupon said :

“ Praise be to God who has favoured the messenger of His Messenger with what His Messenger is willing to approve.”¹

This illuminating story gives us three out of the four sources of the law. Islamic law is based in the first instance upon the legislative pronouncements of the Qur'ān. When the Qur'ān is silent on a particular point, then we have to consider the Traditions of the Prophet, the words that he spoke, his actions on important occasions, and the manner in which he acted throughout his life. The *practice* of the Prophet constitutes the Sunna, and next to the Qur'ān, the Sunna has the binding force of law. These two sources taken together are considered as revelation ; the first is said to be direct revelation, the very Word of God ; and the second is considered as indirect revelation, because according to the theory of the law, even the worldly actions of the Messenger of God were inspired by divine wisdom.

In the last answer, Mu'adh refers to his power of reasoning. It is this part which is of the utmost importance in the Muslim system of jurisprudence. The power of reasoning, the capacity of deduction, the arriving at new results from fundamental postulates is one of the basic elements of Islamic jurisprudence. Even the technical name of the law is *Fiqh*, which means “ intelligence, insight.”²

Apart from the first two sources, which may be considered as primary, there are certain rules deduced from them by doctors of authority upon which there is a consensus of opinion ; this consensus is called *Ijmā'*, and it is the third source of law. Or else, there may be rules upon which there is no consensus of opinion to guide the judge. In that case the judge is

1. Tirmidhī, *Kitāb* 13, *bāb* 3 (Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1923, Vol. I, p. 159) ; Abū-Dā'ūd, 23, 11 (Mujtabai Press, Delhi 1927, II, 149). A. A. A. Fyze, *Introduction to Muhammadan Law*, 21-22 ; Tyabji, *Muhammadan Law*, 3rd ed., 18 ; Aghnides, *Introduction to Mohammedan Law*, 76.

2. A. J. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, 110.

ordered to exercise his own reasoning faculty and to follow his own individual opinion. While exercising his own judgement he must, of course, consider carefully all the rules laid down in the first three sources. This power of deduction and judgement is called *Qiyās*, analogical deduction, and it is the fourth source of law.

These are all well-known concepts in Islam and the reason why they are discussed here is to compare them with modern notions of jurisprudence. We may aptly compare the four sources in Islamic law with a modern statement of fundamental principles such as the Swiss Code, Art. 1. "The Statute" says the Swiss Code, "governs all matters within the letter or the spirit of any of its mandates. In default of an applicable statute, the judge is to pronounce judgement according to the customary law, and in default of a custom, according to the rules which he would establish if he were to assume the part of a legislator. He is to draw his inspiration, however, from the solutions consecrated by the doctrine of the learned and the jurisprudence of the courts—*par la doctrine et la jurisprudence.*"¹

Let us look closely into Article 1. The Statute may be compared with the *Qur'ān*; the *Qur'ān* has been felicitously likened to an "amending act ;"² it is not a complete and self-contained code. The text of the *Qur'ān* is the very "Word of God ;" it is as binding—even more so—as the plain letter of the statute, for it has both a legal and a moral sanction. Customary law in Islam is not considered as of primary importance, because the rules laid down by the Prophet were iconoclastic rather than traditional. He came to change the customs of Arabia, not so much to preserve them. That does not mean, however, that he changed everything for the sake of a change. Every reformer must look into the needs, customs, and manners of the people. The greatest reformers always follow the sound principle of not changing that which requires no change. Thus in all Islamic countries, customary law has been preserved by the sons of the soil, even after conversion to Islam. The Berbers of the Maghrib, the Fellaheen of Egypt, the agriculturists on the banks of the Euphrates and in the Punjab, the *Dihqāns* of Persia, the Khojas, Memons, and Mappillahs of India, and other communities in Java and Sumatra have preserved some of their customs, despite the binding word of the *Qur'ān*, and this is valuable evidence of the strength and vital force of custom. Nevertheless, in theory, custom is not justifiable and efforts are always being made to do away with it ; a modern instance in India is the Shariat Act, 1937. Custom however has come to be recognized in Islamic jurisprudence and is known by the technical name of '*Āda.*'³

1. B. Cardozo, *Nature of the Judicial Process*, 140-141.

2. Tyabji, *Muhammadan Law*, 3rd ed., 4.

3. '*Urf*, *ta'āmul* and *taqrīr* are also similar concepts in Muhammadan Law. Dr. Md. Hamīdullāh kindly sends me a reference to *Musnad, Ibn-Ḥanbal*, iii, 425, where it is laid down that good pre-Islamic practices may be adopted in Islam.

We have dealt with the first two elements of Article 1, the statute and custom. We must now consider the last part. The judge, in default of the statute and customary law, is asked to assume the role of legislator. He is instructed to *make* the law ; but in making the law he must go back to the ancient learning. He is not permitted to tear himself away from the shackles of the past. He cannot begin with a clean slate. His mind must be trained and disciplined by the jurisprudence of the elders ; he must have read widely in the law ; he should have pondered deeply over the problems of jurisprudence. The deductions which he proposes to make must be based upon fundamental principles which go far deeper than the mere applications of the law.

This is almost exactly what the judge is asked to do in Islam ; the terminology used in the Swiss Code is modern, but the method is the same. The importance of the opinion of the qāḍī was due to his influence in society and on the culture of the times. The qāḍī was a definite type in learned society ; his training, experience, and ability gave him an opportunity to study life from a particular angle. And there is another parallelism as well. Today we insist that a judge should possess " character." So did Islamic civilization. But with this difference that " piety," as understood in the Muslim religion, was a condition precedent to an appointment.

An interesting sidelight on the " character " of the qāḍī, his duties, his behaviour and his independence, is afforded by one single example of the " instructions " given to him. The Great 'Umar, Second Caliph of Islam, in his instructions to qāḍīs, laid down that, in the first instance, the qāḍī should follow the principle of the Qur'ān and then the practice of the Prophet. Every person, high or low, rich or poor, is to be treated with equality. The forms of procedure should be properly followed and proper evidence obtained before a decision is given. Lawful compromises are to be encouraged. Even after judgement, if the qāḍī feels that an error has crept in, he should not stand on his dignity, but should review his judgement, for " it is better to retract than to persist in injustice." " Use your intelligence about matters that perplex you, to which neither law nor practice seems to apply ; study the theory of analogy, then compare things, and adopt that judgement which is most pleasing to God and most in conformity with justice, so far as you can see."

" God will judge you in accordance with your secret character though he leaves you to follow appearances. In the courts of justice avoid fatigue and the display of weariness or annoyance at the litigants ; therein God enables you to earn reward and make a handsome store. For when a man's conscience towards God is clear, God makes his relations with man satisfactory, whereas if a man simulate before the world what God knows that he has not, God will put him to shame."¹

1. Tyabji, *Muhammadian Law*, 3rd ed., 83-84, citing D. S. Margoliouth in *JRAS* for 1910, 311, 316.

We have here ability, character, and independence ; patience, courtesy and consideration ; and in addition, *piety* or *fear of God*, as understood in Islam. Thus the qādīs, by their training, ability, and character constituted an important element in cultured society ; by their work, opinions, and writings they moulded the thought and culture of the times.

We have seen that in Islam there is no distinction between civil and criminal law, between judges and magistrates ; nor indeed, between law and religion. The qādī performed not only legal, but secular and semi-religious duties. He sat in the courts and decided cases. People went to him for advice and arbitration. Often he was a preacher and interpreter of religion. Occasionally he was a confidant and adviser of the king. Thus he was both a cultural and moral force in society. His existence was due to "the primordial necessity of order in the social life."¹ The state was theocratical, hence it was only natural that religion should be intermixed with law.

The authority of the judge was derived from the secular power. Judges were appointed in the name of the king, and in the absence of the king, by the governor of the different provinces. There is, curiously enough, in this respect a close similarity to the judge in England. The real source of power, the fountain-head of the law, was the sovereign. And the power and authority of the judges arose by delegation, as in the case of the Chancery judges. In England the king delegated certain powers to the Lord Chancellor ; and the Lord Chancellor in turn delegated certain of his powers to the Chancery judges. The powers and method of appointment of the qādīs in the early days of the caliphate remind one forcibly of those of the Chancery judges. This curious similarity can be readily perceived from a perusal of a recent work by a French jurist, Emile Tyan in his *Histoire de l'Organisation Judiciaire en pays d'Islam*.²

The prestige of the judges depended upon the independence they enjoyed. Although appointed by the sovereign, they were servants of the law only. They owed their allegiance solely to the *Shari'a*.³ Many instances are recorded of kings and nobles and high personages being brought before the qādī and treated like ordinary citizens. Before the

1. B. Cardozo, *Nature of the Judicial Process*, 141.

2. Paris, 1938, Vol. I, 140. This is a work of great importance for the study of the early history of Islamic Jurisprudence. It is written by a Lebanese Christian whose mother-tongue is Arabic and who is a teacher of law by profession. He deals in his book with the functions and powers of the qādī ; the administration of justice in the early days of Islam ; the composition of the tribunal, and the ideals of justice. Thus the book, despite some shortcomings, is a valuable contribution to the study of the origin and development of judicial administration in the Islamic state. Only the first volume has so far appeared, the publication of the second volume is apparently delayed by the war. The promise of the volume before us makes all students of Islamic law await with impatience the appearance of the second. It is to be hoped that, although it is written in French, the work will become better known in India.

3. M. B. Ahmad, *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, 274-275. King punished by qādī, *ibid.*, 254-256.

law of God every man was equal.¹ As Tyan observes " Le même principe d'égalité doit être observé lorsque les parties engagent le débat devant le qādī. Aucune distinction ne doit être faite entre le riche et le pauvre, le puissant et le faible, l'esclave et l'homme libre, le musulman et le non-musulman. La doctrine insiste sur ce principe d'égalité."² It must not however be supposed that this principle was always followed; there were many instances of the judges being corrupt. The ideal was not always acted upon. And it was clear that, as in other countries, the level of culture and civilization rose in proportion to the ability and integrity of the judges.

The functions and powers of the qādīs being high, they constituted a learned and respected class reflecting a special type of culture and influencing society by their example. It is therefore practically correct to say that the better the judges, the higher the level of civilization; a corrupt judiciary clearly indicated the general decline of culture and civilization.

In addition to the qādīs, there was another class of lawyers called *muftīs*. A *fatwā* is a formal legal opinion given by a *muftī* or canon lawyer of standing in answer to a question submitted to him either by a judge or by a private individual. The person who asks the question is called *mustaftī*; the person who is authorized to give the answer is the *muftī*; the opinion given is the *fatwā*. The office of the *muftī* was very high and was closely associated with that of the qādī. On a *fatwā* being given, the qādī had to decide accordingly; and in the case of a private person, the opinion guided his conduct, both ethically as well as legally.

The conditions for office as *muftī* were not less exacting than those necessary for the office of the qādī. He must be a Muslim, of the age of majority, and must possess a sound mind; he must also possess the qualifications of truthfulness and justice, and must be an expert in law. He must know jurisprudence in its entirety and must possess the ability to decide difficult questions for himself.³

The whole institution of *muftīs* shows its dual character of guiding righteously the conduct of men and of giving expert aid to the judges of the realm. It is clear that the office, at the beginning merely a recognition of the excellence of a man in the knowledge of law, became intimately associated with the administration of justice. The hard-worked qādī could always refer a difficult question to a *muftī*, whose decision would then be a persuasive guide. In India, where there was not merely the Muslim community to deal with, there were expert pandits appointed

1. Dr. M. Ḥamidullāh has kindly drawn attention to the fact that in Islam there is no such maxim as "The king can do no wrong." The king is subject to the *Shari'a*; even the caliph could be deposed by the *fatwā* of the Chief Mufti of Islam, like the Shaykhu'l-Islām of Ottoman Turkey. See M. Ḥamidullāh, *Muslim Conduct of State*, 80 sqq.

2. E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'Organisation Judiciaire en Pays d'Islam*, I, 416.

3. *Ibid.*, i, 323 sqq.

to help the court in arriving at a decision involving a point of Hindu law. Thus the qāḍīs of the Mughal empire, according to their own principles, were guided both by Hindu and Muslim expert juriconsults.

Qāḍīs and muftīs formed together an important link in the administration of justice and there are many biographical works devoted solely to their lives and works. The decisions of famous muftīs were collected and published for the guidance of lawyers and courts. There are numerous collections of *fatwās*, and we have in the *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīrī*, *Fatāwā Qāḍī Khān*, and the *Jāmi' ash-Shittāt* three of the commonest examples so far as India goes. The first two are Ḥanafī; the last is according to the Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'a school.

The administration of justice in India during the Muslim period is an important subject for our study, and it was unfortunate that until lately there was no work devoted to it. This lacuna has now been adequately filled by Mr. M. B. Ahmad, I.C.S. His work, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, published by the Aligarh Historical Research Institute in 1941 (Sulaiman Research Series, No. 1), is a serious and welcome contribution to a little known subject. The material for such a study is so scattered and its systematic presentation so difficult for a historian unequipped with legal training, that it is not surprising that we had to wait so long for it. Mr. Ahmad deals with the judicial system in all its aspects and his summary and conclusions are extremely suggestive.

Whether we consider the general history of Islam or the history of Islamic domination in India, it is abundantly clear that the office of qāḍī at its inception was high and noble. It is therefore sad to observe how debased, mechanical, and mercenary it has now become in India. The "kazi" is now often quite innocent of any learning, much less is he an expert in the Fiqh. His only function is to celebrate marriages, reciting formulas which, more often than not, he does not understand. He maintains a register, which, often enough, he is unable to write up himself, and employs a 'nā'ib' (assistant, deputy) to help him. Occasionally a "Kazi" realizing his own limitations and being conscious of his responsibility, employs a 'nā'ib' who is far more learned than himself. But probably the most extraordinary development in India has been that "kazi" has become a surname and the fact that a man has this august title does not in the least mean that he possesses any of the qualifications of his high office, except the very doubtful one of extraction from a cultured stock.

In discussing the influence of law on culture, a few examples may be taken to illustrate the changes that law brought about in social conditions. The altered social conditions in turn produced a different type of society with a different code of behaviour and general outlook.

We may consider in the first instance women and marriage, and problems relating to inheritance. The reforms brought about by Islam while not producing a monogamous society, ameliorated to a large extent

the condition of women by limiting polygamy, and by giving to them definite rights upon marriage and upon divorce. These rights not only gave them an independent economic status, but brought about their recognition as independent units of society. For instance, in spite of the general guardianship of the father, mothers were given the right of the custody of infant children for certain definite periods. On marriage the woman had the right to dower. In pre-Islamic Arabia dower (*ṣadāq*) was paid to the father, and may therefore be likened to a sale. But in Islamic law, dower (*mahr*) was paid as a mark of respect to the wife, and the idea of sale was gradually eliminated. If the dower remained unpaid at the death of the husband, the law gave to the woman a new protection. It laid down that she could retain possession of her husband's property until her claim for dower was satisfied by the husband's heirs.

In regard to marriage, two important reforms, which entirely changed the outlook of women on society, were, first of all, the option of puberty, and secondly, rights upon dissolution of marriage. In pre-Islamic Arabia, marriage arranged by parents were indissoluble at the suit of the wife; whereas the husband could discard her at any time and without assigning any reason. In Islamic law the woman, when married as a minor, has the absolute option, on coming of age, either to agree to the marital status or to sever the connection.

As regards dissolution of marriage, she had the right not only to obtain her freedom, but also to ask for the payment of her dower. Even apart from the question of dower she had the right at the time of marriage to make a contract with the husband. The performance of the contract became binding on him on account of the right to dissolve the marital tie which was coupled with it. The wife could say in certain circumstances, "You have not kept the agreement entered into at the time of marriage; I therefore divorce you and claim my dower."

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of these two reforms; the result of the first reform was that no adult woman was compelled to remain the wife of a husband she abhorred, and the result of the second was that among educated classes the stipulations concerning marriage were clearly visualized and the agreement between the parties in regard to residence, pin-money, etc., could be enforced by the wife by a stipulation which gave her the power to release herself from the bond of marriage, when it became irksome to her.

It is not the purpose of this article to go into the details of the way in which Muslim society as a whole reacted to these changes, but it is sufficient to point out that these were the most important of the rules which gave to women a new status and a new outlook.

In regard to inheritance, perhaps the most important rules which may here be mentioned are that women were given the right to inherit and that the nearest relations, regardless of sex, got portions of the in-

heritance. The old rule that sex was an absolute bar was completely abrogated. Thus the mother, the daughter, and the sister could take shares in their own right, and secondly, the whole line of cognates became entitled to inheritance. If the woman was not debarred, there was no reason why her descendants should be entirely excluded. Here again women became entitled to property; with the acquisition of property they acquired a sense of responsibility; property and a sense of responsibility together gave them a new status, legal as well as social. It was this sense of security and independence which produced, in the Middle Ages at least, social conditions whereby women became very powerful elements in society.

It is well-known, for instance, that the mother has always been a very powerful force in Muslim society. Among Mughal emperors, the queen-mother was often a force operating independently of the emperor. During the whole span of the Ottoman empire, the *Valide Sultan* (the king's mother) was a power to be reckoned with; for she was regent when the king was a minor; she was the first lady in the land; she was the absolute sovereign of the harem; she had a title of her own, a large monetary allowance from the state, and a position of great influence and power.

The importance given to woman by the Islamic reform has led directly to her acquiring a position of absolute equality in modern life. The trend of modern law is to place woman on a footing of absolute equality with man. While it is recognized that physical, emotional, and economic causes may in certain circumstances make her dependent upon man, it must also be remembered that in many spheres of life, man is just as dependent upon woman for his physical and spiritual needs. It is therefore to the credit of Islam that it constituted a half-way house towards the complete habilitation of the status of woman.

Apart from the purely legal aspect, we may also draw attention to the fact that the idea of chivalry was brought to Europe through contact with the Saracens. Chivalry involved not merely certain manly qualities, but an especial regard and respect for woman. The idea of chivalry is therefore a heritage of Islam; and chivalry itself was the precursor of the modern doctrine of the absolute legal and social equality of woman in all spheres of life.

Proceeding from personal and social questions to an altogether public one, there are two points to which attention, must be drawn as being of peculiar importance in modern times. Dr. M. Ḥamīdullāh has, in a series of learned articles entitled *Muslim Conduct of State*,¹ in the *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, shown that Islamic books of tradition and historical works are replete with rules giving a clear conception of the beginnings of international law, both public and private. Public international

1. Dr. M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Muslim Conduct of State*, Islamic Culture, 1941 and 1942. Reprinted, Hyderabad, 1942.

law is generally supposed to have originated from the work of the 17th century Dutch Jurist, Grotius; and the work of Dr. Ḥamīdullāh is valuable as it demonstrates reliably that rules analogous to international law were developed several centuries earlier in Islamic civilization.

Another recent work, entitled the *Law of War and Peace in Islam*, by Dr. M. Khadduri,¹ discusses with reference to original authorities some of the important rules concerning the waging of war and the making of peace. In the law of war, the most important topic is the law of *jihād* (Holy War), and in the law of peace, the most important subject is the treatment meted out to non-Muslims called *dhimmīs*. It is thus abundantly clear that the beginnings of both private² and public international law are to be sought much earlier than the 17th century A.D.

The relationship between law and culture being close, it is now necessary, by way of conclusion to consider the chief results of their interplay and to see how far culture was affected by law. In the first instance, the law emphasized the capacity of man to reason out things for himself. The law consisted not merely of what was laid down by God or the Prophet; it also consisted, in part at least, of the doctrines deduced by the learned from the inspired words and writings. This part kept on increasing in each succeeding century, and it was this part which in different countries evolved in different directions. The respect due to religion was fully shared by the law; thus rose the dignity of the law and the regard for the work of the great jurists.

If the law gave new dignity to the fruits of the human mind, it also produced a great respect for learning and learned men. The study of law was recommended by religious and secular authorities. There is a tradition of the Prophet that the quest for knowledge is obligatory on every Muslim, male or female. This was often chosen as an inscription on famous houses of learning. The Madrasa of Bukhara, built by Ulughbeg (d. 1449), bore this remarkable inscription,³ Another saying, which is also a commonplace in Islamic literature, is that the ink of the scholar is holier than the blood of the martyr. The Shāfi'ite doctor Nawawī in the commencement of his classical work on the Fiqh, *Minhāju't-Ṭālibīn*, reminds us that "the pursuit of knowledge is among the best ways of obedience to God." Such are the traditions and sayings which give us an insight into the feelings of respect felt for learning and the learned during the palmy days of Islamic civilization.

It is a matter of general agreement that one of the unmistakable features of Islamic civilization, throughout its long history, is its quenchless

1. Dr. M. Khadduri, *Law of War and Peace in Islam*, Luzac, London, 1941.

2. The reader may profitably be referred to the following monograph, viz., *La Conception et la pratique du droit international privé dans l'islam*, (étude juridique et historique), par Choucri Cardahi, The Hague, 1937, (publication of the Académie du droit international). The subject as well as this work have been prescribed in the LL. M. course of the Osmania University. (Ed.—I.C.)

3. V. V. Barthold, *Musulman Culture* (trans. Suhrawardy), 127.

thirst for knowledge. The promotion of learning and respect for the learned was to be found in each period and in each country. It cannot be gainsaid that there were times of struggle and tyranny when the torch of learning was not uplifted, but it never ceased to burn. At the first opportunity the torch was held aloft and passed on to succeeding generations. Besides it was not merely the torch as it came to them, it was a torch enriched by the investigations of previous generations. Thus Islam brought Greek learning to Europe ; but it was a learning greatly developed by remarkable advances in all directions.

The study of the law and its applications advanced rapidly during the centuries and its ultimate development produced a great system of jurisprudence. This jurisprudence consists of two parts: Principles (*uṣūl*) and Applications (*furū'*). Beginning with the study and application of a few principles from the Qur'ān and Traditions it developed into a vast and intricate science, the full extent of which can only be realized if one looks at bibliographies and manuscript catalogues. The logical perfection of Islamic jurisprudence, its breadth of vision, its high idealism, its ethical and moral value, its great value as a civilizing force, its formal completeness as to matters of detail and the vastness of its literature have been repeatedly emphasized by students, both oriental as well as occidental. It is sufficient for our purpose to repeat the eloquent tribute of a European student of Turkish law : " Considered from the point of view of its logical structure, the system is one of rare perfection, and to this day it commands the admiration of the student. Once the dogma of the revelation to the Prophet is admitted as a postulate, it is difficult to find a flaw in the long series of deductions, so unimpeachable do they appear from the point of view of formal logic and of the rules of Arabic grammar. If the contents of that logical fabric are examined, some theories command not only admiration but surprise. Those Eastern thinkers of the 9th century laid down, on the basis of their theology, the principles of the Rights of Man, in those very terms, comprehending the rights of individual liberty, and of inviolability of person and property ; described the supreme power in Islam, or the caliphate, as based on a contract, implying conditions of capacity and performance, and subject to cancellation if the conditions under the contract were not fulfilled ; elaborated a law of war of which the humane, chivalrous prescriptions would have put to the blush certain belligerents in the Great War ; expounded a doctrine of toleration of non-Muslim creeds so liberal that our West had to wait a thousand years before seeing equivalent principles adopted."¹

Islam, as is well-known, spread with great rapidity after its promulgation ; the Islamic state increased to an extraordinary extent. It is therefore not surprising that the law developed on different lines in different countries. In North Africa, the Mālikī system took strong root and developed to the exclusion of all other systems ; in Egypt, Turkey,

1. Count Léon Ostorrog, *The Angora Reform* (London, 1927), 30.

and India the Ḥanafī system flourished ; in Persia the Shī'ite jurisprudence found a fertile soil ; the Shāfi'ite system is to be found on the shores of Arabia, India, Ceylon, and Java ; the heart of Arabia retained and nourished the Hanbalite school. Beginning with a few simple principles the law developed differently in different countries, and while we see the divergent forms in which it has developed, the central core remains the same. The careful study of these different systems also indicates clearly the diverse customs and rules of social behaviour which have become embedded in the general pattern of legal rules and procedure.

Another point which must be emphasized is the effect on international law. International law proper dates from the 17th century ; but its roots are to be found in the customs and usages followed by many races of antiquity. It is therefore of great interest to have a coherent and logical view of those rules of behaviour which may be said to be the precursors of the more strictly formulated rules of international law. In Islamic literature a wealth of material can be found for the study of these and allied questions.

In social life, the law, as we have seen, produced many changes both direct as well as indirect, and often quite unforeseen. A direct result of legal reform was the change in the status of woman in general ; an indirect result was the peculiar rule of *purda* or *gosha* which is to be found in Northern India. In the latter instance a text of the Qur'ān was applied, both by custom and under religious influence, during times of great political stress, in a manner quite at variance with the original ideas of Islam. It is absolutely beyond question that a similar custom of seclusion does not prevail in any other Islamic country.

Proceeding from particular instances to a general concept, Islamic law was responsible to a large extent in helping us to arrive at the modern juristic notion of equality before the law. It is nowadays a fundamental principle of civil law that all men are equal before the law ; that all religions are of equal importance in the eye of the law ; that the truth or otherwise of a particular religion is irrelevant before a court of law. Freedom of worship and freedom from persecution, as the result of apostasy or excommunication, are firmly rooted in our law.

Now, in the matter of the equality of all religions and tolerance in the matter of belief, it appears that our civilization has passed through at least two distinct stages, before arriving at the third and last stage. Before Islam, there was no equality and hardly any tolerance, whether in Anglo-Saxon England or in ancient India.¹ In Islam, there was equality between the adherents of Islam, but only tolerance for others. After Islam, there is, under the law, perfect equality between the adherents of *all* religions. The law has become entirely secular ; there can be no such thing as a ' state religion ' in a theocratic sense ; religion has become a purely personal matter ; each individual is at liberty to believe what he

1. G. Bühler, *Laws of Manu*, Chap. XI, 127, regarding murder, may be cited as one typical example.

likes, provided his actions do not interfere with the similar right of every other individual in the state.

In conclusion it is necessary to point out the undoubted defects of Islamic law and its influence on Islamic society. The two greatest defects are its formalism and its static character.

Throughout the centuries the law has tended to become formal. Eternally there is the discussion whether the forms and ceremonies have been complied with, whether the minutiae of the *Sharia* have been satisfied; whether minor details, no longer of any material consequence, have been followed or not. In Egypt the question was raised whether subscription to government loans is lawful; in India it has been debated whether a person who does not wear a beard should be given the permission to marry. Lawyers are always fond of forms and subtleties; their minds are full of nice distinctions and specious precedents. But when formalism exceeds certain limits, it becomes a definite bane.

A second objection to Islamic law is its static character. The law, it is said, should be dynamic, not static. If the system is God-made to begin with, and after 6 or 7 centuries it is laid down that the "Gates of Interpretation" are closed; that no new interpreter has authority to change the interpretation of law; that all that you have to do is to follow without question (*bilā kayfa*) the ancient principles, then matters are bound to come to a standstill.¹

To both of these objections the only answer that can be given is that given by Turkey and Egypt. We have to study carefully the ancient rules; we have to see how far they were suited to the social conditions of those times; we have next to see whether they will be useful to us now and if any change is needed; and if a wise change is needed, we cannot allow the community to suffer merely through blind respect for the past and a hatred for innovation.

One of the greatest Turks that ever lived, the emperor Bābur, is reported to have said: "If the father has promulgated good laws, they should be preserved; if they are bad, they should be replaced by good ones."² It was the Ottoman Turks who, of all the Muslim peoples, hearkened to this advice. Four centuries later came the Turkish Revolution, and the Sick Man of Europe emerged as the Strong Man of Asia.

A. A. A. FYZEE.

1. Islamic law undoubtedly arrived at the doctrine of "Closing the Gate of Interpretation" and not allowing individuals to exercise their own independent judgement. This is discussed by many authors; one simple discussion is by Ostrorog, *Angora Reform*, 26-30. Iqbal, in his *Reconstruction of Thought in Islam* (1st ed., Lahore, 1930), pp. 242-244, has shown however that such a doctrine is not in accord with the original principles of religion, and he also indicates a method of repealing certain rules and saving the community from the dead hand of the past. This has been done in our own times by Turkey, and the process of secularization and reform continues at a rapid rate also in Egypt and Persia.

2. V. V. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 133.

THE IMPRISONMENT OF A'ZAM-UL-UMARĀ'

IN this paper, I propose to narrate the part played by A'zam-ul-Umarā', the premier of the State of Hyderabad, as a hostage at the court of the Peshwa (from 27th March 1795 to 13th July 1797) during the period of chaos that followed the death of Madhav Rao Narayan.

When the history of these tempestuous days comes to be written, his figure will emerge with dominating force and power. Judged by his achievements up to the year 1795, he was not a success. No great legislative triumph is associated with his name : no great constructive work comes from his hands. Somehow or other, his ambition for power was rewarded by the supreme office of the State. He declared war, or rather he made war, upon the Marathas, a war which he could not consider as a feather in his cap, but he left for Poona as a hostage. It was here that he showed his mettle. Here he proved to be the captain who weathered the storm so successfully that he came out without a scratch, having turned the full blast and fury of the storm against his enemy.

When, at the instigation of Nānā Furnavis, the Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan insisted upon the delivery of his person as a condition precedent to the signing of the Convention of Kharda, 15th March 1795,¹ A'zam-ul-Umarā' bore the outrage with a certain noble detachment of bearing, struggled with patient endeavour to gain a hearing, and when Nānā Furnavis triumphed, he pocketed his pride, and walked quietly into the camp of his enemy (27th March 1795).² It is this characteristic of the man that evokes one's praise. He was never afraid to risk his life when the situation demanded it of him.

In his work at Poona, he showed the energy of a steam engine, the pertinacity of a debt-collector, and no reverence for the past, or for anything but facts.³ About him we can say that he proved a good politician because he was the best exploiter of the situation. There he talked much

1. Sajun Lal, *the Battle of Kharda*, Ind. Hist. Cong. Trans., 3rd Session, pp. 1340-1359.

2. *Public Dept. Diary*, Vol. 112, pp. 321-327.

3. Sare in his *Kavyatihāsik Sangrah* gives a detail description of the arrival of the Peshwa and A'zam-ul-Umarā', the former by the Delhi Gate and the latter by the Ganesh Gate at Poona, (pp. 156-157).

of a square deal without dealing squarely. In politics, as in other activities, character is of more consequence than intellect. His intellect slumbered till it was roused by the lash of Nānā at Kharda. We cannot blame him because he was not more enlightened than the system that produced him.

The premature death of the young Peshwa Madhav Rao on the 27th October 1795 was an event of great political importance to the existence of Nana. Before his death, the Peshwa desired that Bāji Rāo II should be placed on the masnad.¹ Nānā and Bāji Rāo buried all the traces of their old enmity and exchanged a formal declaration of friendship in writing. The result of this was that there sprang up another party under Ballo Tatya, incited by Daulat Rāo Sindia, which marched against Bāji Rāo and Nānā. Bāji Rāo retired to Satara. Ballo Tatya wanted to place Chiminaji Appa on the masnad and to imprison Bāji Rāo. Even Nānā sided with his views, although Bāji Rāo was ignorant of this plot. Pars-harām Bhāu and Bābā Phadkāy, who sided with Ballo, Tatya, carried away Chimināji Appā and declared him Peshwa on the 27th May 1796, and Parsharām Bhāu was appointed minister.

The pecuniary difficulties of Parsharām Bhāu and Sindia made them promise A'zam-ul-Umarā' that they would restore him to liberty, provided he helped them in their task. A'zam-ul-Umarā', who was waiting for an opportunity and watching the progress of events, was ready to enter into such an agreement, by which he hoped to gain not only his liberty but also much more than that, some concessions for his master. Daulat Rāo Sindia entered into an agreement with him to the effect that in consideration of the prompt payment of two crores of rupees, and on condition that Nawāb Mīr Nizām 'Alī Khān supported the new Peshwa, he would be released at once. Daulat Rāo Sindia also agreed to restore the territories which the Marathas had taken away from the Nizām. The remaining sum of one crore was to be paid before the departure of A'zam-ul-Umarā' for Hyderabad.²

The Nizām despatched an envoy to Poona with Khil'at for the new Peshwa. At the same time, the envoy Ragotim Rao was instructed and empowered to offer some kind of satisfactory explanation to the Peshwa as regards the pecuniary claims of the Nizām. His conduct was to be governed by circumstances and particularly by the state of parties at the time of his arrival. To provide for eventualities, he was furnished with Khil'ats for Sindia.³

The proposal of Sindia remained abortive as events in the State took a new turn. Nānā hatched a plan for the installation of Bāji Rāo. It was in A'zam-ul-Umarā's power to make or mar the plan of Nānā. The one fatal defect in a leader is indecision, to hesitate is to be lost, and to doubt is to fail. A'zam-ul-Umarā' would have his pound of flesh, as Nānā had had

1. Forrest, *Selections of State Papers*, I, pp. 539, 543.

2. Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, II, p. 257.

3. Fraser, *Our Faithful Ally, the Nizām*, pp. 193, 212.

his at Kharda. A'zam-ul-Umarā' dictated his terms and added his full weight to the side of Nānā and Bājī Rāo. He was released and permitted to encamp with his soldiers at Goltākri, in the environs of the city. This was the force which he brought ostensibly for the installation of Chimi-āji Appā, but really to strengthen the hands of Nānā.¹

For his change of sides, one should not brand him a turn-coat. Most of us can be convicted of inconsistency, and no wonder, for a pedantic consistency is the most arid and profitless frame of mind. When Nānā and others could change sides, what was wrong in A'zam-ul-Umarā's changing sides, so long as it was not for a base motive? The motives of A'zam-ul-Umarā's inconsistency were neither reprehensible nor splendid. They are in a way admirable; they are also in a way pathetic. For he was the victim of a fatal devotion to his master.

A'zam-ul-Umarā' attended all the meetings in order to get Bājī Rāo the Peshwaship.² He was permitted to raise more troops by Parsharā Bhāu, who deserted Sindia and joined Nānā. Later on, Nānā with his usual alertness and tact won over Sindia to his side. At times, A'zam-ul-Umarā' had to give shelter to those persons who escaped the clutches of Ballo Tatya. A'zam-ul-Umarā' and Nānu Punt were directed to stand in readiness at Salpi Ghats with their soldiers, numbering 15,000.³ In return for helping Nānā in such crucial times, A'zam-ul-Umarā' obtained a great many concessions for his master by the treaty of Mahad 8th October 1796.⁴ The terms of the treaty itself speak of the concessions which his extraordinary tact obtained for his master.

The preliminary of the treaty sets forth that, confusion having risen in the affairs of the Peshwa, Nānā Furnavīs sought the advice of the Nizām through his prime minister, A'zam-ul-Umarā', with whom he concluded an agreement. The Nizām was to send an army of 15,000 soldiers, with a train of artillery, to unite with the forces of Nānā and Rāghūji Bhonsle in restoring Bājī Rāo to the Peshwaship. In this alliance, Nānā arranged for the neutrality and even for the co-operation of the English. The territories and bills for the payment of money exacted from the Nizām at Kharda were to be restored. The Nizām's right to certain districts was confirmed. All contested points were to be mutually relinquished and the Maratha claims were to be settled annually. The chauth of the suba of Bidar being considered to be the hereditary property of Bājī Rāo, Nānā could only recommend that it should be ceded to the Nizām. Two lakhs of rupees were to be advanced to the Nizām for expenses. The English were to be engaged in case Tipū attacked while the Nizām's forces were employed in the Maratha territories. Fugitives

1. Fraser, *ibid.*, p. 13.

2. *Secret and Political Diaries*, 54, pp. 2288, 2289.

3. Grand Duff, *o.c.* 11, p. 254 and Sane, *Chronicles of the Peshwas*, p. 169, and Kh. Ghulam Husain Khan, *Gulzār-i-Āṣafīa*, p. 174.

4. Mahad is now the headquarters of a taluqa in the Kolaba district, Bombay Presidency.

from the dominions of the Nizām were to be handed over and Bāji Rāo's signature was to be obtained.¹

Thus the ratification of the treaty depended upon the signature of the Peshwa. We shall see how far the treaty was successful. At this time, the Nizām announced to the Resident the annulling of all pecuniary engagements and the restoration of the fort of Daulatabad. Fraser says, "In a word the provisions of the treaty of Kharda were absolutely cancelled." He further observes that the Nizām announced to the Resident the total cancellation of the chauth of Bidar.² But it was not so according to the terms of Mahad. In fact the Nizām was led to think that all the provisions of the Convention of Kharda were cancelled. We shall see how far the Peshwa observed the terms of Mahad.

A treaty of guarantee was at this time entered into by the Nizām and Sindia, agreeing to place Bāji Rāo on the masnad and to reinstate Nānā as prime minister. With a view to securing advantages for themselves they agreed to oblige the latter to fulfil the terms of their respective treaties.

On the 24th December 1796, Bāji Rāo ascended the masnad. Daulat Rāo Sindia came to know the terms of the treaty of Mahad only when A'ẓam-ul-Umarā' began to press for the execution of the treaty.³ So Daulat Rāo Sindia also pressed his claims for his share according to the terms of Kharda. He asked the Peshwa and Nānā not to give lands worth 32 lakhs and not to remit two crores of rupees to the Nizām. The matter took a serious turn. Nānā tried to pacify A'ẓam-ul-Umarā' but Daulat Rāo Sindia declared his intention to fight. Even the Peshwa Bāji Rāo declared openly that the demands of the Nizām were exorbitant and that the treaty of Mahad was a farce. To pacify Daulat Rāo Sindia and A'ẓam-ul-Umarā', Nānā promised a jagir of Rs. 10 lakhs and the fort of Ahmadnagar to the former, and the remission of the subsidy and the return of lands to the latter.⁴

But A'ẓam-ul-Umarā' decided not to leave the city of Poona unless the question of the remission was satisfactorily settled. When he found the promises of Nānā ambiguous, he prepared to leave for Hyderabad. But Nānā and other sardars wanted to pacify him so as to avoid another battle, which would undo the work of Nānā and prove fatal to the Peshwa and the Marathas. The Peshwa too was afraid, and agreed with Nānā that A'ẓam-ul-Umarā' should not leave in haste and anger. So A'ẓam-ul-Umarā' at their earnest request camped there for a month and half. Nānā prepared a list of the articles in dispute, and they are as follows :—

A'ẓam-ul-Umarā' demanded that the jagirs taken after the battle

1. Grant Duff, *o.c.*, p. 267, Khare, *Aitihāsik Lekh Sangraha*, 9, p. 4776.

2. Fraser, *o.c.*, p. 194 and Khare, *o.c.*, 10, p. 5147.

3. Khare, *o.c.*, p. 5049 says that the treaty of Mahad was made by Nānā without the knowledge of Sindia.

4. Khare, *o.c.*, 10, p. 5147.

of Kharda should be returned to the Nizām. Nānā allowed $\frac{3}{4}$ of the jagirs to return to the Nizām. The second demand of A'zam-ul-Umarā' was that the collection of chauth for the *shūba* of Bidar was to be completely stopped, to which Nānā conceded that $\frac{3}{4}$ of the chauth should be released and the Nizām was to pay $\frac{1}{4}$. The third demand of A'zam-ul-Umarā' was the handing over of documents pertaining to about two crores of property. This was met by Nānā, who released all except 15 lakhs which he kept for the Peshwa. The fourth demand of A'zam-ul-Umarā' relating to the fort of Daulatabad was met in toto.

There was in A'zam-ul-Umarā' a force of mind and downrightness of insistence that are refreshing in a world of compromise and equivocation. He had the courage to say what he meant to do, regardless of consequences, and it was his stubbornness and doggedness which brought him success. Thus out of 14 articles, the four most important were settled and the remainder were to be observed according to the terms of Mahad.¹

To pacify A'zam-ul-Umarā', Abba Shelkar, Raghunath Rāo, and Janardan Shivaji were sent with robes of honour.² Govind Rāo Kale, Pingle, and Dada Gudraji accompanied Janardan Shivaji to Siddeqta with elephants, horses, and robes of honour for A'zam-ul-Umarā'.

The reason why Nānā Furnavis and Bājī gave back the territories and confirmed the treaty of Mahad with but few changes is apparent from the following. According to the treaty of Mahad, the Nizām had promised to send 10 battalions of 25,000 soldiers with 60 guns to Poona. Isa Mia, another sardar of the Nizām, came with a force of 6,000, while Ragotim Rāo with a large army was already at Poona. Another force was expected to arrive under the command of Raymond.³

Thus it was a dangerous game for the Peshwa and Nānā to play with A'zam-ul-Umarā', who had at hand a strong force, which might easily have been used in a war detrimental to the Peshwa.

One cannot help observing the strange turn of the wheel of fortune by which A'zam-ul-Umarā', who had to make a humiliating surrender in the middle of one year, became a dictator to his enemies before the end of the next year. This in itself is no mean tribute to the greatness of this man. It is gratifying to note that the Maratha sardars and the Poona court treated him with respect befitting his rank, while he remained as a hostage with his entourage in Poona.⁴

K. A. SAJUN LAL.

1. Khare, *o.c.*, 10, pp. 5137, 5150, 5145, 4238.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 5145, 5150.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 5092, 5103.

4. Vad, *Selections from the Satara Raja and Peshwas*, p. 170.

ON THE MARGIN :

I

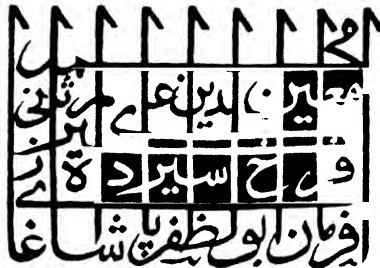
A FARMĀN OF FARRUKH SIYAR

THE following notice pertains to one of the two Farmāns of the Mu-ghal Emperor Farrukh Siyar, which I came across last year in the course of my search for antiquities. Both the Farmāns were in a very damaged condition, having been folded and kept so carelessly that the paper, being rather brittle, had many deep creases and had cracked in several places. Luckily, however, almost the entire text remained secure so that it presented no great difficulty in reading it. The Farmāns were carefully repaired under my direct supervision and are now in quite good condition.

Both the Farmāns are of the same size, each measuring 3' 4" × 1' 6¾". Both begin with the sacred name of Allāh in vermilion at the top. Below the latter there are the Royal Seal on the right and the name of the Sovereign on the left in the Naskh style of writing. The seal represents two concentric circles surmounted by a cone. The name of the reigning Emperor Farrukh Siyar is written in the centre and those of his predecessors occupy the space in between the two circles, each name being also circumscribed by a small circle. Below the seal and the Naskh impression follows the text of the Farmān which consists of seven lines in each case. The subject of the Farmāns is an assignment of some land by way of maintenance (madad-i-ma'āsh) to the assignees named in the Farmāns. The Farmān under notice was granted on the 4th of Rabi-uth-Thānī, in the sixth year of accession. On the reverse there are four seals of the royal officers as detailed in the following translation, besides several endorsements of later dates.

باسم سبحانه و تعالی شانہ

فرمان ابو الظفر پادشاہ غازی محمد
معین الدین عالمگیر ثانی فرخ سیر



محمد فرخ سیر

درین وقت میمنت اقرار فرمان والاشان واجب الاذعان صادر شد که یکصد و پنجاه و پنج بیگه زمین بنجر افتاده لائق زراعت خارج جمع از پرگنه ساندی سرکار خیره آباد مضاف صوبه اوده در وجه مدد معاش مسأه بی بی فاطمه و غیرها مستحقه حسب الضمن مقرر باشد که حاصل آنرا صرف مایحتاج نموده بدعائے بقاء دولت روز افزون مواظبت نماید . باید که حکام و عیال و جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال زمین مزبور را پیموده و چک بسته تصرف او باز گذارند و اصلا و مطلقا تغیر و تبدیل بدان راند هند و بعثت مال و جهات مثل قنلغه و پیشکش و حربیانه و ضابطانه و محصلانه و مهرانه و داروغگانه و بیگار و شکار و مقدماتی و قانون گوئی و ضبط هر ساله بعد تشخیص چک و تکرار زراعت و کل مطالبات سلطانی و تکالیف دیوانی مزاحم نشوند و اندرین باب هر سال سند مجدد نطلبند و اگر در محل دیگر چیزے داشته باشد آنرا اعتبار نکنند بست و یکم شعبان سال ششم از جلوس والا نوشته شد

TRANSLATION OF THE FARMĀN OF FARRUKH SIYAR

With the Name of the Holy and High and Glorious.

Farmān of Abuz-Zafar Bādshāh Ghāzī, Muḥammad Mu'īn-ud-dīn
'Ālamgīr the 2nd (ثانی) Farrukh Siyar.

THE glorious Farmān, which ought to be obeyed, is being issued at this auspicious moment—that one hundred and fifty-five bighas of barren land which is lying fallow and uncultivated, though it is fit for cultivation, in the parganah of Sandi, Sarkar Khairabad of Subah Awadh, and is free from revenue-payment (freehold land), is by this command granted to Musammāt Bibī Fāṭimah and others, so that they (the said Musammāt Bibī Fāṭimah and others) may spend it on their requirements and pray for the ever lasting life and prosperity of the Sovereign. The present and future officers, and 'āmils, jāgirdārs and karoris ought to measure the aforesaid land and after marking its boundary, they should hand it over to them (*i.e.*, to Musammāt Bibī Fāṭimah and others); and they should not make in it any alterations at all. Further, they should not give them any trouble on the score of such taxes as qanlagha, (قنلغه) pēshkash (پیشکش), jaribāna, ḍabitāna (*i.e.*, allowances paid to the measurers and assessors), muḥaṣṣilāna (paid to the collectors), mehrāna (wedding-tax paid to qāḍīs), dāroghānā, paikār and shikār, muqaddami, qānūngoi, and the annual zalat or assessment. Nor should they, after ascertaining the boundaries of the land and the increment of cultivation, and the total revenue demand of the State, realise anything (from the said donees). They should also not demand from them this sanad (certificate) every year, nor rely on any document given on any other occasion than this (*i.e.*, on any other document in preference to this).

Written on the 21st of Sha'bān, in the 6th year of accession.

Endorsements on the back :

(a) This is the memorandum (شرح) of that endorsement which was made on the sacred Sunday, in the 6th year of the glorious reign, which corresponds to 21st Rabi-uth-Thānī 1129 A.H. and is recorded by Hulas Ram, the humble clerk or writer (واقعه نگار) of the great and glorious Royal House, under the instructions (برساله) of Muḥammad Afḍal Khān Bahādur, who is the shelter of greatness and nobleness, possessor of bravery and valour, worthy of royal favour, and of the protection of the divine grace, Sadr of high rank, Sadr of Sadrs, Sadr of the world as follows :—

The Royal (برتر) order is issued that 155 bighas of land which is lying barren and uncultivated, but is fit for cultivation, in the parganah of Sandi, Sarkar Khairabad, Subah Awadh and is free from revenue, is hereby conferred by way of maintenance by me on Musammāt Bībī Fāṭimah and others. Should there be any other Sanad concerning this (land) it should not be regarded as authentic and the revenue and taxes of all kinds on this land should be considered as remitted. The memorandum of this incident was endorsed on the 4th of Rabi-uth-Thānī of the 6th year of accession.

Explanation of Signatures.

Saiyed ‘Abdullāh Khān Bahādur, Zafar Jang (victorious in battle) Sipahsālār, the faithful friend, the leader of the ministers, trustee of the great kingdom, worthy of respect by the glorious Sultanate, best among the glorious nobles of the State, chief among the Khāns of high rank, administrator of the kingdom and its wealth, walker on the path of kingdom and fortune, commander of the pen and sword, keeper of the flag and insignia of State, high-minister who acts or plans uprightly and who is unicoloured, *i.e.*, who is the same in and out, trustworthy for the kingdom, the support of the management of state, the pole-star of the country, trustee of the kingdom, the prime-minister, at this hour issues this Farmān.

(Sd.) Saiyed Afḍal Khān Bahādur, shelter of greatness and nobleness (the same titles as above are repeated) gives (confirms) the Farmān at this hour.

(Sd.) Hulas Ram Wāqī‘a Nigār (Recorder) certifies the authenticity of all this.

(Sd.) Saiyed ‘Abdullā Khān Bahādur testifies again.

(Sd.) Ḥamīd-uddin Khān who is shelter of loftiness and nobleness and is worthy of all kindnesses and obligations after this 29 Jamadī-uth-Thānī, 6th year of accession, to His Majesty, the Emperor.

(Sd.) Saiyed 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur, who thereafter had the glorious Farmān written out.

(b) The petition made in accordance with the practice of the Royal Court, by Bībī Faṭimah and others, with their own signatures and the seal of Ikhlāṣ Khān, reached the court that the above-mentioned Musammāt Bībī Faṭimah and others who have no means of maintenance pray to the grand and merciful (Sovereign) that two hundred bighas of land in the aforesaid parganah be kindly granted to them by way of madad-i-ma'āsh ("Sharḥ-i-Ṣadr-Ḥukm").

In the meantime, from the office of petitions, the prayer (recommendation) reached the sacred threshold, that 155 bighas of barren, but cultivable land which is in the parganah of Sandi, Sarkar Khairabad, Subah Awadh, and is revenue-free, may be graciously granted by way of madad-i-ma'āsh to Musammāt Bībī Faṭimah and others. This Farmān was then handed over to the keeper of the seal for sealing it.

The sun of piety became illuminated that I, with great magnanimity and perfect kindness, passed the gracious order that the land (in question) be granted under the virtuous seal, to the petitioner.

P. SARAN.

II

OBSERVATIONS ON MUSIC IN MUSLIM INDIA

DR. H. G. Farmer (of Scotland) has made certain observations on the above-mentioned article which appeared in July number of *Islamic Culture*, 1941. The Doctor writes as follows:

"Firstly may I say that the daff is a 'tambourine' and not a 'tabor' whilst the ṭanbur is a 'pandore' and not a 'tambourine.'

"Secondly, Ibn-Muḥriz did not teach the Arabs the use of the lute ('ūd). The lute was used by the Arabs of al-'Irāq in the time of al-Naḍr ibn al-Hārith (d. A.H. 3). Ibn al-Kalbī (d. A.H. 146) says that the first to use the lute in al-Madina was Sā'ib Khāthir (d. A.H. 64). In Mecca, Ibn-Suraj introduced the Persian lute about the year of the Hijra 65. Finally, Ibn-Muḥriz himself was taught by Ibn-Misjah and 'Azzat al-Mailā both of whom played the lute.

"Among the instruments mentioned by S. N. Haidar Rizvī are the bablik and dastan. Is it possible that the former is a copyist's slip for ṭablaq or tablaq. The latter may be an error for dastan which is the name for the fret on the fingerboard or neck of the lute and pandore.

"Lastly among the 'new melodies' are a number of terms which are not melodies but rather forms of music. Qaul, ghazal (not ghazan), tarāna, and firo-dasht (not firodast), were originally parts of the nauba. Likewise, basīṭ (not basit) and naqsh were forms of composition.

"These remarks are offered not as carping criticism of an excellent article but rather to prevent the erroneous statements mentioned being repeated by others."

ED., I.C.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

MAJLIS-E-'ULEMA of Hyderabad, Deccan has taken a further step towards reformation of the members of Muslim society. It has circulated a memorandum in which this learned body has laid emphasis on the revival of the former prestige of the qāḍīs and the shari'at court. The historical background to which this memorandum refers is that from the time of Sulṭān 'Al'āuddīn Khiljī till the vizierate of Sālār Jung I during the reign of Afzaluddaula, the qāḍīs were the only judges who decided law cases dealing with personal statutes of the Muslims. The qāḍīs were appointed in all villages, districts, and divisions of Hyderabad Dominions and were given maintenance allowances, etc. But after the introduction of the legal system of British India, the Hyderabad shari'at courts have been gradually deprived of their jurisdiction and the judicial privileges of the qāḍīs have been reduced to the performance of a few duties connected with Muslim marriage, inheritance, divorce, etc. Even these personal statutes have been recently handed over to the modern judicial courts where, it is observed, a number of cases have been decided against the prescribed rules of shari'at. The Majlis-e-'Ulema therefore has offered helpful suggestions to reorganise the shari'at courts. These suggestions deal with education of the hereditary qāḍīs, financial and administrative aspects of the question. As the Government has generously allotted thousands of rupees as maintenance allowance for the qāḍīs, although they are not properly serving the State in their judicial capacities, the question of finance for re-establishment of shari'at courts does not arise. The only thing required is to give the qāḍīs proper legal education and to make them again responsible for deciding cases dealing with personal statutes of the Muslims. Regarding the administration of the shari'at courts, the Majlis points out that mullas in the villages and qāḍīs in the districts and divisions have been already appointed by the Government. Only the rights and duties of these mullas and qāḍīs should be regulated and they should be made responsible to the shari'at courts called Dār-ul-Qaḍā' which already exists in Hyderabad City. This shari'at court should be the final appeal court as far as shari'at affairs are concerned and this court should be made directly subordinate to the judicial committee of which a muftī should always be a member.

Dā'irat-al-Ma'ārif of the Osmania University :

Among the recent publications of the Dā'ira is *Musnad* ibn Abi 'Awāna. This is a well-known work of Yāqūb ibn Ishāq al-Isfaraini Abu 'Awāna (d. 316 A.H.) This work may be called a commentary of Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, although Abu 'Awāna has made a number of valuable additions which are not available in any other work. The whole work is in six volumes, the first volume of which was discovered in Bankipur Library and verified by Mr. Mas'ūd 'Ālim. As this MS. was written in 615 A.H. and was unintelligible in many places, Syyyed Hāshim Nadavi, Director of the Dā'ira, had collated and written marginal notes. The whole work is edited after it has been duly revised by Maulana Shaikh 'Abdur-Raḥmān and Maulana 'Abdulla 'Imādi. It however goes to the credit of the Dā'ira that in spite of war a rare and voluminous work containing about 430 pages has now been made available to the scholars of Muslim literature.

Majalla-i-Ṭailsānīn No. 3, Vol. VII.

The latest issue of this Urdu magazine contains two very learned articles besides some original Urdu poems. One of the articles which is a dissertation submitted by Mr. Muhd. 'Āzam to the Osmania University, describes very lucidly the influence of the court of Oudh on the Urdu poetry of Lucknow. The other article is written by Dr. Mir Siādat 'Ali Khan and deals with the sources of law. The economic section of this magazine contains articles in which the readers are likely to take interest.

M. A. M.

DECCAN

Exhibition of Islamic History and Culture:

THE 25th anniversary of the Madrasa-e-A'zam, having been raised to the rank of the Government Muhammadan College, Madras, was the occasion of a grand exhibition devoted exclusively to Islamic history and culture. On 23rd Sha'bān (25th August last), the Governor of Madras opened it in person, and was so much impressed by the exhibits, that in spite of his multifarious engagements, found time to come again and spend a couple of hours in the exhibition. Even the non-Muslim press was unanimous in advising their readers not to miss this opportunity of great value. Due to its popularity, the exhibition had to be extended by several days beyond its original duration of a week. Different parts of India and different individuals and institutions from all over India had collaborated to make it a success in spite of difficult war days. Hyder-

abad was prominently represented in the exhibits and had also sent some organisers to work in the central management of the exhibition.

There were the usual side activities like the popular lectures with or without magic lantern, *mushā'irah*, sports, dinner and literary conference. But we limit ourselves to the description of the exhibition proper.

I. As Islam begins with the life of the Prophet, the first hall the visitor entered was called the "Sīrat (life of the Prophet) Room." It consisted entirely of exhibits from Hyderabad State Library or other private collections of Hyderabad.

In the centre there lay a big wooden model, in three dimensions, of the great mosque of the Prophet in Madīna. The walls were decorated by photographs (also taken by a Hyderabad specialist in *Sīrat*) depicting all the important phases of the exalted life of the Holy Prophet. As the Prophet was born in the same year as the destruction near Mecca of the Abyssinian "People of the Elephant" led by Abraha, the first of these photographs showed the place where, according to Arabian traditions, these people were stoned to death by swarms of birds. Then there was the *maidan* in Mecca, where there was, prior to the Sa'ūdian régime, the house in which the Prophet was born. The Mount of Light (Jabal-un-Nūr) and its Cave Hīrā' related to the pre-Prophetic days of seclusion and meditation by the Prophet in quest of the Truth. It was in this cave that he received his first revelation. It is wide enough to let a man stand or sleep and is considerably protected from sun and rain. Incidentally it is directed lengthwise towards the Ka'bah. Again, the House of Arqam reminded the early days of persecution, secret preaching, and 'Umar's embracing Islam. The port of Shu'aibah (Jidda) recalled the flight of the Meccan Muslims, their embarking at that port and going to Abyssinia for refuge. The photographs of the mosque of 'Aqabah (outside Mecca) brought to mind the pacts with the people of Madīna. It was in the Cave of Thawr that the Prophet and Abū-Bakr took refuge for several days while immigrating to Madīna. The Thanīyatul-Wadā' was the hill where the people of Madīna welcomed and received the Prophet on his arrival in their city. The mosque of Qubā' and the big mosque of Madīna depicted the very first religious acts of the Prophet after the Hijra.

Then there were maps of the battlefields of Badr, Uḥud, Khandaq and Mecca, prepared on spot by a Hyderabad specialist. Each of these was surrounded by photographs of these localities giving topographical details. The Treaty of Hudaibīyah was exhibited by several photographs of that locality and by fac simile photographs of three letters of the Prophet which alone have come down to us (addressed to Muqauqis, Negus, and Mundhir of Baḥrain) which were despatched immediately after the Treaty. The story ended with an impressive photograph of the spacious mosque of Mecca, with Ka'ba in between, packed with hundreds of thousands of people performing the religious service, pointedly referring

to the fact that the Ka'ba, originally built by Abraham as the House of One God and degenerated in the time of the posterior generations into a temple of idols, was purified and restored again to the worship of One God.

II. The Mosque Room informed non-Muslims that there was nothing secret in the Islamic creed. In the midst lay a wooden model of a mosque with all its paraphernalia (pulpit, staff, niche, cistern of ablution, sun-dial to show timings of religious services, and a copy of the Qur'ān which people peruse while waiting for the service). The walls were decorated with paintings showing all the postures of the religious service, and also with dozens of photographs of mosques from all parts of the world: England, France, Japan, East Africa, Égypt, Turkey, India, etc. There were palatial, some several storied, mosques and there were those which resembled mere huts, but all dedicated to One God, and directed to the same centre of Ka'ba, that "Navel of the Earth." This room was furnished mostly by local material.

III. Then came the Pilgrimage Room, furnished again entirely with exhibits lent by the State Library of Hyderabad. In the midst there was an imposing big wooden model of the mosque of Mecca (with Ka'ba in between, with its conspicuous Black Stone, surrounded by the four Sunni Muşallās, the well of Zamzam, the memorial of Abraham, the ladder presented by the Prince of Arcot, and, outside the mosque, the hills of Şafā and Marwah and the pavement connecting them frequented by the pilgrims). The walls displayed the pictures showing the special uniform dress worn by the pilgrims inside the sacred territory, the map showing the extent and limits of the sacred territory (ḥaram), photographs showing all the rituals of the pilgrimage including the stoning of the Satan and details of topographical interest. Some pieces of the original curtains on the walls of the Ka'ba increased the interest. It was also here that translations of the Qur'ān in many languages of the world, including Polish, were collected.

IV. The History Room was interesting as well as erudite, and was furnished mostly by Hyderabad. First there were coloured and detailed maps, prepared by a Professor of the Osmania University which was much more improved than the extant German ones, showing (a) the extent of the conquests by the Prophet and individual Caliphs of the Orthodox Caliphate, and (b) showing the extent of all the conquests of Islam during the last 13 centuries. It may interest the reader that this last map included the whole of France with the exception of the northern portion and also the whole of Switzerland in Islamic territory, and this on the authority of Reinaud's *Invasion des Sarrazins en France et de France en Savoie, en Piémont et dans la Suisse pendant les 8-10 siècles d'après les auteurs chrétiens et mahometans* (Paris 1836). Again not only Sicily but even the mainland of Italy up to practically Rome was also occupied by them on the authority of M. F. Élie de la Primaudaie's *Les Arabes en*

Sicile et en Italie (Paris 1868). The Volga region, around Kāzān (the Arab *Bulghār*) was Islamicised, according to Yāqūt, as early as the time of the Abbasids and has been testified to by Olga de Lebendeff's *Abrégé de l'histoire de Kazan* (Rome 1899). Another coloured map showed the density of Muslim population in different parts of the globe giving their number and percentage in the general population. Yet another map (lent by the Training College, Hyderabad) was an illustrated chronology of Islam, and against each year some painted picture vivified the most important occurrence of that year, like the battle of Badr, the bloodless capture of Mecca, the victory at Yarmūk, the tragedy of Karbalā', the founding of Baghdād, etc. A cardboard painted model, in two dimensions, of a durbar of the Second Aṣafjāh of Hyderabad, lent by the same Training College, showed the ruler and ministers seated, and other audience, including General Reimond in the hindmost row, standing. Two small yet interesting maps were prepared by the Muhammadan College, Madras, regarding the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates reminding in pictorial form the important innovations in different years, like the coinage, navy, government-built cathedral for Christians, race course, postage, asylums for lepers and other destitutes, compulsory medical examination for practising physicians, paper and glass factories, tennis, water-clock, nilometer, etc. Another map, coming from the same source, depicted the extent of Arab commerce in different parts of the globe. Two coloured maps coming from Hyderabad depicted the different phases of the world-famous battles of Yarmūk and Malāzgard. Just in front of the Yarmūk map, the *Dirra* (leather instrument for forensic punishment) reminded that the Caliph 'Umar was as capable a civil administrator as he was a strategist. The room also exhibited coins, lent by the Hyderabad Museum, one of which was a gold piece of the time of Shāhjahān, about six inches in diameter. Original ukases of Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān (come from Lahore), of Sulṭāns of Turkey, and of early Aṣafjāhs of Hyderabad, etc., were an interesting collection. The beautiful model of the dome of Rock, Jerusalem, is in fact a rival of the Tāj Mahal. Its details were the subject of a lantern lecture with coloured slides, during the celebration. Lastly the Tipū Sulṭān Collection contained among other relics the photograph of the Persian inscription in which the Sulṭān had given directions according to which the present famous Krishna Rāja Sāgar project was completed.

V. The Karnatic Room was furnished with collections lent by H.H. the Prince of Arcot. The jewelry and other valuables reminded the glory of the past, as also the patronage of learning extended by this dynasty.

VI. The Architecture Room contained mostly marble models of the Islamic monuments of India, like the Tāj, the Quṭub Minaret, the Mausoleum of I'timād-ad-Dawlah, etc. (lent by Muhammadan College, Madras).

Apart from prints of old Islamic inscriptions of India (like those of the reign of Tughlaqs and even earlier), an interesting collection was that of

coloured maps of different parts of the world on which miniature paintings of important architectural monuments in each city brought to light many a forgotten glory. An interesting map of the world, lent by the Hyderabad Training College, showed the Taj Mahal in the centre and arrow marks explained what men or material came from which part of the world to complete that marvel of the Mughals.

VII. The Arcot Room displayed dress worn in olden days by noblemen and women in India. It included a full suit of the legendary Dacca muslin.

VIII. The Literary Room was mostly furnished by Hyderabad. One show-case demonstrated the development of Arabic script by means of photos of pre-Islamic inscriptions and inscription of the year 5 H., of letters of the Prophet dating 6 H., of the inscription of 31 H., of copies of the Qur'ān from the second century onwards. Another case contained copies of the Qur'ān of historical interest like those calligraphed by Aurangzeb and his reputedly heretic brother Dārāh Shikōh, etc. Illuminated copies of the Qur'ān, masterpieces of illuminated books, miniatures and calligraphy were a wonder. Mention must not be omitted of an album of miniatural paintings, apparently belonging to some Mughal emperor, which was a marvel of painting. In exquisite colourings it contained portraits of unusual beauty of Bābur, Shah 'Abbās, young Akbar, youthful Jahāngīr with his Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, Shāhjahān on horse, Prince Kāmbakhsh with his wife, the musicians Tānsēn and Naubāt Khān Klāwānt, Phukrī-dance, etc. Coins of the Umayyads and Abbasids, oldest Arabic MSS., first Persian New Testament translated by a pious Muslim savant several centuries ago, original ukases of 'Adilshāhis, autographs of firmans or letters of Tīpū, Clive, etc., an autograph of a 'governor of Madras in Persian, postage stamps of 42 Islamic countries, coins of as many modern Muslim countries,—these and many other things came from the Sa'īdiyāh library of Hyderabad.

IX. The Mughal Room was furnished with the collection of a professor of Hyderabad depicting the life in a bourgeois house of Mughal days.

X. The Art Gallery was monopolised practically by a single collection of a Hyderabad professor. Its arrangement was interesting: Hindu ministers and amīrs of Muslim rulers, Muslim saints, birds, hunt, ladies, fauna and flora, rulers, etc.

XI. The Hall of Science displayed instruments of astronomy, physics, etc. The drawing of the Combined Balance (*mizān jāmi'*), taken from the book (ميزان الحكمة), published by Osmania University Oriental Publication Bureau, has five movable pans, instead of the usual two. It was used to ascertain the genuineness of various metals and jewels, etc., by means of gravity. Again, the swords of Jahāngīr and Aurangzeb, sent by Agra Museum, a big sun-dial showing not only the hours of the day

but even the months of the year (from the collection of Qāḍī Ḥabībullāh of Madras), astrolabes from Hyderabad, Madras, and many places were also exhibited here.

XII. The Arab Room, furnished by organisers and loan collections of Hyderabad, and showing the parlour of the Madīna people, was a masterpiece of plan and execution. It was the most attractive and popular room. Dressed dummies were life-like.

XIII. The lower story contained, first, the Iqbāl Room. Works by that famous Indian thinker, and works on him were collected here. Paintings by Arshad to illustrate some of the famous verses of Iqbāl were equal to, if not excelled, the famous Chaghtā'ī paintings for Ghālib.

XIV. The Orientalists' Room collected the monumental works of the Westerners on Islam, including the complete set of *Annali del' Islam* by Caetani in 11 stout volumes of folio size, regarding only the first forty years of Islam (lent by the Osmania University), as also the big world-map of Idrīsīy, which, although a thousand years old, resembled very much the modern maps. Photographs of Orientalists in Arab dress, like Nicholson, Arnold, etc., were a curiosity.

XV. The Urdu Room contained pictures of practically all the bigger Urdu poets, photographs of the Osmania University buildings and miscellanea.

XVI. A big book-stall, furnished mainly by Hyderabad, sold books in half a dozen languages on Islamic subjects.

K. M.

Arabic and Persian MSS :

STUDENTS of Deccan history in general, and of Islamic culture in particular, will find new and useful material in the study of the original Arabic and Persian manuscripts preserved in the archives of various collections all over the Deccan which have so far escaped from the notice of scholars. Accordingly a few points of great historical and cultural value, gleaned through their study, apart from their actual themes, are described below :—

At Bijapur, there are two collections which can easily be approached by scholars. One is housed at the upper floor of the gateway of the Gol Gumbad which has already been noticed in *Islamic Culture*, p. 247, April 1942 ; and the other, at the Dargāh (sanctuary) of Khwājā Amīnu'd-Dīn, consists of about two hundred manuscripts, which have been nicely preserved and they are quite safe from worms. Most of them are religious books. By chance one small manuscript having only fifty-eight folios bears its name on its cover : *Zubdatu'l-Akhhār min Ahādīth Ahmad al-Mukhtār*. Its main importance lies in its colophon, which shows that this manuscript has been nicely calligraphed in *naskh* by 'Abdullāh b. Faqīh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān al-Haliyyī, on 16th (?) *Dhu'l-Qa'da*, year 885 A.H./

16th Feb. 1481 A.D., at the Madrasa of Khwāja-i-Jahān in Bidar. Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān known as Khwāja-i-Jahān had built this Madrasa (college) in 876 A.H./1471 A.D. which, according to Firishta, was quite in order in 1023 A.H./1614 A.D. (Firishta, Lucknow ed. p. 358) and only during the reign of Aurangzeb it was damaged by an explosion in A.H. 1107/1696 A.D. when more than a quarter of it was destroyed (Maḥmūd Gāwān by Sherwāni, p. 145). This colophon, at least, throws sufficient light on the fact that this college of the Khwāja (d. 886 A.H./1482 A.D.) was properly functioning during his lifetime.

Shaikh 'Abdul-Karīm, one of the courtiers of Shāh Jahān, (vide *Islamic Culture*, p. 235, July 1943,) composed one monograph concerning the compilation of official documents, etc., which is preserved in the form of a small unique manuscript in this library, in fairly good style of Nasta'liq.

One manuscript of the Mathnawi of Maulana Muḥammad Akram Ghanimat, which bears one very interesting colophon, shows that Maulana Ghanimat was a native of Shahjahanabad (modern Delhi), although he is popularly known to have come from Kunjāh (Gujarat-Panjab). One Yār Muḥammad transcribed this manuscript in the best style of Nasta'liq during the fourth regnal year of Shāh 'Ālam Bahadur, i.e., 1121 A.H./1709, A.D. at Nander, then one of the districts of Bidar province of Hyderabad Dominions, while Amīn Khān, the brother of Khān-i-'Ālam and Dastūr Khān of the Deccan, was the governor of the province of Bidar (*Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. I, pp. 352-56). The manuscript was written at the house of one Mīr Muḥammad Sharif. Particularly this period in the Deccan history was of a great turmoil.

At Poona, the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, reserves one almirah for the Persian manuscripts which are about a hundred in number and most of them are on history and literature.

The manuscript of the *Rauḍatu's-Ṣafā* of Mīr Khond in this collection is only the second half, containing the 5th, 6th, 7th volumes and the epilogue, which with the exception of the last volume and epilogue, regarding its binding, paper, Nasta'liq style of calligraphy and the two masterly illuminated pages in the very opening of this MS., sufficiently support the testimony that it was entirely prepared in Persia. Only the remaining portion has been supplemented later on in India, which was either actually and not previously included or had been lost.

Its colophon, which should be brought to light, can be summed up thus :-

'This manuscript was written by the most humble 'Abdul-Karīm son of Ḥājī Yūsuf, on Wednesday, the 27th of the month of Rajab, year 1110 A.H./29th Jan. 1699 A.D., the 43rd regnal year, while the reigning Emperor Alamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī Aurangzēb, was encamping at Islampuri.'

Aurangzeb Alamgīr gave this name Islampuri to Brahamapuri during his encampment at this place. It lies about twenty miles south-east of

Pandharpur on the banks of the Bhima river. Khafi Khān (vol. II, pp. 414, 459; survey map No. 26/26 o/10) states in the chronicles of the 43rd regnal year that Aurangzeb stayed there for about four years from where he despatched forces to other directions of the Deccan. But *Ma'āthir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 373) also asserts that he stayed there from 17th Shawwal, 1106 till 5th Jumada I, year 1111 A.H./31st May 1695-29th Oct. 1699 A.D.

The illustrated manuscript of the *Ta'rif-i-Husain Nizām Shāh*, was formerly examined by some scholars but no one could identify its real author from its study. This unique manuscript in Persian poetry was in reality composed by a poet having his *nom de plume* 'Āftābī' which clearly occurs in many verses. He belonged to the Shi'a sect, the religion of the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar. He composed it in honour of his patron, Sultān Husain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar (A.H. 961-972). One of the poems is specially devoted to the praise (ta'rif) of the same Sultān who might have been taken as its name, which on its frontispiece by some later hand is written as *Ta'rif-i-Hasan* (instead of 'Husain') Shāh. The second half of this manuscript describes the battle of Talikota between Ram Raja of Vijayanagara and Sultān Husain Nizām Shāh. The latter achieved victory over the former which according to Āftābī was exclusively due to Husain Nizām Shāh, although all the Deccani Muslim powers jointly fought against Vijayanagara. When we carefully see its verses we come to the conclusion that in many places the poet Āftābī has incorporated the verses of some other poets like Jāmī and others, but he has not acknowledged their authority anywhere. It is incomplete because it abruptly ends without giving any verse regarding the death of the Sultān according to its last heading. There was one poet in the period of Akbar with the *nom de plume* 'Āftābī (MS. of the *Tadhkira-i-Suhuf-i-Ibrāhīm*, in the Oriental Library, Bankipur), who might have left Ahmadnagar court immediately after the death of his patron, Husain Nizām Shāh in 972 A.H./1564 A.D. for the Imperial Mughal court. These three hundred and forty verses of this MS. in all have been calligraphed in the best bold type of Nasta'liq style of calligraphy with some technical peculiarities exclusively found in some of the contemporaneous manuscripts prepared in the Deccan. The fourteen miniatures of this manuscript play an important role. They are in a great variety and belong to a much earlier period than the other extant specimens of the Deccani school of painting of the same time. Their dates may be traced even earlier than the Mughal school of painting.

A manuscript of the medium size can be called an *Anthology*, because it consists of the manuscripts of the *Yūsuf Zulaikha* of Maulana Jāmī, *Durr-i-Majālis* of Maulana Yari, *Treatise on Calligraphy* of Maulana Sultān 'Alī Mashhadi and others, being bound together in one volume. The general condition of these manuscripts as a whole is deteriorating. The style of the carelessly written text can be classed as Ta'liq. Its text has been spread over both the margin and in the middle of the leaf. The

colophons, found at the end of the *Yūsuf Zulaikha* and *Durr-i-Majālis*, in the middle of the leaf as well as on its margin, run thus :—

(a) 'Written by the most humble Muḥammad Zāhid Bēg who copied it from a book belonging to Mirza Bēg, on Monday, the 24th Dhu'l-Hajja, year 1067 A.H. in the city of Bhagnagar.'

(b) 'This book was completed on Monday during the last part of the day, the first of the month of Dhu'l-Qa'da, year 1069 A.H., in the city of Bhagnagar. Written by the most humble Zāhid Bēg who copied it from the book belonging to Mirza Bēg.'

The mention of Bhagnagar as the name of the city, the names of the persons and the dates in both the colophons are worthy of notice. :—

Bakhshī Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad (d. A.H. 1003) asserts in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* thus : 'Muḥammad Qulī succeeded his father. He became the lover of a prostitute of the name Bhagmati ; and having laid the foundation of a city, called it Bhagnagar. He had one thousand horsemen as the retinue of that woman, and they all attended at her stirrups. He is ruling the country up to the present day which is the year 1002, A.H. and in the 38th of the Ilāhi era, *i.e.*, regnal year of Akbar' (Eng. Tran. vol. III, p. 171).

Almost at the same time Faiḍī, the brother of Abu'l-Faḍl, was sent as an ambassador to Ahmadnagar, who on his return submitted two statements. In one of them he also adds some words about this Bhagnagar :— 'Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh Quṭbu'l-Mulk belongs to the Shi'a sect. The city of Bhagnagar, founded by him, is named after Bhagmati, who was a prostitute (quoted by Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzad in his *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, Lahore, 5th ed., p. 405).

But Firishta, who began to compile his history after the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and brought it down to 1026 A.H. says :— 'In the year 998 A.H. the king determined to remove the seat of his government, on account of the congested situation of Golconda, which from many causes, particularly the want of water, became extremely unhealthy ; he accordingly fixed on a spot situated at a distance of five kos from its former capital on the banks of the river Moosy, where he laid the foundation of a new city, which he called Bhagnagar (after his favourite mistress) ; but after her death he ordered it to be called Hyderabad, although for many years it retained its original name.' (Firishta, Bom. ed. vol. II, p. 339).

Khafi Khān also supports Firishta's view in the course of the account of the chronicles of 1098 A.H. He says : 'He (Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh) had a wife named Bhagmati whom he loved the most. At her request he laid the foundation of a city two kos from the fortress of Golconda, so he named it after her. Sometimes after the death of Bhagmati this name changed to Hyderabad, but the public still calls it Bhagnagar (vol. I., p. 368).

'Almost a mile to the south-west of Golconda a Baradari of Bhagmati

can be seen as one of the suburb monuments of the Quṭb Shāhi. The Baradari is said to have borne an inscription to the effect that those who built it died in 1625 A.D. It is no longer available now. (*Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society*, 1917, p. 25; *Ma'āthir-i-Dakkan* by Asghar Bilgrami, p. 95).

It is a pity that no local evidence comes to explain with any useful information the life of Bhagmati. The complete poetical works of Sultān Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, which have recently been published under the patronage of Nawab Salār Jang Bahadur, do not bear any reference to her name except to that of a mistress of the name of Ḥaidar Mahal. No doubt, there is a mention of Shahr-i-Ḥaidar which literally can be interpreted as Hyderabad and it was perhaps named after that mistress who had been styled as Ḥaidar Mahal in his poetry (*Kuliyat-i-Sultān Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, ed. with a long introduction by Dr. S. M. Qādri Zor, pp. 79-88, 105, 257).

On the authority of the *Māh Nāma* it is asserted that the name of the Sultan's mother Bhag Rati, in whose honour the city was named Bhagnagar, is not so far corroborated by any other authority (quoted by M.A. Siddiqi in his *Tārīkh-i-Golconda*, p. 309).

Many MSS. of literary works, which were prepared at the Golconda court as the best specimens of artistic reproduction and many of them are still preserved in various libraries, which are by chance dated after 1020 A.H., the year of the death of Sultān Qulī Quṭb Shāh, generally bear Hyderabad as the name of the city in their colophons.

Consequently in view of the above-noted statements it can be said that Sultān Qulī Quṭb Shāh founded a new city named Bhagnagar, either on the suggestion or in honour of one of his mistresses who was named Bhagmati. She might have also been entitled Ḥaidar Mahal and thus later on the city began to be called Hyderabad, although the former name Bhagnagar remained in vogue in certain quarters for a long time as it is found in the above-noted colophons of the manuscript, which is very rare to be found in such manners. There is another plausible suggestion that the name Bhagnagar was immediately changed to Hyderabad at the accession of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh's successor, Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh in 1020 following the epithet 'Ḥaidar' which he had adopted for his seals and other documents, etc. (*Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, May 1933, pp. 88-100. The MS. of the *Ikhtiyārāt-i-Quṭb Shāhī*, in the Collection of Prof. Shairani, bears a seal which has been deciphered by Prof. Shairani).

In the above-noted colophons the mention of Muḥammad Zahid Bēg as the scribe, who has transcribed these MSS. in a curious style of Ta'liq might be the same calligrapher Muḥammad Zāhid, whom Ghulām Muḥammad Haft Qalmī has mentioned in his *Tazkira-i-Khushnawīsān* (p. 59) as one of the calligraphers of the period of 'Alamgīr Aurangzēb.

Mirza Zāhid Bēg, the second person mentioned in both the colophons,

from whose books Muḥammad Zāhid had copied these MSS., was perhaps appointed to acquire fine manuscripts of standard works from abroad for the libraries of the Sulṭāns of Golconda. One of these is one fine MS. of the *Sharḥ-i-Gulshan-i-Rāz* of Maḥmūd Shibistari in the library of Nawab Salar Jang Bahadur (*Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min* by S. M. Qadri Zor, p. 149), which bears one autograph of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, verifying the fact that it was presented to him by Mīrza Bēg Silaḥdār (trooper) in 1024 A.H. This Mīrza Bēg was one of the ancestors of Mīrza Ḥamza Bēg who was one of the chief courtiers of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh (*Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min*, by S. M. Q. Zor, p. 138, 249).

The dates 1067 and 1069 A.H. found in the colophons encourage us to say that the transcription of these manuscripts must have begun at least earlier than the former date when the second MS. took about two years to complete. All this means that the transcription of these manuscripts was begun in a period of great turmoil in the history of the Quṭb Shāhi dynasty, because about a year preceding the first date, *i.e.*, 1065 A.H./1656 A.D. Prince Sulṭān Muḥammad son of Aurangzēb laid a siege of Golconda and a peace was concluded. 'Abdullā Quṭb Shāh, the then ruling Sulṭān of Golconda, promised to pay the arrears of tribute for the past years and he gave his daughter in marriage to the prince as a guarantee of loyalty to the Imperial Mughal court (Khāfi Khān, vol. I., pp. 743-45, 746). Moreover, in the domain of Mughal coinage gold and silver coins of the *kalima* type are known of the Shāhjahān period but none have yet been found bearing legible date, although of Aurangzēb's silver coins some of the very first year of his reign (*i.e.*, 1069 A.H.) are available with date and mint of Golconda (Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, vol. II, pp. xcvi-xcix), the year found in the second colophon of the manuscript described here. In short, this is sufficient to conclude that at that time the public of Golconda must have been feeling the unbalanced condition of the kingdom, which had also impressed upon the scribe to avoid the usual mention of the name of the then ruling Sulṭān in the colophons of the manuscript noted above.

M.A.C.

DELHI

The University :

The University Act has been amended by the Central Legislature introducing a number of changes which affect the organization of teaching and administration in the University very deeply. The Muslim members of the Legislature expressed strong disapproval of the policy which the University has hitherto pursued with regard to Islamic studies. The Muslim legislators did not gain all they had wanted, but the Govern-

ment accepted the proposal that the Academic Council of the University will have a panel of members to advise it on questions relating to the teaching and study of Islamic subjects. This in itself is a small gain unless the additional members are able to persuade the University to establish a full-fledged department for that purpose with its professors, readers, and lecturers. The University will say that it has no funds for this purpose, but the Government of India which bears practically all the expenses of the University is rightly expected to see the justice of the demand that there should be adequate funds for maintaining a department of Islamic studies in a city which once was famous in the world as Qubbat-u'l-Islām. Besides, Islamic studies form an important branch of human knowledge and even countries which have hardly any Muslim population sanction large sums of money to provide facilities of teaching and research in Islamic subjects.

A Three Years Degree Course :

The most important change from the academic point of view which has been introduced in the University is that the Intermediate has been abolished and the Pass and Honours Degree course has been extended by a year. The Board of Secondary Education has been reconstituted as the Board of Higher Secondary Education and the school course has been extended by a year. The new syllabi drawn up by the University and the Board give greater prominence to Indian languages which have been made compulsory for all students and in which Honours courses have been established.

Government Publicity :

It is very seldom that the Government of India is directly responsible for any activity of cultural interest. A notable exception is the Publicity Office organized by the Department of External Affairs and working as an autonomous unit under the able guidance of Col. Wheeler. This department known to the world as "United Publications"—publishes literature mostly for Muslim countries, and therefore, it would be interesting to describe its activities in detail.

Periodicals :

The following periodicals are published :

1. *Le Clarion* : a monthly illustrated magazine in French.
2. *Shīpūr* : a monthly illustrated magazine in Persian.

3. *An-Nafīr* : a monthly illustrated magazine in Arabic.
4. *Jahān-i-Āzād* : a fortnightly review in Persian.
5. *Jahān-i-Imrūz* : a fortnightly review. There is a Persian edition as well as a Pushtu and Urdu edition.
6. *Al-'Arabī* : a fortnightly review in Arabic.
7. *Tāj Mahal* : a monthly review in Afghān Persian.
8. *Nan Paruri* : a monthly review in Pushtu.
9. *Āj-kal* : a fortnightly review in Urdu.

All these reviews are illustrated, the get up is very attractive and most modern. The illustrations are very well produced. The articles deal with a large number of subjects—literary, scientific, social and historical ; but they are essentially popular, not learned. The selection of the pictures might have been better ; the publication of the pictures of cinema stars is not a very edifying method of propaganda in Muslim countries. The lands of Islam would feel a little more interested in the life and history of Indian Muslims.

A Newsletter :

This department also publishes a newsletter in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, French, and Russian. A series dealing with Indian war activities called Mizān series A and another called Mizān series B which contains general articles on India are sent to the Middle East posts.

Translation of Classics into Arabic and Persian :

A new venture is the Bugle Library Series of abridged world classics translated into Arabic and Persian. For the sake of convenience, these have been divided into five sections :

- (i) Fiction,
- (ii) Biography,
- (iii) History,
- (iv) Science, and
- (v) Special numbers.

The first set of books are as follows :—

- (i) Rāmāyana,
- (ii) Notre Dame,
- (iii) David Copperfield,
- (iv) The Brothers, Karamazov,

- (v) Don Quixote and the Biographies of
- (vi) Peter the Great,
- (vii) Alexander the Great, and
- (viii) Richelieu.

The main criticism that occurs at first sight is that the Muslim peoples in the Near and Middle East are likely to be more interested in the culture and history of Indian Muslims and the absence of any book bearing on Indian Islam does not reflect highly on the choice of the department.

I. H. Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

Late Maulana Thānvī and His Works :

NINETEENTH July, 1943 was the time, when the whole of India, was plunged in grief by the sad demise of Maulana Ashraf 'Alī Thānvī. A versatile scholar, a true Ṣūfī, pious and holy, Maulana was the greatest spiritual head that India had the good fortune to be enlightened with in this materialism of the 20th century. His life was an emblem of religious piety, pious sincerity, and theological authority. Bold and frank, he was the greatest enemy of untruth, deceit and un-religiousness. From head to foot he was the strictest follower of the Prophet. He was not only a saint himself but made others saints also. The greatest physician of all the spiritual ills, Maulana was unique at this time. His disciples are not only ordinary people, but even the scholars of eminence and writers of repute have come to drink from his spiritual fountain. People who are themselves considered to be authority on theology and religion regarded him as the fountain-head of religious learning. To him Ṭarīqat and Sharī'at were not apart, as professional *pirs* have advocated, but the path of Ṭarīqat is impossible without treading the preliminary way of Sharī'at.

Born on 5th Rabi-uth-Thāni 1280 A.H. on Wednesday in a respectable Muslim family, he received his elementary education of Arabic at Thana Bhawan, a village in the district of Saharanpur (U.P.). Maulana Faṭḥ Moḥammad Ṣāḥeb Thānvī was his teacher there. From the year 1295 to 1301 A.H. he studied at Madrasa Deoband under Maulana Ya'qūb. Just after completion in 1301 he went to Cawnpore as a teacher and for fourteen years he was teaching, delivering sermons, and guiding people to religious matters. Although he had a spiritual contact of Bai'at (بیعت) with Muhajarullah Hāji Imdādullah Ṣāḥeb Muhajar-e Makka, through Maulana Rashīd Aḥmad Ṣāḥeb Gangohi by letter, but he had not gone personally to Mecca. Towards the close of 1301 he went to Mecca and then came in close contact with him. Hāji Ṣāḥeb lavished all his love and affec-

tion on him. He drank deep of Shaikh's inner learning. He came back and till 1306 he was mostly engaged in teaching and writing works. He has written and compiled books in this period, and at the same time his spiritual training was going on. In 1307 there was a complete change in him and day by day the change manifested itself so strongly in him that in 1310 he passionately and restlessly sailed for another pilgrimage to Mecca and remained with his Shaikh Ḥaḍrat Ḥāji Ṣāḥeb for a considerably long time and thoroughly received the inner training. He came back in 1314 and again went to Cawnpore. But sometime later, he at the advice of Ḥāji Ṣāḥeb, cut off his connections with Cawnpore and began to live at Thana Bhawan. Since then till the present time, *i.e.*, 1362, he lived the life of a saint and reformer in Khanqah Imdadia, Thana Bhawan.

Thousands of people came for spiritual guidance ; they enquired and discussed the theological problems and went highly indebted. In his lifetime lacs of his religious sermons, works, and speeches had benefited the humanity. His efforts have made thousands of infidels Muslims and hundreds of Muslims pious. The wish or prophecy of Ḥaḍrat Ḥāji Ṣāḥeb, which he had expressed in one of his letters to him, came true. When Maulana had retired to Thana Bhawan Khanqah. Ḥāji Ṣāḥeb wrote: " It is better that you have gone to Thana Bhawan. I hope that a great number of people will be benefited both inwardly and outwardly by you. You will give a new life to our Madrasa and Masjid. I always pray for you and think of you."

His Works :

The number of his books and booklets have reached approximately to eight hundred. A full list of his works has been published which is called "*Tālīfāt Ashrafīa*" and can be had from Maulvi Ḥakīm 'Abdul-Ḥaq Ṣāḥeb, Madrasa Arabia, Fatehpur (U.P.).

All his works are researches on scholarly problems, religious intricacies and Sufistic doctrines.

Tafsīr-ul-Bayān, *Sharḥ Mathnavī Maulānā Rūm*, *Fatāwa-i-Imdādiya*, *Alta'āruḥ-al-Taṣawwuf*, *Behishtī Zewar*, *Behishti Gauhar*, are all stupendous works in many volumes. There are a number of his religious Muwā'iz and Khuṭabāt which have been printed and are in the market available for everybody. In his works he has mostly unravelled the meanings of the difficult verses of Holy Qur'ān, commentary on Ḥadīth, replies to difficult questions on Fiqh, knotty points on Suluk and Tarīqat, well thought-out reasons of moral elevation and degradation and their remedies, modern scepticism and their replies. They are all so vast that a full book can be written on each of his topic. He has said so much on different subjects of theology and morals and ethics on different occasions that they can be separately classed under separate heads.

Many of his disciples have worked on this line. The latest collection of this type is called *Bawādir-ul-Nawādir*. It has been published and has been very much appreciated by learned people. This book has covered one thousand pages. The answers to the letters of people from different parts of India, even from abroad, are heaped in numbers. They are all pregnant with information. He was so particular in giving replies that he responded to them the very day he received them. He continued this till his death. Whatever he wrote he did it with utmost care and precision.

Sulūk and Ṭarīqat is indebted to him because he raised it from the lowest position of *yogi*, to which it had gone down, to the eminent position of Salaf Ṣāleḥīn eliminating all the unnecessary things which had gathered round it.

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The Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society brings out in every of its issues very valuable articles full of research works that Behar is doing. The March and June issues of 1943 deserve special notice. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A. (London), Curator, Patna Museum, has contributed a very interesting article which is at the same time very informative. It is entitled "Khilji Kings, their Coinage and Mints." The basis of Mr. Shere's article is twelve silver coins which have been unearthed in a mango grove of village Shāhpur police station, Shahpur district, Shahabad, in the province of Bihar on 15th of October 1940. It was sent to the Patna Museum for examination and report. Mr. Shere tells us that they all seem to belong to the time of the founder of the Khilji dynasty, Jalāluddīn Fīroze, and his nephew and son-in-law, 'Alā'uddīn Muḥammad Shāh. The coins date from 696 A.H. to 715 A.H.

He has given a detailed table of the coins which will not be out of place here.

Jalāluddīn Fīroze.

Number	Mint	Date A.H.	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse
1	Delhi	694	167.03047	الامام المستصم امير المومنين Margin ضرب هذه القضة محضرت دهلي في سنة اربع و تسعين و ستماية	السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر فيروز شاه السلطان No margin
2	Delhi	694	167.29591	do	do
3	Delhi	694	165.90699	do	do

'Alā'uddīn Muhammad Shāh.

Number	Mint	Date A.H.	Weight in grains	Obverse	Reverse
4	Darul-Islam ..	707	165.78662	السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان No margin	سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر أمير المؤمنين Margin partially cut. بدار الاسلام في سنة سبع و سبعمايه
5	Delhi ..	711	169.01198	do	As on 4. Margin partially cut. محضرت دهلي في سنة احدى عشر وسبعمايه
6	Delhi ..	714	167.94098	do	do محضرت دهلي في سنة اربع عشر وسبعمايه
7	Darul Islam (?)..	715 (?)	169.1575	do	do بدار الاسلام في سنة خمس عشر وسبعمايه
8	Delhi ..	715 (?)	167.97184	do	do محضرت دهلي (?) في سنة خمس عشر وسبعمايه
9	Delhi ..	715	165.19710	do	As on 4. Margin partially cut.
10	Delhi ..	715	167.70950	do	do
11	Delhi ..	715	167.07060	do	do
12	Delhi ..	715	166.77739	do	do

He has corrected the common error of classing the Khiljis as Pathans or Afghans. The Khilji dynasty ruled from 1290 A.D. to 1320 A.D.

when they were supplanted by Tughlaq dynasty.

The coins are circular in shape with the name and title of the monarch stamped out in a high relief with a double square on the reverse while on the obverse we get the epithet showing the spiritual allegiance to the caliphate within a similar square. The circular age on the obverse is utilised to give the name of the mint and the year of the coinage.

Jalāluddīn was assassinated on 17th Ramaḍān, 695 A.H. and 'Alā'uddīn came to the throne in 695 A.H. Three coins of Jalāluddīn Firoze date from 694 A.H. and all the remaining nine coins of 'Alā'uddīn date from 707 to 715. Seven of them are issued from the mint of Haḍrat Delhi and two from Darul-Islam.

'Alā'uddīn had built a new city called Siri. Although it was far from Delhi but a wall stretched from Siri to Delhi. 'Alā'uddīn moved to this new city in 703 A.H. (1303 A.D.) which was also called Darul-Khilāfat. This city must be Darul-Islam.

The second article which deserves mention is the contribution of Professor Jagdish Sarkar of Patna College. His article on "Mīr Jumla and Iran Correspondence" is continuing from the June issue of 1942. This paper is based on three letters, two of which were sent by Mīr Jumla to Khalīfa Sulṭān, the Wazīr of Persia under Shāh 'Abbās II. These two letters have been taken from *Tabrizi Golkonda* letters, and the third one is the reply given by Shāh 'Abbās II to Mīr Jumla offering him a post in the Persian kingdom. This letter is from *Ruqqa't 'Abbās Thanī*.

Professor Sarkar has tried to clarify after a comparative study of all these three letters, some very pertinent points regarding Mīr Jumla's diplomacy and actions. Furthermore, it throws fresh lights on Mughal-Deccan and Mughal-Persian relations in the seventeenth century. It has enabled us to understand the attitude of Mīr Jumla towards Persia during the formative period of his career as a minister in Golconda. Economic necessity has forced him to leave his place of birth along with others of his co-religionists. The misgovernment in Persia and his search for future had made a soft corner for Persia in his heart. This was always manifested by his admiration for the justice, the trade, and the religion for which Persia was famous.

The third article which demands attention is "A Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Moghal India," by Brij Narain and Sri Ram Sharma.

There are two copies of Hindustan chronicle under Dutch Record Office at Hague. One is an account of Indian events from the reign of Shāh Jahān. The second one is bound up with the report of Pelsaert on the present condition of the trade in India. Both the report and Hindustani chronicle are written in the same hand.

De Laets in his work seems to rely mostly on Hindustan chronicle. Being a voluminous writer he was also director of Dutch East India Company. The sources themselves which he utilised were not very reliable.

The reason was that his reporters did not know Persian. Therefore the book of De Laet cannot be ranked as the best account of India, its value in Europe was due to the fullness of his account rather than to its accuracy. It is wrong to say that it is a "genuine chronicle of the Empire"—as Dr. Vincent Smith has said: Its importance lies only in the fact that it is one of the early sources of information of the Mughal period by a contemporary European.

De Laet translated these into Latin but he did not faithfully reproduce the Dutch original. Fifteen years ago Professor Brij Narain translated it into English. The present work is an effort to modernise the spelling of the Indian name, identified places, and persons mentioned in the text. He has added notes intended to help the reader in evaluating the text. Now it can be safely relied on as an independent source of information of the Mughal period.

Other researches which the authors and scholars of Bihar are doing ought to be mentioned here.

Professor K. K. Dutt of Patna College has written a very informative book on (1) *Alivardy Khan and his Times*. This book is based on a comparative and critical study of unpublished as well as published documents and records in English, French, Persian, Marathi, Bengali, and Sanskrit.

2. *Studies in the History of Bengal Suba—Social and Economic*, Volume I.

At present he is engaged in writing a thesis on *Shāh 'Ālam II and the English*.

Some of his papers also are relating to Islamic subject or Islamic culture which deserve notice. They are as follows:—

1. "Conspiracy of Wazīr 'Alī."—A study of Wazīr 'Alī's conspiracy against the English.

2. "The first two Anglo-Mysore wars and the economic drain in Bengal"—A critical estimate of the economic effects as regards the economic drain in Bengal caused by the English East India Company's first two wars against Mysore.

3. "A Letter of Shāh 'Ālam to George III (1770)."—A study of Shāh 'Ālam's letter to George III regarding the non-payment by the Company's Government in Bengal.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta, March 1943, has presented a very learned article on "Shujā'-ud-Daula as Diplomat," by Professor A. F. M. Khalilur-Rahmān.

Professor Syed Hasan Askari of Patna College, Department of History, is always doing works which are of special interest to us. The following papers of his must find a place in these columns.

1. "Raja Ram Narain and his Part in Plassey"—A series of articles on Raja Ram Narain Manzūm, the poet and administrator and Nā'ib-Nāẓim

of Bihar 1752-1761. It deals with the games of intrigues and counter-intrigues in which Raja Ram Narain was with the aid of the English and his Hindu compatriots struggling to oust Nawab Mir Ja'far in favour of his elder brother, Mir Muḥammad Kāzim Khān in 1757-58. It has been sent for publication in journal of Indian History, Madras.

2. "Some more unpublished letters of Raja Ram Narain relating to Shāh 'Ālam's invasion of Bihar in 1759-1761."—This paper is based on a unique manuscript discovered by the writer. This fact has already been published in the proceedings of the Calcutta sessions of the Indian Historical Congress 1939. This paper has been sent for publication in *Bengal Past and Present*, Calcutta.

3. "The sons of Tipū Sultān"—Besides many facts about Sultān Fath Ḥydar and his other brothers which the paper contains, it brings to light a valuable document preserved in a Judge's Court of Patna which tells us of Prince Ya'sin, the fifth son of Tipū Sultān, who came to, and once stayed at Patna in 1822. It is sent for publication in the Tipū Sultān commemoration volume to be published at Aligarh.

4. "Some Persian histories of Kashmir."—A series of articles being published in the Urdu monthly "Ma'āshir," Patna, containing short notices of the following manuscripts:—

(a) *Nawādir-ul-Akhbār* by Rafiuddīn Aḥmad bin 'Abdus-Sabur bin Khwāja Muḥammad Balkhi Kashmiri.—This manuscript was originally written in 1736 and the present copy is dated 1199 A.H.

(b) *Tārīkh-i-A'zamī*, the well-known history of Kashmir by Muḥammad A'zam.

(c) *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir* by Narain Kol, written in 1122 A.H. The manuscript which is complete belongs to the Waqf Library of Diwan Naṣir 'Alī of Khujwa in the District of Saran (Bihar). The seal of the owner is dated 123 A.H.

(d) *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir* by Haider Malik Chardarah. This rare manuscript is dated 1248 A.H., and contains only 92 folios. It belongs to Babu Gaya Prashad Saxena whose family was connected with the famous Raja Shītāb Rāi and his son Maharaja Kalyan Singh 'Āshiq, Nā'ib Nazims of Bihar.

5. "A Newly Discovered Letter of Shāh 'Ālam to King George III of England"—This paper is submitted to the Indian Record Commission. It is a long letter drafted by Shambhu Lal at the instance of Raja Daya Ram which being sent to Delhi is said to have been approved of by the Emperor and returned to Calcutta to be forwarded to England (in 1779). Besides the usual subject of the non-payment of the Bengal tribute, it contains an account of the country powers, such as the Jats, the Sikhs, the Marathas, and Nawab Shūja'ud-Daula.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

New Publications :

SHAIKH Muḥammad Ashraf, the well-known publisher of Lahore, has recently brought out two booklets, connected with the life-work of the late Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl. The first booklet brings together a number of letters, which he wrote to Mr. Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāh between May 1936 and November 1937, a few months before his death. In these letters, Dr. Iqbāl gives his own views concerning the various political and cultural problems with which Indian Muslims are confronted at present and gives advice in a confidential manner to the great Muslim leader regarding the policy of the Muslim League. In a foreword to the published *Letters*, Mr. Jinnāh provides the essential historical background of the letters and expressly says that Dr. Iqbāl's views were substantially identical with his own, and that they ultimately found expression in the united will of Muslim India, as adumbrated in the Lahore resolution of the Muslim League, popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution, passed on the 23rd March 1940. The second booklet, entitled *the Complaint and the Answer*, is a rendering into English verse by Mr. Altāf Husain, of Dr. Iqbāl's celebrated *Shikwah* and *Jawāb-i-Shikwah*. The translation is commendable for the fidelity of its rendering as well as for the suitability of the verse in which it is couched. Both the books have been printed on excellent paper and in beautiful bold type, which makes reading a pleasure.

The Proprietors of the Minerva Book Shop, Lahore, have recently published "*Muslim India—a Social Survey*" by Mr. W. C. Smith, professor of Islamic history at the Forman Christian College, Lahore. It is a penetrating survey of modern Indian Islam, and presents the new development within the Muslim community from the War of Liberation of 1857 to 1942. Part I deals with ideas, while Part II is concerned with politics. But the work is not merely a chronicle. The author has also attempted to bring to bear upon historical events the analysis of modern sociology as understood by him. Each institution, each movement is, accordingly, interpreted in its social and economic setting, and the author constantly tries to point out the class content of religious ideology. Professor Smith has shown amazing industry in the collection of relevant facts from innumerable sources. He professes to write as a socialist; and his work is bound to cause a stir by the devastating criticism to which he has subjected almost every Muslim author, leader, institution and movement that has come under his survey.

Maulana 'Abdul-Mājid Daryabadi has been known to be engaged upon an English translation of the Holy Qur'ān for several years past; and we are glad to welcome at last the appearance of Part I of his annotated translation, which was published early this year at Lahore. The

Taj Publishing Co. of Lahore deserve the gratitude of the whole Muslim community for undertaking the publication of this important work in these war days, which are fraught with all kinds of difficulties for the publishing trade. The learned translator's valuable annotations, which are primarily designed to help towards a better understanding of the meaning of the Holy Qur'ān, give ample proof of the learned translator's vast reading not only in the relevant Islamic literature but also in modern philosophic thought and Biblical literature. Excellent glazed paper has been used for this publication, which carries the original Arabic text and the translation on opposite columns. With its clear and beautiful types, the whole presents an exceedingly attractive appearance. The work is expected to be completed in 30 parts. Further details about it may be obtained from the Taj Publishing Co., Railway Road, Lahore.

Works in Preparation :

Mr. K. A. Waheed, the indefatigable Secretary of the Islamic Research Institute, Lahore, is preparing a comprehensive bibliography of Islamic literature, designed to cover the whole range of literature in Eastern and Western languages connected with Islamic studies. A vast amount of bibliographical material has already been collected by him under three thousand subject-headings, relating to the religion, history, culture, arts, and sciences of the Muslim peoples all over the world. In order to facilitate reference, these subject-headings have been arranged alphabetically, and contain references to thousands of books, pamphlets, papers, essays, and articles in the principal languages of the world. In the case of very rare sources of information not easily accessible to the average reader, brief summaries of their contents have also been added. This monumental work of reference when completed is expected to constitute an instrument of research of inestimable value, useful alike to the student and the general reader. Since the publication of this voluminous work is a matter of time, bibliographical information on any subject connected with the religion, history, and culture of Islam may be obtained by any interested person by addressing its compiler, Mr. K. A. Waheed, Qadeer Manzil, Maya Road, Lahore.

Another prominent member of the same institute, Mr. M. Sharif Punni, B.A., LL.B., has completed his Urdu translation of Professor Philip K. Hitti's *History of the Arabs*, which is the best and the most up-to-date work on the subject. The work is now under revision, and the co-operation of several scholars has been secured in the revision of the translation from their several special points of view, in order to ensure its correctness in every respect. While the principal European languages are rich in Islamic literature which is still growing from day to day, and contain

numerous studies of great value beyond the pen of the Urdu reader, Urdu literature itself suffers from a lamentable dearth of authoritative and up-to-date work on Islamic history. The translation of Professor Hitti's admirable work, which embodies the latest results of modern critical research, would therefore constitute a most welcome and valuable addition to Urdu historical literature. The original contains many useful illustrations, and it is the intention of the translator to add to them in the Urdu edition a number of coloured plates, reproducing the paintings and mosaic work of the Alhambra (Granada in Spain), which contains some of the priceless extant specimens of Moorish art.

SH. I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

ISLĀMI PĀRTĪ KĀ Ā'IN, by 'Aziz Hindi, published by Iqbal Academy, Zafar Manzil; Tajpura, Lahore, pp. 104; price Rs. 1-8-0.

THE world is not content, in spite of all its material progress, with its present condition; the Islamic world is least so. The reason is not far to seek. The Muslims have lost their world domination and have been reduced to insignificance in the big affairs; they are very much backward in mental achievements and material possessions. Many attribute this to their neglect of the principles of morality laid down in the Qur'an and acted upon in the heydays of the glory of their forefathers. Hence many attempts are being made to revive the old order, and the movement for "back to Islam" is getting increasing momentum. More so, the account of the fact that some of the proposals come from the West, for the world-order curiously include those so dear to Islam and have so far been neglected in the West on account of the "anarchy" of the multiplicity of sovereignties.

The present booklet is an attempt on the part of a questionable patriot who is kept in a detention camp and completed it during the forced leisure in the hospital. The result is obvious.

The aim of the author is to establish on earth the kingdom of God. Happily he has divided his scheme into two parts, the first and the present one is intended to serve as a constitution to unite Muslim individuals into regional committees and

consolidate them through a world-wide organisation.

The central structure, the court of arbitration, treasury, provincial and regional sub-structure form the gist of his scheme.

In the author's words, the hypocrites are the fifth columnists, and let us first tackle with and eradicate them before opening a front against unbelief for the purpose of bringing in the cherished millennium.

The booklet is an interesting reading but not of any scientific value except as a record of the present-day tendencies of Indian Muslims.

M. H.

PESHAU MADHAU RAO I, by Anil Chandra Bannerjee, M.A., published by A. Mukerjee and Bros., 2, College Square, Calcutta; price Rs. 6.

PESHAU Madhau Rao I, by Prof. Anil Chandra Bannerjee, is a learned work which deals with the latter part of the eighteenth century. The reign of Madhau Rao I, who is generally recognized as the greatest of the Peshwas, is very significant in the history of the Maratha people. Generally, the readers of the modern Indian history close their chapters at the battle of Panipat with the wrong impression that the battle put an end to the Maratha power. But that is a great mistake. It may be said to the credit

of the Maratha people and their leaders that the Maratha history took a new turn even after the battle of Panipat and the people gained fresh footing both in the North and in the South of India. The reign of the Peshwa which begins immediately after the battle of Panipat marks a new organization and revival of the Maratha power. At the same time, this is a very eventful reign covering a vast field of interstate politics which existed among the Indian powers, both internal and external. The Maratha State had to deal with the British Government of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Presidencies on the one hand, and the Native Kingdoms and the Maratha Feudatories on the other.

It appears that the contents of the work were originally included in a thesis which the Professor had submitted for Prem Roy Chand Scholarship and no less than 5 chapters have already appeared as articles in various journals and have been read at the proceedings of Indian History Congress. Later on, the matter was arranged and put in a book form. The author has, however, ably clarified the whole political situation which centred round the Marathas with necessary reference to the economic, social, and religious conditions of the Maharashtra as it existed during the latter part of the eighteenth century. But one may be excused to point out that the work has been based exclusively on the Maratha and the English sources with no collateral study of Persian documents. Though the author says that he has also derived his information from the Persian sources, yet a close study of the chapters proves otherwise. It may be pointed out that no work of Indian history relating to this period and the past can justify its purpose without consultation of Persian sources which contain the whole range of history from the advent of Mohammedans into India right up to the eighteenth century. It is a pity that the whole period, and especially the political relation which existed between Hyderabad and the Marathas, has not been corroborated with the Persian histories and documents which are extant in Hyderabad and elsewhere. The Record office and private archives in Hyderabad contain hundreds

of documents which throw illuminating light on the period and no work of this type may be justified without having full recourse to these original sources. No historian of this period can dispense with Ghulām 'Alī Āzād and Luchminarayan Shafiq, which form reliable sources of the history of the Deccan.

It is but natural that a considerable part of the book which brings to light the political relation of Hyderabad and the Marathas presents only one-sided point of view which is not supported by the Persian contemporary authorities. The battles of Udgir and Poona, which were fought between Hyderabad and the Marathas in 1760 and 1761 respectively, for example, are the topics which are not treated impartially with full recourse to the authorities of both the sides. In the first place the account of the battle is not given in detail and the reader is not in a position to form correct judgements about the causes which led to the battle and the consequences which followed. In this connection the author says that in January 1761 Nizām 'Alī Khān refused to join the Peshwa in his expedition to the North. This sentence requires an explanation. The facts are that before the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao set out for the great battle of Panipat, he hurried Raghunath Rao with an army of 25,000 soldiers to the bank of the Godavari ostensibly to request Nizām 'Alī Khān's help in his Northern expedition, but ultimately it was intended to keep an eye on the movements of the Nizām.

Similarly the author has described the battle and sack of Poona, but he has omitted many important incidents and sidelights which explain the exact nature of the battle and the forces which worked behind it. There is no doubt that the Nizām was moved by the favourable circumstances of the great battle of Panipat for his famous expedition to Poona but it was the natural corollary of the Maratha civil war which was waged after the death of Balaji Baji Rao. The Nizām was invited by one of the parties which challenged the Poona Government. He was at first invited by Raghunath Rao for his help against his nephew,

the Peshwa, and was supported by many Maratha Sardars. The letters of Gopika Bai, the mother of the Peshwa, also furnish valuable information about the military movements of the Nizām. There is no reason why the letters should be ignored in the treatment of the subject. The sack of Poona is also described with great exaggeration. The outrages which are alleged to have been committed by the Nizām and especially the destruction of the temple are not consistent with the liberal and tolerant policy of all the Āsaf Jāhī rulers. In the course of the narration that the favourable terms were conceded to the Nizām after the battle, the author says that the Nizām did not deserve the terms because his position at home was somewhat critical for he had not yet been able to eliminate Śalābat Jung. This is far from truth. Nizām 'Alī Khān had assumed the reins of the government independently long before he set out for 'Poona Expedition.'

The author has fairly surveyed the events and results of the First Anglo-Mysore War and has been greatly helped by Dr. Sinha's book. While his chapter on the Revival of the Maratha Power in the North has added much to our knowledge, his last chapter gives us the greatest pleasure where we find the mention of cultural, social, and religious activities in vogue in the time of Madhau Rao. Indeed, it is the most welcome part of the book.

Lastly we have got to say a word as regards the map. The object of such maps is to illustrate the campaigns or battle-fields but none of which we find in them.

We have ventured to give suggestions with the sincere hope that the author would incorporate them in his second edition, which is not too far a date to come out.

The author deserves our best compliments for his scholarly and well-documented work of the most important period of the Maratha history.

K. S. L.

THE CRUSADE OF FREE SPIRITS : (A draft of Peace Conditions), by the Rt. Hon. Alexander Wamwetzos, LL.D., M.P. (Hellas); published by the New Book Co., Bombay, 8vo., pp. 292 and xvi, cloth bound; price Rs. 14.

THE author of this book was at one time professor of law in Athens.

As a believer in democracy as well as one whose country has fallen a prey to Nazi aggression the author is anxious to see that the post-war world is not governed by the law of the jungle. Hence he envisages a world state to safeguard democracy and liberty. With the idealism of the author every thinking man will find himself in agreement: but it is the practical solution of the problem which is the most difficult and exacting task which has ever confronted humanity. Besides, it may be asked, are we ready for a world State? There can be no union between units of unequal dimensions and powers and the world is yet not ready to think in terms of small, manageable units federating together for certain definite purposes. The first step towards integration, paradoxically enough, must be an orderly disintegration and the leviathans of empires and unions must be willing to break into pieces for finding greater unity in a world federation. For this the world is not ready. Apart from the dangers inherent in organizing another League of Nations, there is the obvious anomaly of empires unwilling to loosen their grip on smaller and weaker nations. Capitalism and imperialism are still not dead and wolves are more dangerous if they don sheep's clothing. A great weakness of the book is that the author tries to tackle this baffling problem with hardly any data or resources at his command except the files of newspaper cuttings which also do not go beyond the beginning of the war. Hence the study could not but be superficial and lacking in perspective. Nor has the author been always able to rise above his own prejudices and environment. He might have realized that the Greek orthodox church is not the only religion worth protection and that the problem of religious freedom in the world is infinitely more

complex than it appears to the author. For instance, it is hardly consistent with the idea of religious freedom to recommend that "proselytism in any form" should be forbidden. The author's study of world problems is mainly based on propaganda which he has most naively assimilated. For instance his solution of the Palestine problem created by an aggressive and militant Zionism, is that the Arabs of Palestine be migrated "into the neighbouring thinly populated Arabian States." These Arabs are to

be replaced by Christian immigrants, because Palestine is holy to them! There is one bright spot in the book. The author's study of the Indian problem is impartial and helpful. The reason is that here the author is on firmer ground. He has studied the problem in India and is guided by sound political and legal instinct. The book embraces a large number of topics, is well arranged, and lucidly written.

I. H. Q.

